

BEFORE THE ENVIRONMENT COURT

ENV-2007-304-000472

IN THE MATTER of the Resource Management Act 1991

AND

IN THE MATTER of appeals under clause 14 of Schedule 1 of
the Act

BETWEEN **PROGRESSIVE ENTERPRISES LIMITED**
(ENV-2007-AKL-0000574)

AND **WESTFIELD (NEW ZEALAND) LIMITED**
(ENV-2007-AKL-0000580)

AND **THE NATIONAL TRADING COMPANY OF**
NEW ZEALAND
(ENV-2007-AKL-0000611)

AND **THE WAREHOUSE LTD**
(ENV-2007-AKL-000661)

AND **SYLVIA PARK BUSINESS CENTRE**
LIMITED
(ENV-2007-AKL-000544)

AND **FEDERATED FARMERS OF NZ INC**
(ENV-2007-AKL-000659)

AND **WAITAKERE CITY COUNCIL**
(ENV-2007-AKL-000632)

AND **MANUKAU CITY COUNCIL**
(ENV-2007-AKL-000679)

Appellants

AND **AUCKLAND REGIONAL COUNCIL**
Respondent

STATEMENT OF EVIDENCE OF JAMES TALBOT BAINES
ON BEHALF OF AUCKLAND REGIONAL COUNCIL AND THE TERRITORIAL
AUTHORITIES OF THE AUCKLAND REGION
31 August 2009

1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 My name is James Talbot Baines. I am a founding director of Taylor Baines & Associates and a specialist in Social Impact Assessment (**SIA**).
- 1.2 I have undertaken training courses in SIA and have been a member of the International Association for Impact Assessment (**IAIA**) for the past fourteen years and the New Zealand Association for Impact Assessment for the past sixteen years. Between 2000 and 2006 I was Chairperson of the IAIA's Social Impact Assessment Section, during that time the Section developed the most recent set of principles for the practice of SIA. During this time I have also been engaged both in New Zealand and in South East Asia to provide professional training in Social Impact Assessment and to develop Social Impact Assessment implementation programmes in Malaysia on behalf of the United Nations Development Programme.
- 1.3 In total, I have had twenty years experience in applied social research and SIA work. This has included participation and leadership in several multi-year social research programmes under contract to the Foundation for Research Science and Technology, as well as a wide variety of consultancy contracts for both public and private sector clients.
- 1.4 Within New Zealand, my professional experience covers the application of SIA in numerous parts of the country and across a wide range of proposals, including local government boundary changes, urban development plans, air quality plans, waste management facilities, prisons, mall and supermarket developments, port developments, casinos, marine farms and energy infrastructure developments.
- 1.5 I have presented expert evidence on behalf of councils, as well as private-sector companies. I am able to draw on the collective experience of my firm, Taylor Baines and Associates, which has been engaged on a number of relevant urban planning cases in the cities of Auckland, North Shore and Christchurch, as well as in several other regions of the country, namely Raglan, Gisborne and Upper Hutt.
- 1.6 Of particular relevance to this hearing, I have in the past few years appeared as an SIA expert at urban planning hearings, including presenting the social evidence on behalf of the Christchurch City Council at the Environment Court hearing on Variation 86 (2007) and the social evidence on behalf of Landco (the applicant) at the Environment Court hearing on the Long Bay Structure Plan in North Shore City

(2007). I have also been involved as a social impact expert in several cases related to proposed plan changes and variations to the Canterbury Regional Policy Statement currently being heard by a panel of commissioners.

- 1.7 In addition to my training and practical experience as a SIA specialist, I hold a Bachelors Degree with Honours in Chemical Engineering from the University of Canterbury and a Post Graduate Diploma in Teaching from Wellington Teachers Training College.
- 1.8 I have in the past been called upon as an expert witness in a variety of settings including resource consent hearings, a Board of Inquiry, appeals to the Environment Court, and hearings before the Local Government Commission and the Casino Control Authority.
- 1.9 I have read and prepared my evidence in compliance with the Code of Conduct of Expert Witnesses in the Environment Court Consolidated Practice Note (2006). I confirm that my evidence is within my area of expertise, except where I state a reliance on the assessment of another person. I have not omitted to consider material facts known to me that might alter or detract from my the analysis or conclusions I express.

2 SCOPE OF EVIDENCE

- 2.1 I was responsible for coordinating the SIA activities and assessment commissioned by the Auckland Regional Council for the evaluation of Proposed Change 6 to the Auckland Regional Policy Statement (**ARPS**), on which this statement of evidence has been based.
- 2.2 In this instance, we are assessing matters raised in appeals to Proposed Change 6 to the ARPS initiated as a consequence of the Local Government (Auckland) Amendment Act 2004 (**LGAAA**), not a specific resource consent application. Therefore the SIA has been carried out at a strategic and regional level. This level of assessment is less detailed than would be the case for resource consent applications for a specific town centre development or for resource consent applications for a specific retail development out of centre.
- 2.3 In my evidence, I will address the following:

- (a) the approach and methods used in my social assessment of Proposed Change 6 to the ARPS;
- (b) the statutory context;
- (c) the background to the main social arguments for managing commercial distribution through the Centres Plus policy framework;
- (d) the main social arguments for managing commercial distribution through the Centres Plus policy framework;
- (e) the Joint Councils' Position;
- (f) evaluating the social wellbeing outcomes of adopting the Joint Councils' Position; and
- (g) conclusions.

3 APPROACH AND METHODS USED IN MY SOCIAL ASSESSMENT OF PROPOSED CHANGE 6 TO THE ARPS

Social assessment approach in the RMA

- 3.1 Social wellbeing is part of the sustainable management purpose set out in section 5 of the Resource Management Act 1991(RMA)¹.

Conceptual framework for interpreting social wellbeing

- 3.2 Carrying out a SIA within this statutory framework requires attention to a conceptual framework for thinking about social wellbeing, and what are the factors relevant to urban form which might contribute to people's experience of social wellbeing. Such a conceptual framework, which has been adopted in a range of other SIAs and social research contexts in New Zealand in recent years²

¹ i.e. adverse effects of activities on the environment, where "environment" is defined to include "people and communities", "amenity values" and "the social, economic, aesthetic, and cultural conditions which affect the various elements of the environment or are affected by them. (RMA, 1991, s2).

²e.g. social assessment carried out on a Structure Plan proposal in North Shore City in 2007; social analyses carried out for assessing the social implications of commercial retail strategy development in Christchurch City between 2003 and 2005; social assessment carried out for Variation 86 to the Christchurch City Plan (2007).

comes from social indicators work in the OECD³ and closely parallels the framework adopted by the Ministry of Social Development.⁴ The OECD study identified key areas of social life which shape wellbeing.

3.3 Elements likely to be of most relevance to this strategic social assessment include consideration of:

- (a) **the state of physical and mental health** - in this case influenced by consideration of access to primary health services within a town centre as well as consideration of the way urban form and planning support the development of healthy, active lifestyles and reduced levels of reliance on motorised transport;
- (b) **the quality of housing, shelter, neighbourhood and living place** - in this case influenced by the role of town centres in supporting the future development of higher-density residential living within walkable distances from civic and commercial amenities;
- (c) **opportunities for income, employment and the quality of working life** - in this case influenced by the role of centres as focal points for substantial levels of employment in a variety of occupations;
- (d) **opportunities for leisure and recreation⁵, time to enjoy them, and access to quality outdoors/open space** - in this case influenced by the provision of retail space with high amenity values as well as specific leisure-related venues within centres, and the relationship between the centres and public open space;
- (e) **access to public facilities, transport, communications, and access to goods and services** - in this case influenced by access to shops and transport connections within or adjacent to centres and corridors;

³OECD, 1998. Living Conditions in OECD Countries: a compendium of social indicators. OECD Social Policy Studies No.5. Paris.

⁴Ministry of Social Development, 2003. The Social Report 2003: Indicators of social wellbeing in New Zealand. Wellington.

⁵Indeed, NZ research indicates that shopping is ranked highly as a recreation activity by New Zealanders. A survey conducted by the Hillary Commission found that shopping centres were the most popular leisure facilities used by respondents during the previous four weeks (56%). Source: Wilson N, Russell D, and Paulin J, 1990. *Life in New Zealand: Summary Report*, prepared for the Hillary Commission for Recreation & Sport, Wellington. p.75.

- (f) **the quality of the physical environment, a clean environment with aesthetic appeal** - in this case influenced by overall design parameters for centres and corridors, the provision of public open spaces within centres and corridors, and the level of emissions from various fossil-fuelled transport options;
- (g) **influences on family life, social attachment, social contact, interaction and support** - in this case influenced by opportunities for social interaction within centres and corridors, both in commercial spaces such as cafes, public open spaces and leisure venues, as well as access to social support services that might be located within or nearby;
- (h) **influences on participation in community and society, including participation in organised groups and social activities** - in this case influenced by the provision of community facilities which facilitate group activities, as well as the role of town centres in providing a sense of identity for their surrounding residential communities, and the protection and enhancement of features of cultural heritage in the existing built environment;
- (i) **influences on personal safety, public safety, autonomy or freedom from too much risk** - in this case influenced by provision for safe access between centres or corridors and their neighbouring residential areas, as well as by design attributes and by security arrangements within centres and corridors.

3.4 In conducting this SIA, consideration was given to whether or not the Joint Councils' Position, which seeks to reinforce the social roles of centres, is likely to have consequential effects on any of these areas of social life, and for which 'demographic' communities of interest this is most likely to effect. I will therefore re-visit these elements contributing to social wellbeing in my evaluation in section 6 of my evidence.

3.5 I understand that the Joint Councils' Position gives unambiguous priority to High Density Centres as the preferred location of new commercial/retail investments, but also acknowledges the role of Intensive Corridors and other locations. It is important to acknowledge the possibility that some social benefits are likely to arise from any new commercial/retail investment that caters to unmet demand or

provides increased choice. However, in my opinion, the critical resource management issue requiring assessment in the context of Proposed Change 6 to the ARPS is not whether an additional increment of commercial/retail investment will create social benefits for some people per se. The critical resource management issue requiring assessment is whether the location of such an additional increment of commercial/retail investment makes a difference to the quantum and distribution of resulting social benefits and costs. This resource management issue requires the adoption of an appropriate framework for assessment that addresses locational alternatives explicitly.

Social assessment information sources

3.6 Social assessment typically involves the use of a variety of assessment activities and access to a variety of information sources including quantitative, qualitative and spatial data.

3.7 In this case, these include:

- (a) comparison case knowledge and evidence - sourced from assessment activities on cases, particularly in Auckland, but also in Christchurch and several regional New Zealand settings;⁶
- (b) analysis of census demographic data, spatial data and trend data around 10 existing centres in Auckland, and similar data sets from Christchurch;
- (c) interviews with 40 'social service' providers located in or adjacent to 3 existing centres in Auckland, and similar interviews with 44 'social service' providers located in or adjacent to 3 existing centres in Christchurch;
- (d) direct observations of urban form around existing centres; and
- (e) links to the evidence of other experts whose analysis is relevant to a consideration of social amenity, including the evidence of:

- Mr Abley - transport;

- Mr Mackay - urban form;
- Mr Tansley - retail;
- Mr Heath - retail; and
- Mr Osborne – economics.

3.8 The body of information on which this assessment is based incorporates elements of expressed values⁷, observed behaviours⁸ and effects experienced.⁹

4 STATUTORY CONTEXT

The Resource Management Act

4.1 I have already pointed out the relevance of section 5 of the RMA for mandating consideration of factors relevant to social wellbeing.

4.2 Section 7 of the RMA sets out concepts to which decision makers “*shall have particular regard*”. I comment on each of those as follows:

“(b) efficient use and development of natural and physical resources” - there can be social equity considerations in assessments of efficient use; e.g. if walking and public transport are made less accessible options for certain groups of people to access basic retailing or essential services, particularly in situations where they have chosen to live in relatively close proximity to an established centre;

“(c) the maintenance and enhancement of amenity values” - indicates the significance of not allowing amenity values in existing centres to be undermined as a consequence of locational decisions for retail activity that are inconsistent with established public policy;

“(e) recognition and protection of the heritage values of sites, buildings, places or areas” - public buildings¹⁰ of long standing and with important social functions in urban or suburban communities can have their utility and amenity values undermined as a consequence of locational decisions for retail activity that

⁶Upper Hutt (2000); Gisborne (2004); Te Awamutu (2008)

⁷e.g. perceptions of locational advantage or disadvantage expressed by service providers.

⁸e.g. co-locational behaviour associated with business agglomeration and with social service locational choice; residents' locational choices in relation to existing centres; travel-to-work data.

⁹e.g. diversification of centre 'offer' with increasing scale in the hierarchy, travel options in relation to distance from centres; effects of out-of-centre supermarket development when a supermarket closes.

¹⁰Many heritage buildings are in existing centres

are inconsistent with established public policy; in other words, a special case of (c) above; and

"(f) *maintenance and enhancement of the quality of the environment*" - given the definition of 'environment', this is similar to (c) above.

The Local Government (Auckland) Amendment Act

4.3 The LGAAA requires *"the Auckland local authorities to change the policy statement and plans prepared under the Resource Management Act 1991 **to integrate the land transport and land use provisions** and make those provisions consistent with the Auckland Regional Growth Strategy."*¹¹

(Emphasis added)

4.4 Section 40(1) states:

"A land transport and land use change is a change or variation to an Auckland planning document by including issues, objectives, policies, and descriptions of methods for the purpose of -

(a) *giving effect, in an integrated manner, to the growth concept in the Auckland Regional Growth Strategy.....; and*

(b) *contributing in an integrated manner, to the matters specified in Schedule 5."*

4.5 From a social wellbeing perspective, the significance of a requirement to integrate land transport and land use provisions in policies and plans lies in the implications this has broadly for promoting accessibility to services and amenities. As I have pointed out at paragraph 3.3 above, accessibility to services and amenities is an important contributing factor underpinning social wellbeing.

4.6 These implications are potentially two-fold. First, the concept of integration suggests that aspects of location and spatial relationships between people's place of residence and places where they visit regularly for work, supplies of

¹¹LGAAA, 2004 s3(b)

goods and services, or recreation and leisure are an important dimension to be addressed in public policies and plans. Secondly, the fact that these matters are promoted in public policies and plans, provides a measure of certainty that such locational arrangements and spatial relationships will not be subject to unexpected and substantial change at the whim of individual land-owners. Rather, any departures from the central policy thrust will not be typical and will occur only after due consideration of effects in a resource consent proposal or preferably a plan change proposal. I will say more in section 7 of my evidence about what I consider to be an appropriate approach to the assessment of effects (including social effects) in such instances.

4.7 The social wellbeing implications discussed in the preceding paragraph are indeed reinforced explicitly in Schedule 5 of the LGAAA. Schedule 5 sets out matters that are to be addressed through this approach to integrated planning. The coverage of matters in Schedule 5 is sufficiently relevant to social wellbeing considerations that I have incorporated the complete text of Schedule 5 below, with emphases added to highlight social wellbeing considerations. Such matters include:

- “(a) providing **increased certainty** in the assessment of resource consents, designations, and plan changes related to **transport and urban form**, and ensuring that transport and land use patterns are **aligned to achieve sustainability, efficiency, and liveability** in the Auckland Region; and*
- (b) managing transport and transport infrastructure, **facilitating a multimodal transport network**, and facilitating integrated transport management; and*
- (c) reducing adverse effects of transport on the environment (including **improving air and water quality**, reducing **noise** and stormwater, **improving heritage protection** and **reducing community disruption** and transport land use), and reducing the adverse effects and increasing the positive interactions of transport and land use; and*
- (d) supporting compact **sustainable urban form** and sustainable urban **land use intensification** (including location, timing and sequencing issues, and associated **quality, character, and values of urban form and design**); and*

- (e) *integrating transport and land use policies to reinforce metropolitan urban and rural objectives of the Auckland Regional Policy Statement, the development of a competitive and efficient economy and a high quality of life, underpinned by a quality environment and amenity.”*

(Emphasis added)

- 4.8 My evidence will incorporate data analyses that demonstrate how patterns of land use and spatial relationships between various social activities (residency, work, shopping, other leisure activities) have occurred historically and how these activity patterns relate to the pattern of existing centres and their urban form. I will include compositional analysis of centres, co-location analysis in centres, demographic analysis around centres, travel-to-work patterns involving centres; and mixed-purpose visits to centres.

The Regional Growth Strategy

- 4.9 The Foreword to the Auckland Regional Growth Strategy (**ARGS**) states:

*“The Regional Growth Strategy sets out a vision for the future and provides certainty as to the outcomes Aucklanders want to achieve as the region grows and develops. The vision and desired outcomes **provide certainty** that future regional growth, in whatever form, will promote:*

- **safe, healthy communities**
- **diversity of employment and business opportunities**
- **housing choices**
- **high amenity of urban environments**
- *the protection and maintenance of the character of the region’s natural environment*
- *sustainable use and protection of the region’s resources (including infrastructure) and*
- **efficient access to activities and appropriate social infrastructure for all.”**

(Emphasis added)

- 4.10 As the added emphasis indicates, positive social outcomes are a pervasive theme of the ARGS.

4.11 Chapter 2, Table 2 of the ARGS summarises desired regional outcomes, emphasising many social outcomes which underpin social wellbeing, as discussed earlier at paragraph 1.15:

- *“more transport choices and high levels of access for all sections of the community”;*
- *“a closer relationship between home and work, activities, shopping, open space etc.”;*
- *“managing traffic congestion and a better passenger transport system”;*
- *“air quality is maintained where it is good and improved in areas where it is now degraded”;*
- *“more efficiency in use of natural and physical resources, including urban land, rural land, infrastructure and energy resources”;*
- *“more employment choices everywhere”;*
- *“better match of employment to population in different parts of region”;*
- *“higher quality urban amenity particularly business, residential, shopping and public space areas (more trees, better streetscape, better urban design etc.);*
- *safer, healthier communities”;*
- *“high-quality readily accessible community facilities and services publicly and privately provided (e.g. libraries, sporting facilities, schools, stadia, theatres, cafes, gyms etc.)”;*
- *“improved housing choice and affordability throughout the region”;*
- *“protection and enhancement of cultural heritage”;* and
- *“a greater range and diversity of protected open space”.*

4.12 Most of these social outcomes are also linked to the role, nature and vitality of commercial centres within the overall urban form. I will refer to this again in section 6 of my evidence when discussing the role of centres in underpinning social amenity at paragraphs 6.27 and 6.28.

4.13 Table 2 states another relevant outcome: improved opportunities for businesses (business growth, development opportunities, affordable and suitable land and infrastructure). As I will note in section 7, when discussing Proposed Change 6 to the ARPS, an important assumption underpinning the Proposed Change 6 to the ARPS is that Territorial Authorities will provide a range of adequate areas of suitably zoned land to meet commercial demand.

4.14 The ARGS (Figure 2, p.21) then identifies three themes:

- Desirable Communities Optimised¹²;
- Accessibility Optimised¹³; and
- Natural & Physical Environment Optimised¹⁴

4.15 I interpret the theme “Accessibility Optimised” to reflect the importance embodied within the ARGS to locations for business zoned land: adequate amounts in locations which optimise access for all sections of the community and multi-modal transport efficiency.

4.16 Chapter 3 of the ARGS discusses applying the community, accessibility, and environmental principles and illustrating them with “a Growth Concept”. It states¹⁵ that:

“Most urban growth is focused around centres of varying sizes and major passenger transport routes, such as town centres along the western, eastern and southern passenger transport corridors. The Growth Concept places much less emphasis on general suburban infill as a way of accommodating growth and focuses more on redevelopment and intensification in specific areas.

Some growth would be accommodated in future urban areas (known as greenfield areas) in the north, south and west of the region. Greenfield areas include: Takanini, East Tamaki, Hingaia, Westgate/Redhills, Albany, Greenhithe, Long Bay and Orewa/Silverdale.”

4.17 Thus the ARGS establishes the priorities for the future development of urban form that have come to be referred to by the short-hand phrase, “a centres-plus approach” to managing urban growth. This approach gives a priority or preference to consolidation of existing centres and corridors, but allows for some future growth outside existing centres in areas of growth not so well serviced by existing centres. It can be said to support the maintenance and enhancement of established commercial or town centres and to discourage development outside

¹²Incorporating the outcomes of Safe, healthy communities, Social infrastructure, Housing choice, Heritage, Cultural Identity.

¹³Incorporating the outcomes of Access & transport efficiency, Business Opportunity & Employment.

¹⁴Incorporating the outcomes of Open Space and Physical Infrastructure.

of those centres, particularly retail activities that would generate high volumes of traffic movement away from established activity patterns:

“The Growth Concept is based on compact urban environments. This means where urban growth occurs, whether as part of the existing metropolitan urban area, a satellite town, or rural or coastal town, it should result in a compact urban form to avoid spreading the effects of urbanisation over a greater area. The Growth Concept puts greater emphasis on urban intensification than urban expansion. However, some expansion opportunities are required to provide sufficient residential and business land capacity and locational choice. The Growth Concept emphasises the opportunities for more compact growth and integrated communities as the best way of meeting the regional vision and desired regional outcomes.”¹⁶

5 BACROUND TO THE MAIN SOCIAL ARGUMENTS FOR MANAGING COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION THROUGH THE CENTRES PLUS POLICY FRAMEWORK

Change is necessary

- 5.1 Cities have never exhibited amorphous, homogeneous patterns of development - there has always been some degree of structure in terms of spatial patterns and locational decisions.
- 5.2 Urban population growth in the Auckland region has traditionally resulted in low-density sprawl of residential and commercial/retail activities, based predominantly on car dependency.
- 5.3 Pressures of population growth, scarcity of land and transport fuel costs and environmental externalities are compelling individuals and councils to rethink the appropriateness of these spatial patterns.
- 5.4 Intensification of urban development is now accepted as essential - change is now widely accepted as necessary in the future patterns of residential and

¹⁵At pp.26-28.

¹⁶At p.28.

commercial/retail development in Auckland in the interests of the sustainable development of the City.

Existing and emerging behaviours

- 5.5 As urban residents seek to optimise their social amenity mix in the context of constrained but rapid population growth, certain patterns of locational behaviour are becoming evident - spatial clustering is already happening - close to existing centres, close to public transport connections and close to commercial/retail employment nodes.
- 5.6 This statement of evidence presents data on these patterns which demonstrate the extent to which such trends are occurring already and the potential for public policy to reinforce these patterns.
- 5.7 As commercial actors, particularly retailers, seek to cater to growing demand and optimise their market opportunities, they naturally tend to adopt clustering patterns, in which certain businesses act as 'anchors' because of the volume of customers and the frequency of visits that they generate. Such patterns occur in existing centres, in new centres, in dedicated Large Format Retail (**LFR**) retail parks and in other out-of-centre locations.
- 5.8 This statement of evidence presents data which distinguish these in terms of their relative contributions to social amenity and underpin the policy preferences contained in the Joint Council's Position.
- 5.9 A requirement to locate all anchor stores in a centre is more constraining on the options of this category of retailer than it is for others, because it is the retail category which is most able to maintain business viability in stand-alone situations. In effect, anchor stores are capable of taking their customer catchments with them. They do not rely to the same extent on having other businesses around them and out-of-centre opportunities can often be advantageous from their perspective. These are the out-of-centre developments which have the greatest potential adverse impacts on existing centres in certain circumstances. However, such developments, particularly extensive, single-storey LFR with extensive, single-storey, at-grade car park areas, reflect the historical approach of low-density spread and car dependency.

- 5.10 As providers of social and community services seek to cater to community needs, they rely on the advantages of co-location to promote their accessibility. Typically they rely, at least in part, on a legacy of premises and facilities in older centres as the physical base for service provision. In new centres, they tend to rely more heavily on the private sector or councils, or a combination of the two, to provide premises and facilities which enable service provision.
- 5.11 This statement of evidence presents data which demonstrate the importance of co-location in and around commercial centres as an important basis for social infrastructure in urban communities.

Policy preferences which retain choice

- 5.12 Proposed Change 6 to the ARPS is a policy which seeks to guide the locational choices of urban residents and commercial actors in ways which will contribute most effectively to the social wellbeing of urban communities in the future. Proposed Change 6 to the ARPS does this by promoting policy preferences which reinforce existing and emerging patterns and trends that are specifically aligned with urban intensification.
- 5.13 The policies in Proposed Change 6 to the ARPS do not eliminate choice in residential or retail preferences, rather they give specific preference to higher-density options than existed under historical policy settings. The Joint Councils' Position maintains ultimate flexibility of locational choice for commercial/retail developers subject to satisfactory effects assessments.

6 THE MAIN SOCIAL ARGUMENTS FOR MANAGING COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION THROUGH THE CENTRES PLUS POLICY FRAMEWORK

- 6.1 The main social arguments for managing commercial distribution through the Centres Plus policy framework are as follows:
- (a) historical patterns in retail distribution;
 - (b) established spatial and demographic patterns;
 - (c) the role of centres in providing function and social amenity;

- (d) the importance of centres for co-location;
- (e) differential impacts on sectors of society: social equity considerations;
- (f) the adverse effects of extreme cases; and
- (g) public v private-sector policy perspectives.

6.2 I now deal with each of these in turn.

Historical patterns in retail distribution

6.3 New Zealand has little experience of high-density, mixed use centres and even less experience of intensive corridors. These are concepts which are being promoted as part of the Auckland region's growth concept and improved integration of land use and transport planning for the future.

6.4 In New Zealand, land-use planning for commercial activities has traditionally focussed commercial and particularly retail activities into specific, single-use zones. Typically, these single-use zones correspond to centres of varying sizes in a hierarchy including the CBD, sub-regional centres, district centres and neighbourhood centres. More recently, large-format or bulk retailing centres have been added to the taxonomy of such locations. There have also been occasions when large anchor store developments - typically supermarkets - have been allowed to establish in stand-alone locations (e.g. College Hill, Greenlane, Wairau Park). These have tended to be non-complying developments, which have found favour in response to suggested high levels of unmet demand for such retail outlets.

6.5 Large-format retail centres or stand-alone supermarkets have often been located in close proximity to major roads, relying predominantly on and indeed necessitating private motor vehicle access.

6.6 Such developments promote private vehicle use. During planning processes for such developments, the focus on traffic assessments has been primarily on technical capacity for vehicles and efficiency aspects related to the road infrastructure. Broader amenity issues relevant to the concept of intensive corridors, such as the implications for other modes of transport and pedestrian amenity, and broader resource-use efficiency issues, such as the relative

resource costs of private cars versus public transport, have in some cases received little, if any, attention.

6.7 Such a pattern of commercial development is not unique to Auckland. Nor is such a pattern as well aligned as it could be with the Growth Concept's vision of more compact urban form and the three priority themes of desirable communities, improved accessibility and the maintenance and enhancement of the natural and physical environment.

6.8 The social arguments for managing retail distribution focus on a series of inter-related issues:

- (a) existing centres are part of established spatial patterns of social activity, reflecting a mix of private and public investments and locational decisions by many people;
- (b) commercial activities in centres, particularly retail activities involving frequent and regular visits, underpin both functional and social amenity and the mutually reinforcing combination of private and public investment in centres is essential to this function;
- (c) the co-location of public, private and community facilities is a feature of urban form that is important and beneficial to the wellbeing of many urban residents;
- (d) unexpected changes in urban form - specifically related to the location of unanticipated, out-of-centre retail nodes - have disproportionate impacts on different sectors of the community;
- (e) although extreme cases of community dis-enablement as a result of unanticipated, out-of-centre developments do not occur often, available social evidence demonstrates that this is not a fanciful notion; and
- (f) it is important to keep in mind the contrasting perspectives of public policy planning and private investment planning.

Established spatial and demographic patterns

- 6.9 Single purpose land-use zoning has been a predominant characteristic for a long time in New Zealand. Most commercial/retail activity has traditionally been located on land zoned for such uses. Exceptions to this norm¹⁷ that have been increasing in number in recent years have tended to be in response to shortages of suitably zoned land, relative to perceived demand¹⁸, lower land and development costs outside centres because of this shortage, or in some cases a perception that the commercial activity was not markedly different in nature and scale from surrounding residential activity¹⁹. Most residential development has traditionally been located on land zoned specifically for such use.
- 6.10 Thus, for a long time, zoning provided a degree of certainty regarding where particular types of commercial or retail activity would locate, although the level of certainty has been eroded progressively because of the increasing number of exceptions. These historical ‘certainties’ have influenced people to varying degrees in their decisions on where to locate their place of residence by their perception (even experience) of the accessibility to centres-based amenities.

Spatial clustering behaviour:

- 6.11 Evidence for such spatial patterns of locational preference has been assembled for residential populations in the vicinity of 10 established centres in the Auckland region.²⁰ Data have been assembled which demonstrate a degree of preferential clustering around centres for households with no private car and for residents who travel to work using modes other than the private car. Spatial concentrations are also evident of residents aged 65 years and older, a particular demographic which is expected to grow at rates faster than the average population growth rate over the period of the Regional Growth Strategy. Comparisons are made between the walking neighbourhoods of the 10 established centres and the walking neighbourhoods of two stand-alone supermarkets and two transport corridors. These data are presented in the following Table.

¹⁷i.e. commercial or retail activities establishing not on business zoned land

¹⁸e.g. commercial activities such as private medical practices, motels or child-care facilities.

¹⁹e.g. small child-care facilities or medical rooms occupying what had previously been residential dwellings.

²⁰A map showing the selection of centres and colour-coding the areas analysed is provided in **Appendix A**. Results of the quantitative analysis are provided in **Appendix B** at two levels of detail. The simplest level of analysis identifies % of usually resident population with certain demographic attributes living within ~800m of the centre. The more detailed level of analysis differentiates between people living in the immediate vicinity of commercial activities (commercial meshblocks), those living further away from the commercial centre but still within ~800m of the centre, and those living in the remainder of the related Census Area Units.

Table 1: Observed clustering behaviour

	%HH no car	Relative to regional average	% Bus or Train work	Relative to regional average	%65+ years	Relative to regional average
<i>Supermarket-based centres</i>						
Glenfield	9.4	+	7.8	+	12.6	+
Sunnynook	9.8	+	6.9	+	16.6	+
New Lynn	10.3	+	13.4	+	7.7	-
Milford	10.8	+	6.1	+	24.6	+
Birkenhead	7.7	+	11.0	+	10.9	+
Northcote	15.6	+	6.7	+	14.6	+
Royal Oak	15.3	+	8.9	+	17.0	+
Pakuranga	10.3	+	5.6	+	14.2	+
Botany Town	2.9	-	2.7	-	10.5	+
Mangere	11.7	+	4.8	-	7.0	-
<i>Stand-alone supermarkets</i>						
College Hill	11.0	+	4.7	-	8.7	-
Greenlane	5.6	-	8.5	+	6.6	-
<i>Transport corridors</i>						
Dominion Road	9.5	+	12.0	+	6.2	-
Manukau Road	8.2	+	7.3	+	12.1	+
Auckland Region (Average)	7.0		5.4		9.9	

6.12 The data in Table 1 show that the percentages of usually resident populations living within walking distance of the 10 centres generally rank higher than in the regional population, for the variables examined. These sub-populations living close to the centres generally have higher proportions of households without cars (9 cases out of 10), higher proportions using public transport to go to work (8 cases out of 10) and higher proportions of elderly people (8 cases out of 10) than the region as a whole. The data in Table 1 also reveal above-average concentrations of carless households and above-average concentrations of residents who usually take a bus or train to work living within walking distance of the two major transport corridors analysed.

- 6.13 Data²¹ from several previous research activities in Auckland and Christchurch demonstrate relatively high proportions of those who “usually walk” to their nearest supermarket, amongst those who live within walking distance; in other words, distance does influence observed behaviours.
- 6.14 A more fine-grained analysis was also carried out for the sub-populations living within walking distance of these centres, as described in detail in **Appendices C and D**. These finer-grained analyses reinforce the observed patterns of locational choice when comparing sub-populations living within walking distance of the selected centres with the broader residential areas covered by the associated Census Area Units (Census AUs) for car-less households, for public transport commuters, for all non-private-car commuters, and for older residents. The clustering behaviour is evident consistently.

Travel-to-work patterns - residence to work place:

- 6.15 Another data set which provides information on spatial relationships is the data assembled by Statistics NZ from the census, on travel-to-work: relating people’s location of residence to their location of employment. The analysis I report here is based on the same area definitions used previously for the demographic analyses described above.
- 6.16 This analysis suggests that existing centres, with their mix of occupational opportunities, are likely to be more successful in making employment more accessible to nearby residents than more narrowly-focussed commercial areas such as those based around stand-alone supermarkets. In the case of the 10 centres analysed, the data²² indicates that on average 20% of people working in a centre lived in the nearby residential areas²³, whilst the corresponding figure for the two stand-alone supermarket locations was 10%.

Recent residential growth trends around centres:

- 6.17 As a final piece of analysis on existing spatial patterns, it is useful to consider the extent to which the growth in usually resident population has taken place in proximity to existing centres in recent years. This is because any evidence of

²¹Refer to Tables B2 and B3 in **Appendix B**.

²²Refer to **Appendix E**.

²³The associated census AUs, as in **Appendix A**.

higher levels of growth compared to the surrounding population, and to the region as a whole, would suggest that centres already have a role in residential intensification.

- 6.18 In 7 out of the 10 cases analysed, the inter-census data²⁴ (2001-2006) confirm this trend. Two of the 10 centres stand out in this regard²⁵: Botany Town and New Lynn. The former is a new, planned town centre designed to cater for a rapidly growing population around it, while the latter is a much older centre, acting as a major commercial, transport and growth node. For the core residential areas near to these two centres, population growth rates in the period 2001-2006 have far out-stripped the regional average. Several other medium and small-sized centres - Sunnynook, Milford, Birkenhead, and Pakuranga - exhibit residential intensification in their nearby core areas, relative to the broader residential areas. Mangere and Northcote show no evidence of intensification either in comparison to the surrounding population areas or to the regional population growth. Neither transport corridor shows a strong level of intensification compared to the regional average.
- 6.19 I note a similar analysis carried out in Christchurch with population data for 2001 and 2006. Some time ago, the Christchurch City Council implemented zoning provisions²⁶ to encourage residential intensification around certain existing centres (B2 zones) as community focal points. Census data²⁷ provides evidence that these provisions have indeed started to produce the intended outcomes and some residential intensification occurred over the inter-censal period 2001-2006.
- 6.20 Such trends make it all the more important that the status of existing centres are protected and enhanced. The policies for residential intensification around existing shopping centres which act as community focal points and the centres-based policies to guide locational patterns of commercial and retail development are complementary and intended to be mutually dependent.
- 6.21 The evidence presented in this section demonstrates the importance that urban residents already attach to established centres. This reflects established

²⁴Refer to **Appendix F**.

²⁵For the residential areas around Botany Town centre the growth rate (2001-2006) was 37% while for New Lynn the growth rate was 25%. These rates compare with a regional average population growth rate over the period of 12%.

²⁶Living 1 (L1) zones are the historical standard urban residential zones while Living 3 (L3) are zones which permit higher residential densities.

²⁷Detailed data are contained in **Appendix G**.

locational relationships which enable communities, and certain groups within those communities, to provide for their social, cultural and economic wellbeing.

- 6.22 These spatial patterns and trends in observed behaviour have occurred already. In my opinion, they are the kinds of patterns that the ARGS seeks to encourage. Furthermore, it can be expected that the Joint Councils' Position would provide additional encouragement by providing a higher level of certainty that the existing patterns of urban development will not be undermined in future by ad hoc commercial land-use decisions.

The role of centres in providing functional and social amenity

- 6.23 Having established some empirical facts about the locational choices that urban residents' make, I will now discuss the role of centres in providing functional and social amenity for urban residents.
- 6.24 Our firm has undertaken comprehensive research in New Zealand on social aspects of retail development, the relationships between shopping centres and their host communities, and the effects of retail development on the social and economic environment. This research²⁸, which I supervised, has included comparison between the New Zealand experience and international literature on these topics.
- 6.25 Our own research and the wider literature confirm that shopping in a society such as New Zealand is both a social and an economic process. Spaces developed in the built environment for shopping reflect both social and economic needs. They are places to recreate, exercise and socialise, as well as to purchase goods and services. The research shows that integrated centres are a focus for the suburb or suburbs that they serve, with a variety of shops, services and other amenities located in close association with retail facilities. The extent of the variety depends generally on the scale of the centre. Overall, these shopping centres are a focus for community life and people visit them for a large number of reasons in addition to shopping.
- 6.26 Centres deliver functional and social amenity to their urban communities. I will elaborate on both these terms.

²⁸ McClintock, W., Morgan, B., Buckenham, B., Taylor, C.N. and Baines, J.T. 2001. *Host Communities: Siting and*

6.27 **Functional amenity** is gained through a centre providing convenient access to a range of goods and services in a convenient and efficient manner. As cities have grown in population, a hierarchy of centres has emerged, which display differences in diversity and function. Smaller centres cater primarily for convenience needs (day-to-day essential consumption) while larger centres may cater to a mix of convenience and comparison shopping (discretionary or infrequent purchases) and other commercial services. There can also be a sense of hierarchy within shopping centres where so-called ‘anchor stores’ play a vital role in providing core customer attraction around which other retailing activity agglomerates, thereby adding to the functional amenity of the centre. Within the functional role, there is a mix of competition and synergy in retail and commercial activities and services²⁹, including opportunities for deliberate co-location. Convenient access for multiple modes of transport³⁰ enhances functional amenity. Advantages of concentrating services at a number of centres include the opportunity to compare and choose between similar goods or services on offer; the travel time to access a range of goods and services is reduced; the consumers of goods and services converge at one location; and the efficiency of delivery of goods and services is maximised.

6.28 **Social amenity** is gained through a centre providing convenient locations for people to access a variety of recreational and socialising venues, including public open space, in physical surroundings that are pleasant and safe. Convenient access to personal and household services, such as medical centres and creches are other potentially important elements of social amenity. Furthermore, social amenity is enhanced in centres which allow people to access consumption, service and leisure activities in an integrated way. This occurs through opportunities for deliberate co-location of social and community services (public or voluntary), about which I will say more in the next section of my evidence, and leisure and entertainment activities to take advantage of the numbers of people visiting and the frequency of their visits. On another level, social amenity relates to people’s perceptions of a centre in the wider urban area, and includes people’s sense of place (community identity), and the order and stability that derive from a sense of place, frequently visited and familiar. It derives from a physical base for

Effects of Facilities – Large Retail Developments, Sector Review. Working Paper FS23, prepared under Public Good
²⁹i.e. social services have a functional role (access to and delivery of service) as well as a social role (social outcomes of a service).

³⁰e.g. ease of parking for those who travel by car (also perhaps clean, well-lit, covered parking); proximity to public transport routes and stops; safe pedestrian access ways, etc.

community life enabling participation and involvement, with spatial organisation and urban form that provides a suitable environment for leisure and social interaction. Retail shopping is indeed ranked highly as a recreation activity by New Zealanders³¹. Finally, we must not forget that commercial centres are also centres of employment, where the diversity of occupational opportunity depends on the scale of the centre.

6.29 Within the context of the social analysis framework I described earlier, I make the following observations -

- (a) functional and social amenity are closely inter-related in commercial centres;
- (b) functional and social amenity combine to contribute to the social wellbeing of those communities served by the commercial centres; and
- (c) the vitality of commercial centres (reflecting diversity of offer as well as accessibility and utilisation) underpins the extent of social wellbeing generated.

6.30 Our research in Auckland and Christchurch indicates that the links between commercial centres and social wellbeing exist across the entire spectrum of centres - that all commercial centres have some role in contributing social wellbeing to their communities. In general terms, the diversity and extent of social wellbeing contributions increases across the spectrum from local to district or sub-regional centres.³²

³¹A survey conducted by the Hillary Commission (Wilson, Russell & Paulin 1990, *Life in New Zealand: Summary Report*; Hillary Commission for Recreation & Sport. p. 75) found that shopping centres were the most popular leisure facilities used by respondents during the previous four weeks (56 per cent), followed by visits to the beach/river (52 per cent) and restaurants (46 per cent).

³²In local shopping centres, social wellbeing is gained primarily from access to a range of essential consumer goods in nearby and familiar surroundings, where the locality's amenity values remain predominantly residential in character, and access to the centre is relatively unconstrained by transportation options for most residents. Towards the other end of the spectrum - district centres - social wellbeing is gained in a variety of ways. Major convenience stores anchor a large variety of other retail activities, supporting comparison shopping, socialising and leisure venues. They may include enclosed malls which offer controlled environmental conditions, safe environments for a range of ages, and relatively high degrees of social interaction. At the extreme end of the spectrum - sub-regional centres or the regional centre (i.e. the CBD) - social wellbeing is gained through the greatest variety of contributions - access to comparison shopping as well as comparison leisure outlets; access to a wide range of government services; access to major public facilities and historical sites, and also the one area of the City where the design of public open spaces within the commercial centre has long been the focus of council planning. Within the CBD, amenity values are conducive to mixed uses, while access is generally gained via private cars, taxis and buses, for those who live close to established radial bus routes.

- 6.31 In terms of empirical data, compositional analysis of existing centres tells us something about the diversity of offer that is available and how this tends to differ between integrated centres and ad hoc, out-of-centre commercial developments or LFR business parks. Mr Osborne has telephone survey data which quantifies the level of value that urban residents attach to some of their existing centres and he discusses this in his evidence.
- 6.32 In July 2009, field observations were made to allow compositional analyses³³ for 4 existing centres in the Auckland region and two stand-alone supermarket neighbourhoods. These analyses demonstrate the substantially greater functional amenity³⁴ of centres, and the substantially greater social amenity³⁵ of centres, as summarised in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Comparison of scale and contribution to functional and social amenity (July 2009)

Attribute for comparison	4 supermarket-based centres	2 stand-alone supermarket neighbourhoods
Ave. # of anchor stores	4	1
Ave # of general retail goods outlets	118	17
Ave # of general retail services	37	13
Ave # of commercial/financial services	24	19
Ave # of health-related services	17	7
Ave # of eating/drinking venues	26	5
Ave # of entertainment or recreational venues	3	1

- 6.33 The data suggests that wherever anchor store developments occur, there is scope and a tendency for retail agglomeration and diversification to occur, irrespective of the scale of the shopping precinct.³⁶ Nevertheless, there appears to be a strong correlation between the overall scale of retailing activity and the capacity to provide a significant social role.
- 6.34 These 2009 observations in Auckland reinforce the findings of similar analyses in Auckland and Christchurch carried out in 2002, details of which are provided in **Appendix H.**³⁷

³³Details can be found in **Appendix H** at Table H1.

³⁴i.e. covers more categories of retailing and commercial services and much greater choice within each category.

³⁵i.e. presence and diversity of social services, socialising venues and entertainment or recreational venues.

³⁶Even neighbourhood or local shopping centres can and do include medical centres, bars, cafes or restaurants.

³⁷Tables H2, H3 and H4.

6.35 This earlier research also provides some insights into the extent to which near neighbours of existing centres value their centre “as a place to meet friends or family or to socialise.” These are explicit expressions of social amenity values. Once again, they point to a trend between centre scale and level of social amenity, as indicated in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Comparison of scale and user rating of social amenity

Centre	Level in centre hierarchy	Collective rating on a scale of 1-5 ³⁸
Newmarket (Akld) ³⁹	sub-regional	3.4
St Lukes (Akld)	sub-regional	2.6
Glenfield (NS) ⁴⁰	district	2.7
Ferrymead (Chch)	suburban	2.6
St Martins (Chch)	neighbourhood	1.8

6.36 The evidence presented in this section illustrates how and to what extent centres provide functional and social amenity.

The importance of centres for co-location

6.37 The discussion at paragraphs 6.11-6.22 of my evidence focussed on the observed behaviours of urban residents and their locational decisions in relation to centres and corridors. I now wish to direct attention to empirical data about the observed behaviours and values of a range of social and community service providers⁴¹.

6.38 The Auckland data comes from 40 interviews carried out by me and my research colleagues in July 2009 with social and community service providers located in or nearby 3 centres - New Lynn, Pakuranga and Botany Town Centre. The findings correspond well to the findings of similar research in Christchurch in 2002.

6.39 The evidence in **Appendix I** demonstrates how important centres are to the provision of social infrastructure and the effective provision of many social and community services. The evidence also suggests scope for improving the design

³⁸On this 5-point scale, 1 means “not important at all” while 5 means “very important”

³⁹Data for Newmarket and St Lukes comes from customer exit surveys

⁴⁰Data for Glenfield, Ferrymead and St Martins comes from interviews with nearby residents.

⁴¹Detail is provided in **Appendix I**.

and layout of centres in order to improve their functionality and amenity values for both customers and service providers alike.

6.40 In relation to the issues facing provision of social infrastructure and the associated investments in community facilities, I believe it is important to bear in mind differences between past and future circumstances. Typically in long-standing centres, access to community facilities has relied, at least in part, on a legacy of premises and facilities owned by various community organisations or local Councils as the physical bases for service provision. In new centres, there tends to be more heavy reliance on the private sector or Councils, or a combination of the two, to provide access to premises and facilities which enable service provision.

Differential impacts on sectors of society: social equity considerations

6.41 Mr Heath, in his evidence, has used his simulation model to explore several scenarios of the pattern of future retail development across the Auckland region. In Table 5 of Mr Heath's evidence he summarises the model outputs indicating the likely retail distributional effects which could be expected to occur in future under two sets of assumptions: with 50% of future retail growth accommodated out-of-centre or with 75% of future retail growth accommodated out-of-centre. He describes in paragraphs 13.2 and 13.3 how some existing centres are likely to experience more severe trade impacts than others. I note that one centre singled out for mention in this regard in his paragraph 13.3 is New Lynn, which I have already pointed out (my para.6.18 above) is one of several centres which attracted well above the regional average of residential growth nearby in the period 2001 to 2006. In my opinion, this association between established residential intensification trend and vulnerability to distributional trade impacts for a centre like New Lynn highlights the importance of Proposed Change 6 to the ARPS and the Joint Councils' Position.

6.42 While Mr Heath's Table 5 indicates an overall average % trade impact on the retail function of existing centres,⁴² in my opinion it is more important to examine the spread of individual centre impacts as Mr Heath has done in his paragraphs 13.2 and 13.3. Each centre's experience of the impact of out-of-centre competition will be unique. Thus the potential social effects of the declining

⁴²-15% for the 50% out-of-centre scenario and -23% for the 75% out-of-centre scenario.

amenity values, which Mr Heath describes at his paragraphs 13.5 and 13.6 will also be unique to their localities. The fact that some centres are not expected to experience substantial adverse distributional effects should not mask the fact that others can expect more substantial adverse impacts.

- 6.43 Mr Heath's modelling indicates that the extent of adverse distributional impacts on existing centres increases as the proportion of "outside centre" retail development increases.
- 6.44 The reality of these retail distributional impacts manifests itself initially as a reduction in shopper/visitor numbers and a consequent reduction in retail expenditures at existing centres. If that reduction is significant enough over time that it results in reduced retail diversity and reduced levels of re-investment, then the centre will lose functional and social amenity. This loss will cause a corresponding loss in the capacity of the centre to contribute to the social wellbeing of all its users, but most particularly to the social wellbeing of those who have chosen to live in relatively close proximity to the affected centre, and for whom other retail locations are less accessible. Furthermore, the reduced number of people visiting the existing centre will result in fewer people using community facilities and other non-commercial services in the local area⁴³.
- 6.45 The gains and losses in social amenity that result from this distributed retailing effect are rarely zero-sum equations. Commercial centres which have been in existence for some time will generally have evolved a significant degree of co-location amongst retail, commercial, public and community facilities, as I described in the previous section of my evidence. Furthermore, the analysis presented earlier in my evidence shows the extent to which many existing centres have also attracted less mobile groups⁴⁴ of residents to co-locate nearby. Such groups are likely to be disproportionately affected by any decline in the level of social amenity associated with their centre because they are less able to access alternatives.
- 6.46 The broadest extent of such co-location is not easily or readily replaced at a completely new retail location, unless it is actively planned for with collaboration between private and public interests. Thus, a loss of functional amenity in

⁴³All these effects are evident in the Aranui case study, which I will refer to in the next section in my evidence and reproduce as **Appendix K**.

retailing at an existing centre (particularly if it is related to core convenience shopping such as basic supermarket shopping) is likely to result in loss of functional amenity and social amenity related to services and leisure activities which may not be substituted, either quickly or at all, at the new out-of-centre location.

6.47 Also, the gains and losses are rarely zero-sum equations in a social equity sense. There is no certainty and often little likelihood that the groups of people who benefit from distributional effects are the same as the groups of people who lose amenity and social wellbeing from the same distributional effects. While the former are likely to be better enabled to provide for their social wellbeing through the new retail development, the latter are conversely likely to be disabled. In many cases, the former are drawn from a wide area and are relatively indifferent to the precise location of the new retail offer. In contrast, the latter are part of an historical, local clustering around an existing centre; they are the people most affected by the precise location of the new retail offer.

6.48 The potential for the amenity and equity imbalances described above is generally avoided for an existing centre where the new retail activity is located within that centre, or as part of the contiguous expansion of the same centre. The imbalance may also be minimised where a new centre is appropriate in order to meet shopping needs not provided for in existing centres (e.g. large format/trade services, etc.) and where it is strictly limited to these sorts of retail activities,⁴⁵ or to meet increased demand from new areas of residential development (i.e. to meet overall growth in demand). This is because a new centre - under these circumstances - is not reliant on attracting customers who are already well served by their existing centres, most of whom are likely to continue patronising their existing centre. The increase in certainty offered by the preference given to centres should encourage future reinvestment in centres.

The adverse effects of extreme cases

6.49 Mr Heath's scenarios indicate that the adverse distributional effects of out-of-centre retail development can be very significant in some cases. The most extreme cases arise when an important anchor store closes, because its owner

⁴⁴Note that relative mobility might be a function of circumstances (e.g. cannot afford a car) or of choice (i.e. prefer not to own a car).

⁴⁵I note that, in practice, it is difficult to sustain such restrictions against the inventiveness of commercial investors.

makes a strategic decision to shift location⁴⁶ or because its own viability is thrown into question by the distributional impacts of the out-of-centre development. This is not a fanciful outcome. Sometimes it occurs precisely because the out-of-centre developer is the owner of the anchor store which closes.⁴⁷

6.50 I make these observations not in order to criticise the logical decisions of the supermarket owner, but merely to indicate that such outcomes are not fanciful. Nevertheless, they tend to be the more extreme cases.

6.51 The other point I wish to make in this regard is that there are practically no ex-post assessments of the social effects of such extreme distributional impacts. Nor, in my opinion, do the effects assessments typically prepared for resource management consent hearings address properly the issue, a matter I will return to in the next section of my evidence.

6.52 To conclude my discussion of the matter of ex-post assessments of actual effects, the one example that I am aware of is one that my firm carried out in 2007 when I was engaged by the Christchurch City Council, along with most of the other expert witnesses appearing in this case for the Auckland Regional Council, to prepare evidence for the Environment Court hearing of appeals on Variation 86.

6.53 The Aranui case study in Christchurch, summarised in **Appendix J**, documents the adverse social effects of a supermarket closure related directly to the granting of consents for an out-of-centre, stand-alone supermarket. The ex-post assessment of social effects demonstrated the extent to which the community of Aranui had been disenabled as a result of the out-of-centre supermarket development.

Public versus private-sector policy perspectives

6.54 When interpreting the role of centres, I believe it is important to remember that one's perspective is critical. Individual mall investors are primarily interested in maximising customer numbers to their tenants. Similarly, individual retailers are

⁴⁶An example I am familiar with from Christchurch would be the closure of the Belfast New World Supermarket and its relocation to residentially-zoned land adjacent to the Supa Centa at Northwood.

⁴⁷An example I am familiar with from Christchurch would be the closure of the Aranui New World Supermarket as a result of the opening of the Wainoni Pak'nSave supermarket on residentially-zoned land about 1km distant.

primarily interested in attracting customers to their shop. Not surprisingly therefore, mall investors and individual retailers will be interested in the Proposed Change 6 to the ARPS provisions for the way in which these provisions influence their ability to locate retail premises and position themselves to attract customers.

6.55 In contrast, the councils, with their statutory functions, are responsible for considering a range of different perspectives. Shopping is more than just an economic process; indeed, as I have already pointed out, retail shopping is ranked highly by New Zealanders as a recreational activity. Centres are more than just collections of retail outlets; they contribute to the social wellbeing of the communities they serve in a variety of ways. Hence their role as community focal points, which facilitate positive social participation and a sense of place and community identity. Thus councils must consider simultaneously the interests of investors, retailers, ratepayers and residents and the general public good.

6.56 Nevertheless, the Joint Councils' Position should not be viewed as anti-commercial. Its principal objective concerns the optimal location of retail investments and retail activities, not the level of demand for these.

6.57 In section 7 below, I will summarise the features of the Joint Councils' Position that are most relevant to a consideration of social wellbeing and social effects. I note that the Joint Councils' Position does not close the door on the future establishment of new commercial centres, which by definition must be outside existing centres. However, it does propose some sequential tests that any such application would have to address. These tests include the requirement for an assessment of effects.

7 THE JOINT COUNCILS' POSITION

7.1 The Joint Councils' Position is all about the importance of differentiated location and urban structure. In setting the overall policy context, Proposed Change 6 to the ARPS (at Section 2.3) articulates a number of preferred values and expectations relative to the general injunction that growth be managed by promoting quality, compact urban environments (intensification). These include:

- (a) most growth is contained within the existing metropolitan area (p.2-5, 2nd bullet);

- (b) most urban growth is focussed around High Density Centres and Intensive Corridors (p.2-5, 3rd bullet);
- (c) there is much less emphasis on accommodating growth through general infill in suburban areas (p.2-5, 4th bullet);
- (d) development is avoided in the most highly valued and sensitive natural areas and catchments (p.2-5, 7th bullet);
- (e) some expansion in new greenfield areas is necessary to provide sufficient land and locational choice for dwellings and businesses (p.2-6, 1st para.);
- (f) mixed-use development is already common in places like the CBD, Ponsonby, Newmarket, Newton, Takapuna and New Lynn (p.2-6, 3rd para.); and
- (g) it is important that more intensive types of employment development are located with better access to the public transport network (p.2-6, 3rd para.).

7.2 The framework provides a hierarchy of public policy preferences for the location of future increments to the region's commercial development. This framework and hierarchy of preferences is intended to inform the strategic decisions of commercial developers and Councils alike. In other words, it is incumbent upon Councils to ensure appropriate zoning for an adequate stock of a range of commercial land for development, bearing in mind this same hierarchy of public policy preferences. While Councils have this responsibility, I would not consider it consistent with the policy thrust if Councils were to discharge the responsibility in a manner which provided for substantial out-of-centre commercial development, particularly for retailing activities known to have high distributional effects. Furthermore, given the high levels of household debt in New Zealand, driven in part by expenditure on consumables, providing for all the under-supply of retail space would, in my opinion, not necessarily be entirely beneficial in social wellbeing terms. However, I understand that this situation has not been confirmed systematically across the region at the present time; that is to say, the investigations necessary to establish Schedule 1 have yet to be carried out.

- 7.3 I understand that the intent of Policy 2.6.5.11 is to ensure some flexibility in decision making is retained in the interim, while Local Authorities develop their components of Schedule 1.
- 7.4 The framework of priorities in Policy 2.6.5 introduces a sequence of comparative assessments ('sequential tests'). In order for these comparative assessments to be effective, I believe the nature of the assessment methodology requires attention. In my view, the comparative assessment methodology should address the issue of comparative locations explicitly, since the sequential tests referred to above are intended to inform a decision about the appropriate location of a commercial development, not a decision about the desirability of a commercial development per se.
- 7.5 As I will state in my conclusions, I support the Joint Councils' Position allowing flexibility of location for commercial development so long as, when the sequential tests are applied to consent applications or private plan change proposals, due consideration is given to the social impacts assessed in the appropriate manner.

8 EVALUATING THE SOCIAL WELLBEING OUTCOMES OF ADOPTING THE JOINT COUNCILS' POSITION

- 8.1 While the overall focus of this strategic assessment is the suite of policies summarised in paragraphs 5.2 and 5.3 above, given the nature of the appeals on the Joint Councils' Position, the main focus of this evaluation is on the strategic social wellbeing impacts of the policies which seek to influence the locational choice for future commercial (retail) development across the region.
- 8.2 In this section I will assess the social wellbeing implications of each of the policy elements contained in Policies 2.6.5.1 to 2.6.5.11. However, before doing so, I will draw together what I see as the more important conclusions from the empirical analyses I presented in Section 4 of my evidence. These are as follows:
- (a) established centres already act as focal points for residential intensification, but transport corridors are not yet exhibiting this pattern (para. 4.23-4.24);

- (b) policies on residential intensification and on preferences for retail location should be mutually reinforcing (para.4.26);
- (c) evidence has been presented that some urban residents already recognise the relative advantages of close proximity to an existing centre; their collective behaviour represents the kind of patterns which the Joint Councils' Position seeks to encourage (para.4.27-4.28)
- (d) levels of social wellbeing associated with commercial centres correlate to centre size; larger centres tend to provide greater levels of social amenity than smaller centres (para.4.37);
- (e) commercial centres are important to the provision of social infrastructure and social services through co-location (para.4.55);
- (f) the adverse distributional retail impacts are proportional to the degree of out-of-centre retail growth (para.4.58);
- (g) the adverse distributional effects on social wellbeing are generally not equitably distributed; the people who gain are often different from the people who lose (para.4.63); and
- (h) the potential for amenity and equity imbalances is generally avoided for an existing centre where the new retail activity is located within that centre, or as part of the contiguous expansion of the same centre, or as part of a new centre designed to meet increased demand from new areas of residential development, i.e. to meet overall growth in demand (para.4.64).

8.3 Taken together, the various data sets demonstrate that centres have a clear social role and generate social amenity that contributes to the social wellbeing of residents in their catchment, the people who work there, and the community groups and organisations which, in addition to retail and service functions, have been able to invest in premises and facilities that are conveniently located for their particular constituencies.

8.4 Tables 4 and 5 set out my assessment of the likely social wellbeing implications of adopting the Joint Councils' Position. Table 4 sets out the assessment in

terms of the various elements of urban form while Table 5 sets out the assessment in terms of the various individual policy statements.

Table 4: Assessment of social wellbeing implications of the Joint Councils' Position, by element of urban form

Element of urban form (from the Joint Councils' Position)	Social role within the growth concept	Social wellbeing effects of intensification	Assumptions/ comments
<p>High Density Centre</p> <p>means specific centres, as identified in Schedule 1 or in district plans, selected for urban intensification due to physical or locational characteristics that include the intensity of existing development, the locality's generation of, or association with, significant transport movements, and/or passenger transport nodes, and the locality's capacity for further growth. These localities are identified as the CBD, sub regional centres, and town centres, which are earmarked for higher density development. High Density Centres are higher density mixed use communities focussed on: a strong and diverse core of commercial activities which supports a wide range and high intensity of activities; and associated and supporting areas of higher density housing. Such centres have strong links with the public transport network and provide a wide range of community, recreational, social and other activities.</p>	<p>The primary area of focus for commercial/retail intensification supporting residential intensification in adjacent areas and encouraging residential development as part of compact mixed-use environments within the High Density centre itself.</p> <p>This element of urban form maximises mobility and access options to shops, services, workplaces and leisure venues for its urban residents through enhanced walkability and proximity to a passenger transport node, while still enabling the choice of private car use.</p>	<p>1) centre size and intensification will promote increased capacity and choice in accessible primary health services;</p> <p>2) urban intensification will promote the healthy walking option more often than is presently the case;</p> <p>3) the integrated development of commercial and residential areas in intensified forms will result in enhanced urban livability and access to the widest range of social amenities for a much larger proportion of the urban population than is presently the case;</p> <p>4) commercial intensification will create more employment opportunities that are accessible to nearby residents and is likely to increase the proportion of working people who work in their nearest centre;</p> <p>5) commercial intensification and increasing demand from adjacent intensified residential areas will result in an increased number and choice of leisure-related venues with more time to enjoy them because of reduced travel time;</p> <p>6) higher quality urban design will enhance the aesthetic appeal and open-space leisure experiences of more urban residents than is presently the case;</p> <p>7) centre size and intensification will promote improved accessibility to comparison shops and services and public facilities in the centre for people with all levels of mobility, whether physically or financially constrained;</p> <p>8) proximity to a public transport node will promote</p>	<p>1) Assumes high levels of urban design in the commercial core, in public open spaces, in road reserves and in the high-density residential areas adjacent to the centre.</p> <p>2) Assumes that intensified urban residential areas will accommodate households across the spectrum of financial circumstances.</p>

		<p>improved accessibility to many other parts of the City for more people with all levels of mobility than is presently the case;</p> <p>9) centre size and intensification will promote increased opportunities for social interaction and increased accessibility to a range of social services;</p> <p>10) since the legacy of premises and facilities in public or community ownership tends to be greatest in the larger, established centres, the priority given to HDCs will give greater certainty that such community infrastructure will maintain and enhance its utility and continue to support aspects of community participation;</p> <p>11) centre size and intensification will amplify the sense of identity for more people in the surrounding residential communities;</p> <p>12) increased residential populations and social activities by many groups within the HDC will improve experience of personal safety;</p> <p>13) the focus on HDC intensification adds an option to urban living that is not available to many in Auckland at the present time.</p>	
<p>Intensive Corridor</p> <p>means specific Corridors, as identified in Schedule 1 or in district plans, selected for urban intensification due to physical or locational characteristics that include the intensity of existing development, the locality's association with significant transport movements, and/or passenger transport nodes, and/or the locality's capacity for further growth. These localities are earmarked for higher density compact mixed use environments where these are compatible</p>	<p>The secondary focus for intensification emphasises aspects of residential and employment intensification of a more linear nature along each side of the Intensive Corridor. Retail and service development is limited to serving a localised convenience function.</p> <p>This element of urban form extends the total area of residential and employment intensification and enhances mobility</p>	<p>Given the more limited extent of mixed-used urban development envisaged, compared with that of a High Density Centre, the social wellbeing effects can be expected to a more limited extent. These are likely to focus on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - promoting the healthy walking option more often than is presently the case; - improved accessibility for more urban residents to convenience shops and services, including convenience health services; - improved accessibility to nearby employment opportunities; and - proximity to a major public transport route will promote improved accessibility to many 	<p>1) LFR retail does not displace the more people-intensive land uses in the immediate vicinity of Intensive Corridors.</p>

with the principal focus of the movement function of the corridor.	and access options for an increasing proportion of the urban population through proximity to public passenger transport services.	other parts of the City for more people with all levels of mobility than is presently the case.	
Neighbourhood Centre means small scale local centres the primary function of which is to meet the convenience commercial and/or social needs of the surrounding local community.	A much less important social role in the growth concept, with no significant changes in the intensity of residential or commercial development expected. However, the existing social role of access to convenience shops and services and utilisation of community facilities needs to be sustained against the potential distributional effects of development elsewhere.	Not changed by the Policy Framework	
Corridor means the Region's strategic and arterial road, bus, rail alignments, and adjoining land located adjacent to these corridors, which generally link the region's centres, and includes but is not limited to Intensive Corridors. Such corridors may have a range of functions, for example Public Transport and Freight.	No role for residential intensification. However, the sustained effectiveness of their transport function is important in terms of the accessibility to many other parts of the City.	Not changed by the Policy Framework	

Table 5: Assessment of social wellbeing implications of the Joint Councils' Position, by each specific element of policy

Policy #	Policy focus	Social wellbeing impacts	Assumptions
2.6.5.1	Urban intensification to be	1) Provides increased	1) Policy 2.6.5.1 refers to

	<p>encouraged in specified locations identified in Schedule 1</p>	<p>certainty for residents, commercial actors and providers of social/community services to make strategic decisions that underpin social wellbeing for all urban residents in the longer term.</p> <p>2) Likely to encourage improved access to a range of primary health services.</p> <p>3) Likely to encourage urban form that promotes walking as a component of healthy, urban active lifestyles.</p> <p>4) Likely to enhance the range of functional and social amenity benefits for all groups in the nearby urban community through greater choice within existing centres.</p> <p>5) Likely to increase the scale and range of nearby employment opportunities and the travel-to-work options for urban residents.</p> <p>6) Likely to increase the range of leisure-related venues accessible within centres.</p> <p>7) Likely to increase accessibility to public transport options for urban residents, and thereby increase accessibility to a broader range of goods and services for all groups of urban residents living nearby.</p> <p>8) Likely to reduce dependence on private cars, and reduce associated private costs and emissions.</p> <p>9) Likely to increase the opportunities for socialising for all groups in the urban community through a greater range of socialising venues</p> <p>10) Likely to increase the range of social support services accessible to urban residents.</p> <p>11) Likely to maintain and enhance use of existing</p>	<p>existing centres and corridors and identifies HDCs and ICs as priority locations.</p> <p>2) Intensification refers to residential intensification and commercial/retail intensification.</p> <p>3) Intensification involves planning to ensure high quality urban environments.</p> <p>4) Councils are able to identify that sufficient opportunities exist for the level of retail development assessed as being necessary to meet demand during the planning period.</p> <p>5) The largest proportion of such opportunities exists within HDCs, new HDCs, ICs and other existing centres.</p>
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		community facilities.	
2.6.5.2	Until Schedule 1 is prepared, urban intensification may occur in other locations so long as it will not compromise the overall intent of Policies 2.6.5.3-2.6.5.10	1) Likely to result in a degree of uncertainty, depending on the length of time taken by Councils to complete their Schedule 1 task.	1) The period during which this policy pertains (i.e. the period during which Schedule 1 is prepared and finalised) is unknown at the present time.
2.6.5.3	Develop a network of HDCs and ICs linked by high quality public transport	1) Likely to improve accessibility for all urban residents to all parts of the city on the network.	1) PT includes frequent, local bus services supplemented by express bus services to rapid transit
2.6.5.4	Development within HDCs and ICs should primarily support compact Mixed Use Environments	1) This policy elaborates on Policy 2.6.5.1 - therefore refer to impacts described for Policy 2.6.5.1. 2) Impacts are likely to be greater for HDCs than for ICs, given the scope for greater diversity of amenities in the broader geographical extent of HDCs compared with the more spatially constrained ICs. (see also Policy 2.6.5.6 below)	1) Compact Mixed Use Environments defined in Appendix D 2) The movement function of ICs is focussed predominantly on people movement and supports a high level of public transport. 3) Intensification along ICs focusses on residential and employment intensification (e.g. offices). 4) Retail development in ICs is predominantly of a local convenience nature.
2.6.5.5	Sequencing of development in HDCs and ICs should be coordinated with the development of transport and infrastructure networks		
2.6.5.6	HDCs should be developed for the widest range and greatest intensity of uses with a primary focus on enabling commercial activities, and ICs should provide for compact mixed uses and employment where this is compatible with the movement function and does not detract from the effectiveness and efficiency of the public transport network	Same commentary as for Policy 2.6.5.4 above.	
2.6.5.7	Highest priority given to encouraging commercial activities to establish in existing HDCs	1) Reinforces future certainty of access for residents and service providers;	1) Retail development costs in-centre are not exacerbated by planning barriers

		<p>2) Promotes increasing functional and social amenity within existing centres and maintenance of the same;</p> <p>3) Enhances prospects for residential intensification nearby and thereby maximises likelihood of success for the ARGs;</p> <p>4) Minimises the need for out-of-centre retail development to address unmet demand and thereby reduces the risks of adverse distributional impacts</p> <p>5) Social wellbeing impacts as described for Policy 2.6.5.1 above.</p>	
2.6.5.8	Since the size of centres generally correlates with functional and social amenity, strategic priority is given to encouraging outward expansion of the commercial core of existing HDCs, having regard to certain matters	1) Capitalises on the benefits of increased centre scale to increase social amenity contributions	1) Councils take a lead in the planning processes necessary to achieve outward expansion, thereby reducing costs and risks to retail investors
2.6.5.9	Given the finite constraints in existing centres, commercial activities could be enabled in ICs, having regard to certain matters, particularly the potential impacts on the scope for residential intensification and the transport function of the IC.	1) Increases the number of future urban residents who benefit from intensification even though their level of access to the full range of centres-based amenities may be somewhat less than that enjoyed by residents living in or adjacent to HDCs	<p>1) LFR does not displace intensive residential development adjacent to ICs.</p> <p>2) level of accessibility for residents living adjacent to ICs depends on the length of the ICs and the distance to the nearest HDC.</p>
2.6.5.10	Given the finite constraints in existing centres, enable new HDCs to be developed, subject to certain criteria.	1) From a social wellbeing perspective, should be given higher priority than ICs since it is likely to have accessibility advantages and provide greater choice to more urban residents overall.	1) New HDCs could be based on existing centres, previously not identified as HDCs, or on totally new centres.
2.6.5.11	In order to avoid an absolute constraint on developer choice, commercial activities could be enabled in other locations, having regard to certain matters	<p>1) Has greatest potential to create risks of distributional impacts on the social wellbeing of particular groups;</p> <p>2) Risks are minimised if sequential tests are applied</p>	1) Appropriate assessment framework is adopted when applying the sequential tests envisaged.

8.5 My expectation is that Intensive Corridors will have a different development mix/balance from High Density Centres. For Intensive Corridors, in the context of urban intensification, I anticipate that the emphasis would be on public transport, people movement and land uses which are high-density with respect to people, that is to say, residential and office/employment-related land uses. Retail development therefore plays a subservient role in these specific settings. Furthermore, I believe that it would be inconsistent with the ARGS thrust for urban intensification that retail activities (particularly LFR retail) displace these more people-intensive land uses in the immediate vicinity of Intensive Corridors.

8.6 I am inclined to rank the social wellbeing contributions of Intensive Corridors somewhat below those of High Density Centres, but nevertheless important as part of the overall thrust of urban intensification. For similar reasons, I would rank the contributions from prospective new High Density Centres more highly than those of Intensive Corridors

9 CONCLUSIONS

9.1 The ARGS seeks to promote the intensification of urban development patterns across the Auckland region and better integration between land use and transportation.

9.2 In this context, the Joint Councils' Position seeks to guide the locational choices of urban residents and commercial actors (particularly retail investors) in ways which will contribute most effectively to the social wellbeing of urban communities in the future by -

- (a) promoting policy preferences which reinforce emerging patterns and trends that are specifically aligned with urban intensification; and
- (b) improving certainty for all stakeholders about the preferred policy settings for future urban structure; while
- (c) maintaining opportunities for residents and retail investors to exercise the full range of choices in future, subject to the condition that their choices do not undermine the integrity of the general policy of intensification.⁴⁸

⁴⁸The policy of intensification does not imply the elimination of low-density options in the existing urban environment. Rather, it promotes high-density development patterns in future which will be focussed on specified areas of urban footprint.

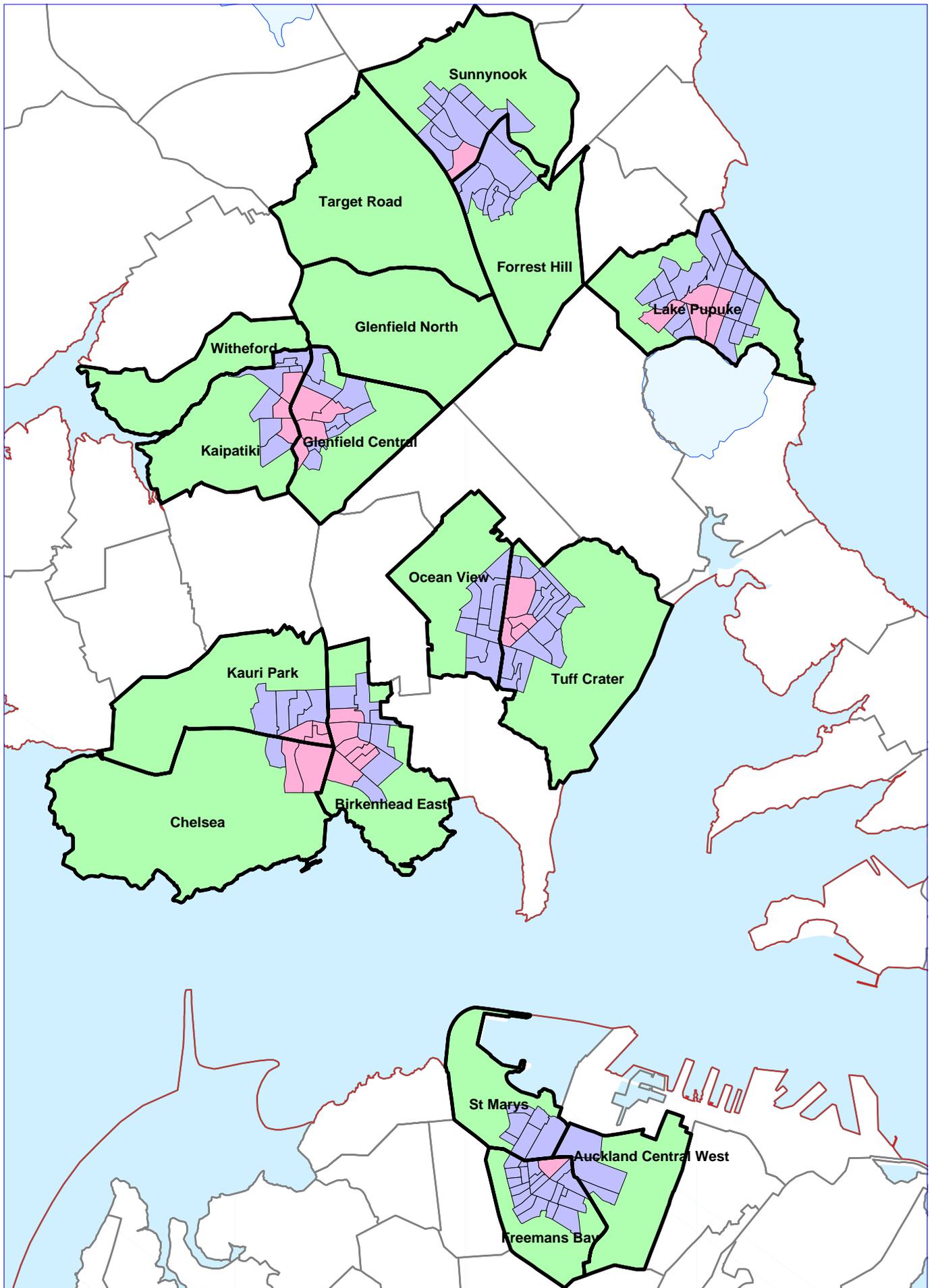
- 9.3 In my opinion, the Joint Councils' Position supports the growth management objectives for the Auckland region as expressed in the ARGS by explicitly addressing social equity issues associated with the potential for distributional effects from commercial/retail development in certain locations. The policy settings of the Joint Councils' Position strike a balance between being directive and maintaining choice.
- 9.4 The Joint Councils' Position seeks to guide the locational choices of urban residents and commercial actors in ways which will contribute most effectively to the social wellbeing of urban communities in the future. The Joint Councils' Position does this by promoting policy preferences which reinforce existing and emerging patterns and trends that are specifically aligned with urban intensification.
- 9.5 While the Joint Councils' Position provides a degree of flexibility (via the sequential tests approach), in my opinion, this feature should not predominate over the need for certainty. If the Joint Councils' Position is going to have significant influence in promoting urban intensification (residential and commercial/retail), then investors and property owners need the certainty that its preferences will be observed; that exceptions will be precisely that - exceptions.
- 9.6 I therefore conclude, on the basis of the assessment I have carried out and the assumptions I have stated, that the adoption of the Joint Councils' Position supports the enabling of urban communities to provide for their social wellbeing, as envisaged by the RMA.

10 APPENDICES

- Appendix A Selection of 10 supermarket-based centres and 2 stand-alone supermarket neighbourhoods on Auckland region that were analysed for this assessment. (2009)
- Appendix B Comparisons between local residential population attributes and the regional average for selected variables, in the vicinity of 10 centres, 2 stand-alone supermarkets and 2 transport corridors (2006).
- Appendix C Finer-grained spatial analysis of demographic attributes - car-less households and mode of travel to work (2006).

Appendix D	Finer-grained spatial analysis of demographic attributes - households with older occupants (65+ years) (2006).
Appendix E	Spatial analysis of travel-to-work data (2006).
Appendix F	Analysis of growth trends in residential population in the vicinity of existing centres in Auckland (2001-2006).
Appendix G	Residential intensification around existing centres in Christchurch City (2001-2006).
Appendix H	Compositional analysis of selected Auckland centres, 2009.
Appendix I	Co-location survey in three Auckland centres, 2009.
Appendix J	Aranui case study - extract from Variation 86 statement of evidence presented to the Environment Court by James Baines

Appendix JTBA: Selection of 10 supermarket-based centres and 2 stand-alone supermarket neighbourhoods on Auckland region that were analysed for this assessment. (2009)



Appendix JTBB: Comparisons between local residential population attributes and the regional average for selected variables, in the vicinity of 10 centres, 2 stand-alone supermarkets and 2 transport corridors

Previous research in North Shore City¹ found that there was a concentration of people and households of particular characteristics close to existing centres, when compared to the surrounding population. Given the short time frame for this assessment, the previous research was extended here to include several other centres researched specifically for this evidence in order to broaden the geographic range and scale of centres assessed. In total, 10 established centres were considered for this analysis, as well as the neighbourhoods of two stand-alone supermarkets and two transport corridors.

The variables examined in this analysis were:

- proportion of households without cars;
- proportion of UR population using public transport, or walked to work;
- proportion of elderly UR population (65+years)

Table B1: Observed clustering behaviour

	%HH no car	Relative to regional average	% Bus or Train to work	Relative to regional average	%65+ years	Relative to regional average
Supermarket-based centres						
Glenfield	9.4	+	7.8	+	12.6	+
Sunnynook	9.8	+	6.9	+	16.6	+
New Lynn	10.3	+	13.4	+	7.7	-
Milford	10.8	+	6.1	+	24.6	+
Birkenhead	7.7	+	11.0	+	10.9	+
Northcote	15.6	+	6.7	+	14.6	+
Royal Oak	15.3	+	8.9	+	17.0	+
Pakuranga	10.3	+	5.6	+	14.2	+
Botany Town	2.9	-	2.7	-	10.5	+
Mangere	11.7	+	4.8	-	7.0	-
Stand-alone supermarkets						
College Hill	11.0	+	4.7	-	8.7	-
Greenlane	5.6	-	8.5	+	6.6	-
Transport corridors						
Dominion Road (inners)	9.5	+	12.0	+	6.2	-
Manukau Road (inners)	8.2	+	7.3	+	12.1	+
Auckland Region (Average)	7.0		5.4		9.9	

Source: Statistics NZ, *Census of Population and Dwellings, 2006*.

Two sources of previous research provide data on mode of access to supermarkets for regular patrons. The first was FRST-funded research conducted by Taylor Baines & Associates². The second was several exit surveys carried out in Auckland by Jebb Holland Dimasi³

The three FRST-funded case studies focussed on the travel behaviours of residents generally living within 600-800m of their nearest supermarket or mall. In the case of Ferrymead, the longest distances were somewhat greater at approximately 1000-1200m. As such, the sampling does not reflect the full residential catchment of these retail facilities. However, it does demonstrate significant levels of non-car-based travel in close proximity to the supermarkets, and this fact needs to be recognised.

All three case studies revealed distinctly bi-modal patterns. In other words, nearby residents reported that they either walked or drove themselves to the supermarket - for some walking was the dominant mode, for others driving was the dominant mode, while for others it was a matter of choice depending on circumstances (e.g. expecting to carry large loads, weather conditions, traffic conditions, etc.) Nevertheless, in each case walking was reported as being a common mode of travel to the supermarket for significant proportions of nearby residents.

Table B2: Mode of travel for nearby residents

Main retail facility	Level in shopping centre hierarchy	Distance to supermarket	Mode of travel		
			usually walk	commonly walk or drive	usually drive
Glenfield Mall	district	20-600m	37%	30%	33%
Ferrymead Woolworths	suburban	600-1200m	6%	37%	57%
St Martins NW	neighbourhood	20-800m	37%	40%	23%

² Baines, J.T., Buckenham, B., McCaw, M. and Morgan, B. 2003. *Host Communities: Siting and Effects of Facilities - case study: An analysis of the host community experience of the upgraded New World supermarket in St Martin's, Christchurch*. Working Paper FS32 prepared under Public Good Science Fund Contract TBAX0203. September 2003.

Morgan, B., Baines, J.T., Buckenham, B. and McCaw, M. 2003. *Host Communities: Siting and Effects of Facilities - case study: An analysis of the host community experience of the Woolworths supermarket in Ferrymead, Christchurch*. Working Paper FS33 prepared under Public Good Science Fund Contract TBAX0203. April 2003.

Buckenham, B., Morgan, B., McCaw, M and Baines J.T. 2003. *Host Communities: Siting and Effects of Facilities - case study: An analysis of the host community experience of the upgraded Westfield, Glenfield Mall, North Shore* Working Paper FS34 prepared under Public Good Science Fund Contract TBAX0203. November 2003.

³ Yann, Campbell, Hoare and Wheeler. 1999a. *Newmarket Auckland, Exit Survey, detailed tabular findings* prepared by Jebb, Holland Dimasi, Melbourne.

Yann, Campbell, Hoare and Wheeler. 1999b. *St Lukes Auckland, Exit Survey, detailed tabular findings* prepared by Jebb, Holland Dimasi, Melbourne.

The Auckland exit surveys for St Lukes and Newmarket reveal that, even for large centres near the top of the shopping centre hierarchy, access by walking is significant, and therefore an important aspect of functional amenity to recognise. The use of public transport can also be important.

Table B3: Mode of travel - for those who mainly use the nominated centres for their main food and grocery shopping

Shopping centre	Level in shopping centre hierarchy	Main mode of travel ⁴		
		walk	public transport	drive
St Lukes	sub-regional	17%	5%	75%
Newmarket	sub-regional	21%	32%	42%

4

In contrast to the case study surveys, these exit surveys permitted only one category of response - i.e. the main mode of travel for accessing the shopping centre.

Appendix JTBC: Finer-grained spatial analysis of demographic attributes - car-less households and mode of travel to work

A more detailed analysis of people living within walkable distance (~800m) to centres confirms the general picture from comparisons with regional data, although there are, as expected, local variations and particular characteristics.

This finer-grained analysis involved the following spatial analysis:

(a) identification of the statistical meshblocks (MBs) that wholly, or in part incorporated the commercial centre itself based on a combination of visual inspection and use of street maps, Google Earth and Google Street. These were called the “Inner” meshblocks. It is important to note that the population in some of these MBs is small, therefore the percentage figures need to be treated with caution.

In Appendix JTBA, the “inner” meshblocks are colour-coded in pink.

(b) identification of those remaining meshblocks that fell largely within a 800m radius of the approximate centre of the commercial centre, taking practical account of major geographical features such as major highways, large parks or open space, and waterways, estuaries and coastlines. These were called the “Outer” meshblocks.

In Appendix JTBA, the “outer” meshblocks are colour-coded in blue.

The “core” walkable neighbourhood for each centre therefore comprises all the meshblocks in both “inner” and “outer” MB groupings; in effect the total usually resident (UR) population living in close proximity to a centre.

Thus, in Appendix JTBA, the “core” walkable neighbourhood for each centre is the combined area colour-coded pink + blue.

(c) identification of the rest of the proximate population - those people and households in the remaining MBs of the Census Area Units (CAUs) surrounding a centre (again selected taking practical factors into account) less the MBs associated with the “core”.

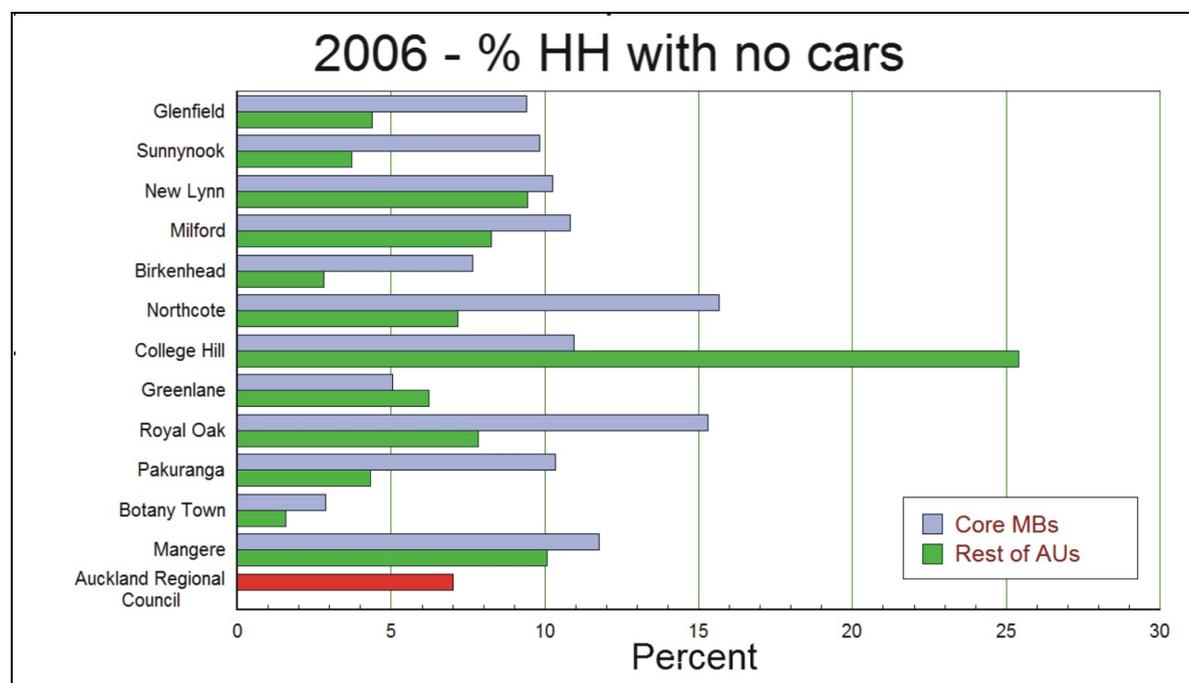
In Appendix JTBA, the remaining MBs - the rest of the proximate population - are colour-coded in green.

(d) For the two transport corridors examined, the meshblocks on either side of the corridor comprising the “inner” area of the corridor were compared to the rest of the CAUs on either side of the corridor.

Table C1: Spatial analysis of households without cars

% HH no car	Inner	Outer	Ratio: Inner/Outer	Core ¹	Rest of AUs	Ratio: Core/Rest	ARC
Supermarket-based centres							
Glenfield	14.8	7.3	2.0	9.4	4.4	2.1	
Sunnynook	29.2	8.1	3.6	9.8	3.7	2.6	
New Lynn	25.0	10.0	2.5	10.3	9.4	1.1	
Milford	21.0	8.0	2.6	10.8	8.2	1.3	
Birkenhead	7.4	7.9	0.9	7.7	2.8	2.8	
Northcote	24.0	15.1	1.6	15.6	7.2	2.2	
Royal Oak	15.2	15.3	1.0	15.3	7.8	2.0	
Pakuranga	8.2	10.8	0.8	10.3	4.3	2.4	
Botany Town	4.5	2.7	1.7	2.9	1.6	1.8	
Mangere	4.3	12.3	0.3	11.7	10.1	1.2	
Stand-alone supermarkets							
College Hill	0	11.5	n/a	11.0	25.4	0.4	
Greenlane	6.8	4.8	n/a	5.0	6.2	0.8	
Transport corridors							
Dominion Road	9.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	7.1	n/a	
Manukau Road	8.2	n/a	n/a	n/a	6.0	n/a	
Auckland Region (Average)							7.0

The data for centres and stand-alone supermarkets in the table above are presented graphically below.



¹ 'Core' area = 'Inner' area + "outer" area combined.

Living close to a centre is potentially important for households with no cars, to enable access to services, and work. The data have been analysed at two spatial levels, as discussed below. The first level of analysis compares 'walkable' neighbourhoods immediately surrounding existing centres with their broader residential environments, while the second level of analysis compares the 'inner' and 'outer' components of the walkable neighbourhoods.

For all 10 centres, the data reveal higher percentages of car-less households in the walkable neighbourhoods than in the broader residential areas covered by the associated Census Area Units (Census AUs).

The patterns observed in the two stand-alone supermarket cases are contrasting. In the case of the Greenlane neighbourhood, there is no relative concentration of car-less households observed close by, and indeed the percentages of car-less households are below the regional average. In the case of College Hill, the broader area exhibits higher percentages of car-less households than the immediate walkable neighbourhood. Indeed, the broader area around the College Hill supermarket exhibits by far the highest percentage of car-less households or any of the areas assessed at more than three times the regional average. This can be explained by its proximity to the CBD as the relevant source of services, amenities and employment.

At the second, finer-grained level of analysis, for 7 out of 10 centres, the data show percentages of car-less households in the 'inner' areas to be as high or higher than in the walkable neighbourhoods.

In the case of the two transport corridors, the 'inner' areas display percentages of car-less households above the regional average.

This analysis considers the means of travel to work for the usually resident population living close to centres.

Table C2: Spatial analysis of travel to work by bus or train

% Travel to work - Bus or Train	Inner	Outer	Ratio: Inner/Outer	Core	Rest of AUs	Ratio: Core/Rest	ARC
Supermarket-based centres							
Glenfield	8.3	7.7	1.1	7.8	6.3	1.2	
Sunnynook	4.5	7.1	0.6	6.9	6.2	1.1	
New Lynn	0	13.4	n/a	13.4	9.4	1.4	
Milford	8.5	5.7	1.5	6.1	7.2	0.8	
Birkenhead	10.9	11.1	1.0	11.0	6.8	1.6	
Northcote	5.9	6.7	0.9	6.7	6.3	1.1	
Royal Oak	12.7	8.2	1.5	8.9	6.2	1.4	
Pakuranga	5.9	5.6	1.1	5.6	3.8	1.5	
Botany Town	4.0	2.5	1.6	2.7	1.8	1.5	
Mangere	4.2	4.9	0.9	4.8	4.4	1.1	
Stand-alone supermarkets							
College Hill	10.7	4.4	2.4	4.7	9.1	0.5	
Greenlane	12.2	8.0	1.5	8.5	7.7	1.1	
Transport corridors							
Dominion Road	12.0	n/a	n/a	n/a	12.3	n/a	
Manukau Road	9.7	n/a	n/a	n/a	7.3	n/a	
Auckland Regional (Average)							5.4

The above data on travel to work by public transport (bus or train) show that for 8 out of 10 centres analysed, the usually resident population in the 'core' areas exhibited substantially higher percentages of people than the regional average. The two remaining centres - Botany Town and Mangere - are suburbs where it is not easy to commute by public transport to major sources of work².

In 9 out of 10 cases, such travel was more likely for people living in the core walkable areas around centres than in the corresponding broader residential areas.

Residential areas immediately adjacent to the two transport corridors analysed exhibited percentages of residents using public transport at about twice the regional average level.

Overall the data on observed commuter behaviours suggest that centres and corridors are already acting as important locations for accessing public transport services. The spatial relationships between centres and residential areas facilitate access to public transport.

Table C3: Spatial analysis of travel to work by all non-private car modes³ of transport

% Travel to work - Total Bus, Train, Walk, Jog, Cycle	Inner	Outer	Ratio: Inner/Outer	Core	Rest of AUs	Ratio: Core/Rest	ARC
Supermarket-based centres							
Glenfield	17.6	13.1	1.3	14.3	10.1	1.4	
Sunnynook	9.1	11.0	0.8	10.9	9.8	1.1	
New Lynn	0	18.7	n/a	18.7	12.8	1.5	
Milford	16.9	11.9	1.4	12.7	12.1	1.0	
Birkenhead	17.0	17.6	1.0	17.4	8.9	2.0	
Northcote	11.8	13.8	0.9	13.7	10.3	1.3	
Royal Oak	21.4	12.6	1.7	14.1	10.6	1.3	
Pakuranga	11.8	9.2	1.3	9.7	6.5	1.5	
Botany Town	7.0	5.4	1.3	5.6	3.6	1.6	
Mangere	6.2	7.7	0.8	7.6	7.3	1.0	
Stand-alone supermarkets							
College Hill	42.9	32.3	1.3	32.8	43.5	0.8	
Greenlane	23.0	13.7	1.7	14.9	12.4	1.2	
Transport corridors							
Dominion Road	19.0	n/a	n/a	n/a	20.3	n/a	
Manukau Road	15.7	n/a	n/a	n/a	13.1	n/a	
Auckland Regional (Average)							10.1

The above data on travel to work by all forms of non-private car transport show that for 7 out of 10 centres analysed, the usually resident population in the 'core' areas exhibited higher percentages of people than the regional average, and in some cases much higher percentages. In all 10 cases, such travel was more likely for people living in the core walkable areas around centres than in the corresponding broader residential areas. Furthermore, these data suggest, albeit conservatively, the potential to improve⁴ rates of non-private car use for commuting if a centres-plus policy is implemented effectively.

As a non-centre location, College Hill stands out for the exceptionally high percentages commuting to work by means other than the private car. In addition to the above-average rates of public transport use (see Table C2), exceptionally high rates of walking to work⁵ from this area are accounted for by its proximity to the CBD.

As noted before in the commentary on Table C2, the two areas with the lowest rates of non-private car commuting - Botany Town and Mangere - are suburbs where it is not easy to commute by public transport to major sources of work.

³ All non-private car modes includes bus, train, walking, jogging, cycling.

⁴ By a more detailed analysis of the factors which have resulted in relatively high rates of such modes of commuting in areas such as Birkenhead, New Lynn and Glenfield.

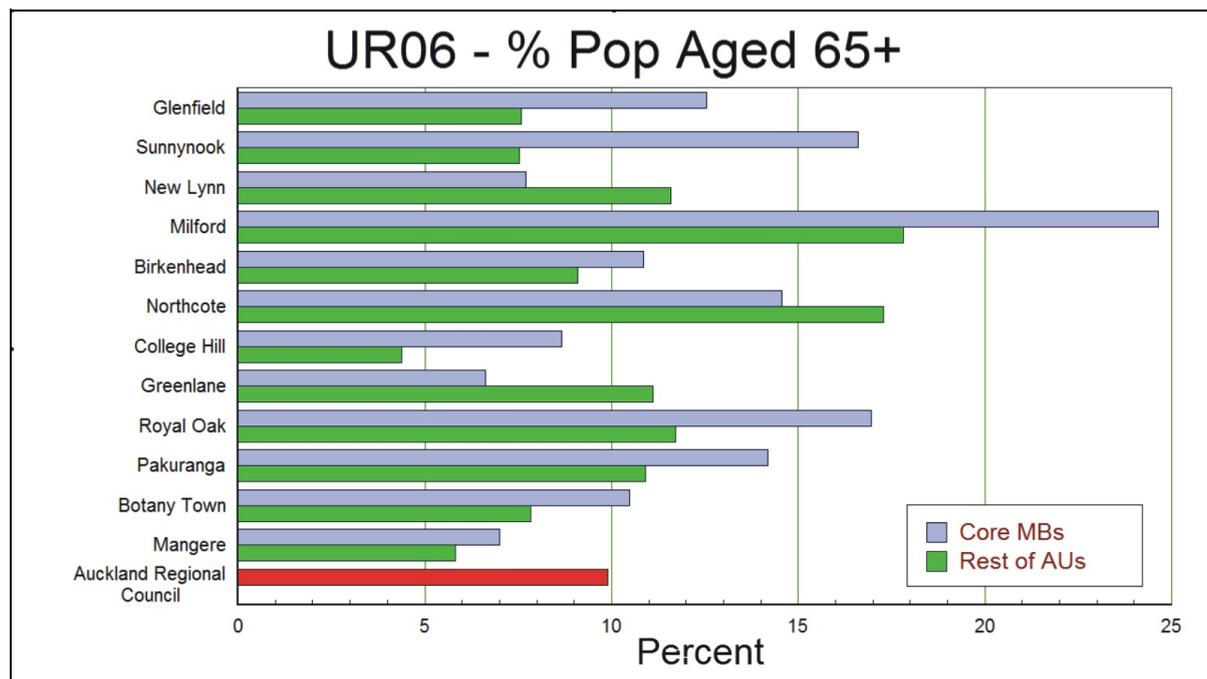
⁵ 27% in the 'core' area and 34% in the broader residential area.

Appendix JTBD: Finer-grained spatial analysis of demographic attributes - households with older occupants (65+ years)

Table D1: Spatial analysis of residential clustering of people aged 65+ years

% Aged 65+	Inner	Outer	Ratio: Inner/Outer	Core	Rest of AUs	Ratio: Core/Rest	ARC
Supermarket-based centres							
Glenfield	15.2	11.6	1.3	12.6	7.6	1.7	
Sunnynook	27.3	15.9	1.7	16.6	7.5	2.2	
New Lynn	0	7.9	n/a	7.7	11.6	0.7	
Milford	33.7	22.4	1.5	24.6	17.8	1.4	
Birkenhead	10.5	11.1	0.9	10.9	9.1	1.2	
Northcote	22.2	14.0	1.6	14.6	17.3	0.8	
Royal Oak	22.1	15.8	1.4	17.0	11.7	1.5	
Pakuranga	17.4	13.4	1.3	14.2	10.9	1.3	
Botany Town	8.8	10.6	0.8	10.5	7.8	1.3	
Mangere	7.6	7.0	1.1	7.0	5.8	1.2	
Stand-alone supermarkets							
College Hill	8.3	8.7	1.0	8.7	4.4	2.0	
Greenlane	6.2	6.7	0.9	6.6	11.1	0.6	
Transport corridors							
Dominion Road	6.2	n/a	n/a	n/a	6.4	n/a	
Manukau Road	12.1	n/a	n/a	n/a	7.1	n/a	
Auckland Regional (Average)							9.9

The data for centres and stand-alone supermarkets in the table above are presented graphically below.



A feature of the demographic variable UR People Aged 65 Plus is that elderly are generally concentrated nearby, and for some centres very highly concentrated nearby. This was found to be the case for 8 out of 10 centres analysed. The spatial patterning is consistent: for 8 out of 10 centres, the percentage of elderly in the core walkable residential areas is higher than the regional average and also higher than the associated broader residential areas; for 8 out of 10 centres, the percentage of elder in the inner part of the core area is higher than in the outer part of the core area.

Overall, there is a strong pattern of concentration of elderly residents, with only two centres (New Lynn and Northcote) showing no concentration of elderly population close to the centre when compared to the surrounding population, although the surrounding population of both these centres does exhibit higher percentages of elderly residents than the regional average. In one instance (ie, Northcote) the pattern of concentration of elderly close to the centre is evident for the inner meshblocks but not the total core compared to the rest of the proximate population. Local factors appear to influence the location of the elderly population in addition to the presence of a centre. However, proximity to a centre is clearly an important factor for elderly residents across the region. To some extent, this pattern of concentration is likely to reflect the car-less household situation. In any event, the pattern is likely to represent a locational preference amongst less independently mobile elderly residents for proximity to a range of services and amenities associated with shopping centres.

For the two existing transport corridors, Manukau Road inner meshblocks indicate more elderly than the rest of the surrounding area and the regional average. However, this corridor is partly influenced at the south end by Royal Oak centre.

Appendix JTBE: Spatial analysis of travel-to-work data

Table E1: Percentages of nearby residents working in their nearest centre

	Number of working people who travel from neighbouring CAUs to the centre to work (A)	Total number of people working in the centre (B)	A as a % of B
<i>Supermarket-based centres</i>			
Glenfield	288	1,326	22%
Sunnynook	66	150	44%
New Lynn	324	1,935	17%
Milford	150	1,113	13%
Birkenhead	366	1,503	24%
Northcote	66	459	14%
Royal Oak	270	1,050	26%
Pakuranga	195	1,035	19%
Botany Town	387	2,016	19%
Mangere	117	687	17%
All 10 centres	2,229	11,274	20%
<i>Stand-alone supermarkets</i>			
College Hill	45	477	9%
Greenlane	93	918	10%
2 stand-alone supermarket locations	138	1,395	10%

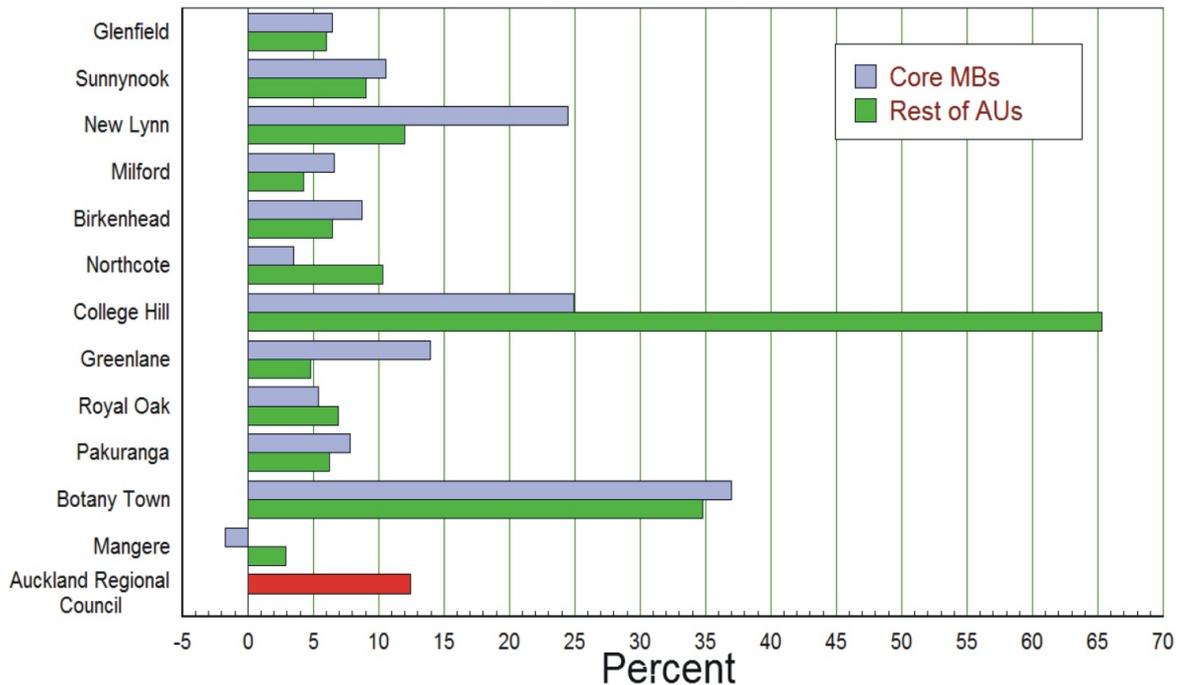
Appendix JTBF: Analysis of growth trends in residential population in the vicinity of existing centres

It is useful to consider the extent to which population change has taken place in proximity to centres in recent years because any evidence of higher levels of growth of residents compared to the surrounding population, and to the region as a whole, suggests that centres already have a role in residential intensification.

Table F1: Population change 2001-2006

<i>% pop change 01-06</i>	Inner	Outer	Ratio: Inner/Outer	Core	Rest of AUs	Ratio: Core/Rest	ARC
<i>Supermarket-based centres</i>							
Glenfield	5.8	6.7	0.9	6.4	6.0	1.1	
Sunnynook	19.6	10.0	2.0	10.6	9.0	1.2	
New Lynn	41.7	24.1	1.7	24.5	12.0	2.0	
Milford	17.4	4.2	4.1	6.6	4.3	1.5	
Birkenhead	5.7	10.8	0.5	8.7	6.5	1.3	
Northcote	6.6	3.3	2.0	3.5	10.3	0.3	
Royal Oak	8.9	4.6	1.9	5.4	6.9	0.8	
Pakuranga	4.9	8.5	0.6	7.8	6.2	1.3	
Botany Town	73.5	34.2	2.1	37.0	34.7	1.1	
Mangere	1.6	-2.0	n/a	-1.7	2.9	n/a	
<i>Stand-alone supermarkets</i>							
College Hill	20.0	25.1	0.8	24.9	65.3	0.4	
Greenlane	20.8	13.0	1.6	14.0	4.8	2.9	
<i>Transport corridors</i>							
Dominion Road	7.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	8.4	n/a	
Manukau Road	9.2	n/a	n/a	n/a	6.7	n/a	
Auckland Regional (Average)							12.4

UR06 - % Pop change 01-06



The data in Table F1 indicate that residential areas near 7 out of 10 centres show some evidence of intensification but the pattern is uneven. Two of the 10 centres stand out in this regard: Botany Town and New Lynn. The former is a new, planned town centre designed to cater for a rapidly growing population around it, while the latter is a much older centre, acting as a major commercial, transport and growth node. For the core residential areas near to these two centres, population growth rates in the period 2001-2006 have far outstripped the regional average.

Several other medium and small-sized centres - Sunnynook, Milford, Birkenhead, and Pakuranga - exhibit residential intensification in their nearby core areas, relative to the broader residential areas.

Mangere and Northcote show no evidence of intensification either in comparison to the surrounding population areas or to the regional population growth.

Neither transport corridor shows a strong level of intensification compared to the regional average.

Appendix JTBG: Residential intensification around existing centres in Christchurch City - 2001 to 2006

Data on the total number of occupied private dwellings in meshblocks within 400m of a District (B1 and B2) Centre was provided by the Christchurch City Council from its Census database.

These data include, for 2001 and 2006 -

- total private occupied dwellings
- associated usually resident population
- numbers of occupied dwellings/households with no motor vehicle
- number of occupied dwellings/households with residents aged 65years and over
- number of occupied dwellings/households with residents aged 14years and under.

Living 1 (L1) zones are the historical standard urban residential zones while Living 3 (L3) are zones which permit higher residential densities.

There are 14 District Centres in Christchurch City which have had Living 3 zones established adjacent to them and 14 other District Centres which are surrounded by Living 1 zones.

Districts Centres with Living 3 zones adjacent are -

Addington
Barrington
Church Corner
Edgware
Hornby
Linwood
Merivale
New Brighton
Papanui-Northlands
Riccarton
Richmond
Sumner
Woolston
Worcester-Stanmore

District Centres surrounded by Living 1 zones are -

Aranui
Avonhead
Belfast
Bishopdale
Fendalton
Halswell
Hillmorton
Ilam-Clyde
Parklands
Redcliffs
Shirley
St Martins
Sydenham
Wairakei-Greers

Table G1: Comparison of residential intensification around District Centres in Christchurch (2001-2006) - L3 centres vs L1 centres

	L1 centres	L3 centres
Number of centres	14	14
Increase in occupied private dwellings 2001-2006 within 400m of the Business (B1 and B2) zones	0	561
% increase in occupied private dwellings on 2001 base	0%	4%
Increase in UR population 2001-2006 within 400m of the Business (B1 and B2) zones	249	2649
% increase in UR population on 2001 base	1%	8%
proportion of the UR population aged <15years in 2006	20%	15%
proportion of the UR population aged 65+years in 2006	17%	16%
proportion of households with no vehicle in 2006	9%	15%
Increase in employee count 2000-2006 for meshblocks within and adjacent to each centre	2324	3496

Even though the group of L3 district centres includes the two biggest centres of Riccarton and Papanui-Northlands (sometimes referred to as sub-regional centres), it is evident from the detail that the residential intensification is occurring around centres of all sizes. Over 70% of the 2,649 increase in population within 400m of L3 centres was not around the two large centres. They accounted for 23% and 6% respectively of the total increase.

In summary, the policy of residential intensification around certain community focal points, represented by the establishment of L3 zones adjacent to the shopping centres, is having demonstrable effects already.

There is substantially greater population growth (more than 10 times in absolute terms) within 400m of L3 centres than within 400m of L1 centres.

The households living within 400m of L3 centres are considerably less likely to own a car, while households with children are more likely to live adjacent to L1 centres. Proportions of elderly residents living within 400m of L3 centres are similar in both cases, and both are noticeably higher than the City-wide average percentage (14%) of households with elderly occupants.

Appendix JTBH: Compositional analysis of selected Auckland centres

Social amenity is gained through a commercial centre's social role, providing convenient locations for people to access a variety goods and services outlets as well as recreational and socialising venues, and to access personal and household services, such as cafes, medical centres, recreation facilities and creches. Although such commercialised activities add functional amenity to a centre, it is their outcome contributions to the social needs and well being of the community that is of interest here - contributions to health, leisure, the social environment and a sense of participation in the community.

It is not possible to provide an objective quantification of social amenity¹ and social well being. Nevertheless, it is possible to describe attributes of commercial centre composition in quantitative terms. Such indicators can be useful for comparative purposes.

The counts in Table H1 are based on direct observations made in July 2009, during visits to each of the six locations by Taylor Baines personnel.

Table H1: Numbers of retail outlets in six selected centres or stand-alone supermarket neighbourhoods (2009)

Retail categories	Supermarket-based centres				Stand-alone supermarkets	
	Glenfield	New Lynn	Pakuranga	Botany	Greenlane	College Hill
Anchor stores	4	3	6	3	1	1
General retail goods	77	196	69	131	29	4
General retail services	21	78	25	22	16	9
Commercial/financial services	13	47	18	19	13	25
Health-related services	22	23	12	10	8	5
Eating/drinking venues	26	41	17	18	5	5
Entertainment/recreation venues	3	2	5	2	1	0

A similar comparative analysis² was carried out in 2003 for a sample of fourteen shopping centres I Auckland and Christchurch. The sample was divided into two sub-groups: a group of eight larger and long-established supermarket/mall-based centres³ and six smaller retail clusters formed around bulk retail stores and stand-alone supermarkets⁴. these grouped results are presented in Table H2 below. The data display not only the obvious difference in scale and choice but, more importantly in the context of social amenity

¹ Neither is functional amenity objectively quantified in some single parameter.

² Baines, J.T., Taylor, C.N., Morgan, B., Buckenham, B. and McClintock, W. 2003. *Host Communities: Siting and Effects of Facilities - Retail facilities in New Zealand: a comparative analysis of functional and social roles*. Working Paper FS31 prepared under Public Good Science Fund Contract TBAX0203.

³ Glenfield, Mt Albert/St Lukes, Papanui, Riccarton, Linwood, Shirley, New Brighton, Bishopdale.

⁴ Albany, Mt Wellington, College Hill, Greenlane, Avonhead, Woolston.

contributions, the substantial difference in specific social amenity contributions.

Table H2: Comparison of scale, composition and contribution to social amenity in fourteen retail locations (2003)

Attribute of comparison	Larger shopping centres (Average per centre)	Smaller retail clusters (Average per cluster)
Ave No. of anchor stores	4	2
Ave No. of separate retail outlets	142	43
Ave No. of eating/drinking venues ⁵	16	4
Ave No. of entertainment/recreation venues	1	0
Ave No. of medical/health-related practices	9	1

More disaggregated data for eight Christchurch centres and two out-of-centre retail developments on the numbers of eating and drinking (socialising) venues and the numbers of premises involved in health service provision are detailed in Table H3 below.

Table H3: Relative numbers of activities which contribute additional functional amenity and social amenity, Christchurch (2002)

Location	Restaurants, bars, cafes	Health/medical
<u>sub-regional:</u>		
Papanui*	29	12
Riccarton	31	9
<u>district:</u>		
Linwood*	8	9
Shirley*	9	7
New Brighton	15	9
Bishopdale	7	4
<u>suburban:</u>		
Avonhead	3	3
Woolston	3	2
<u>Out of centre retail:</u>		
Ferrymead	10	3
Belfast Supa Centa	0	0

(*) data pre-date expansion activities currently underway or recently completed.

The data for Ferrymead exemplify a situation where natural agglomeration accelerated once exceptions to the predominant centres-based policy were allowed.

⁵

This category does not include fast-food or take-away food outlets. It includes only venues where people can purchase food or drink and consume this on site.

Further data from the 2002 Christchurch analyses on the co-location of retail outlets and community facilities is presented in Table H4 below.

Table H4: Relative numbers of retail/commercial outlets and community facilities, Christchurch (2002)

Location	# Retail/Commercial outlets			# Community facilities		
	within the shopping centre	in the neighbouring 'host community'	Total	within the shopping centre	in the neighbouring 'host community'	Total
<u>sub-regional:</u>						
Papanui	201	10	211	18	14	32
Riccarton	224	26	250	9	20	29
<u>district:</u>						
Linwood	75	6	81	5	10	15
Shirley	83	4	87	0	15	15
New Brighton	133	10	143	4	17	21
Bishopdale	57	5	62	4	16	20
<u>suburban:</u>						
Avonhead	21	3	24	0	5	5
Woolston	44	3	47	6	7	13
<u>Out of centre retail:</u>						
Ferrymead	67	0	67	1	2	3
Belfast Supa Centa	5	0	5	0	5	5

It is evident that the larger centres tended to have associated with them more community facilities than smaller centres. Two of the centres that were in decline in terms of retail function (Bishopdale and New Brighton), still retained relatively high levels of community infrastructure⁶. The longer established and larger the scale of the shopping centre, the more diverse the community use of that centre. It was also apparent that in the sub-regional centres, the community facilities tended to be more interspersed among the commercial activities (i.e. 44% are within the shopping centre zone itself) in comparison with smaller district or suburban centres where community facilities were clustered nearby in the host community (i.e only 21% are within the shopping centre zone itself). While this is at one level a reflection of the constraints of space, it also reflects a difference in the degree of inter-relatedness between functional amenities in that combined space.

6

Research has not been carried out to determine whether the level of use of the community infrastructure has declined in the same way as the level of retail activity has declined.

Appendix JTBI: Co-location survey in three Auckland centres

This interview-based survey in the vicinity of the Botany, Pakuranga and New Lynn shopping centres aimed to produce a mix of quantitative and qualitative data. People in a sample of 40 organisations located in the vicinity of Botany (13), Pakuranga (17), and New Lynn (10) were interviewed. The breakdown of these categories is presented in Table I1.

Table I1: Categories of community facilities surveyed

Category	Botany	Pakuranga	New Lynn	Total sample
Social services	2	2	2	6
Recreational	1	2	1	4
Educational services	4	5	1	10
Health services	3	3	1	7
Retirement village/rest home	1	2	1	4
Central Government	1	2	0	3
Local Government	1	1	0	2
Other social services - various	0	0	4	4
All groups	13	17	10	40

Table I2: Sources of funding

Category	Botany	Pakuranga	New Lynn	Total sample	%
Local government	3	4	2	9	23%
Central government	7	10	5	22	55%
Grants	2	2	4	8	20%
Members/clients fees	10	10	6	26	65%
Sponsors	1	1	2	4	10%
Other sources	0	2	2	4	10%
Mixed sources	8	10	8	26	65%
One source only	5	7	2	14	35%

Table I3: Factors influencing choice of location for service - unprompted

Category	Botany	Pakuranga	New Lynn	Total sample	% ¹
Identified local demand/target market	4	8	1	13	41%
Complementary organisations nearby	5	2	2	9	28%
Increasing population	4	1	0	5	16%
Better visibility	1	2	2	5	16%
Don't know/too long ago	2	3	3	8	20%

Table I4: Factors influencing choice of location for service - prompted

Category	Botany	Pakuranga	New Lynn	Total sample	%
Central to membership/client base	10	12	6	28	70%
Convenience for members/clients	9	9	6	24	60%
Accessibility by car	8	8	5	21	53%
Premises had a vacancy/bought premises	8	4	4	16	40%
Complementary organisations nearby	3	6	2	11	28%
Took over existing activity	1	4	1	6	15%
Close to trains or buses	0	1	2	3	8%

Table I5: Mode of travel of clients to the surveyed service locations, as observed by service providers

Category	Botany	Pakuranga	New Lynn	Total sample	%
Drive themselves	10	12	5	27	68%
Walk	6	11	3	20	50%
Driven by another person	3	8	6	17	43%
Public transport/taxi	4	4	6	14	35%
Mobility scooter	0	2	2	4	10%

Advantages of the chosen locations:

When asked an open (unprompted) question about the reasons for choosing the location, 41% of responses referred to the identification of a local demand for the services provided, while 28% of responses referred in some way to complementary organisations nearby, reinforcing the significance of location relative to clients and relative to other relevant

¹ Since 20% of the sample of 40 interviewees were unable to give a response (see last line in the table), the percentage responses shown in the last column of the table are based on 32 responses.

decision makers. The corresponding prompted question elicited majority responses¹ describing the importance of being centrally located to their client base (70%) and having convenient access for their clients (60%). As before, 28% of responses emphasised the importance of being located nearby complementary organisations.

With the benefit of experience, when asked about the advantages of their chosen locations for these non-retail activities, 95% of those interviewed responded explicitly that 'being in/near an established centre' was an advantage. Their responses were linked, again explicitly, to proximity to public transport (70%), off street parking provided by others (75%), and being close to pedestrian/foot traffic generated in that location (55%). Just under half of the respondents noted that visibility within the centre (48%) and the opportunity for off street parking provided by their own organisation (48%) were advantages of location as well.

Proximity to other organisations or facilities was also mentioned by a number of those interviewed - closeness to schools, medical centres, libraries, and so on. Over half of the organisations in the sample had particular links with community organisations (55%) and businesses (55%) located nearby. These links can be usefully described in terms of clusters associated with various categories of activities:

Social service providers have links with medical practices and specialists, dentists, and physiotherapists, as well as with Work and Income, the police, Citizens Advice Bureau, public libraries, and other social service organisations.

Educational providers have links with local early learning centres, primary and secondary schools, public libraries and Work and Income.

Retirement homes and residential care facilities have links with local churches, public libraries, community care centres and develop associations with community organisations such as Probus and Rotary.

The social service providers interviewed reported that their clients visited them by a variety of transport modes - see Table I5. Driving themselves in their own car is the predominant mode for the range of social services sampled (68%). However, the choice of service location enabled some clients to walk to half of these services (50%) and public transport plays a substantial role as well, at 35%.

Disadvantages of the chosen locations:

Two-thirds of the organisations (26/40) reported disadvantages as a result of the location in or nearby a centre. A majority of representatives (33/40) when asked to respond to a list specific disadvantages of their organisation's location in relation to the centre reported at least one. The most frequent problems experienced from being located in a particular centre were constraints on expansion (38%); lack of visibility in the centre, or of not being in the centre itself (38%); traffic congestion (23%); and inadequate parking (20%).

Nevertheless, the collective experience of the service providers interviewed indicates that a large majority (65%) see no reason for wishing to re-locate away from a centre. For those who might envisage such a move, the predominant reason concerns operating/tenancy costs.

¹See Table I4.

Appendix JTBJ: Aranui case study - extract from Variation 86 statement of evidence presented to the Environment Court by James Baines

This extract is from paragraphs 38 to 77, describing the Aranui SIA case study.

RECENT EMPIRICAL STUDIES

38. Since the Commissioner hearing in early 2006, several pieces of empirical work have been undertaken that are relevant to my evidence. One is a case study of the social effects of a recent out-of-centre supermarket development in Christchurch (the Wainoni Pak'nSave established just over 1km north of the Aranui shopping centre); the other is an update to earlier analysis of co-location in various out-of-centre locations around Christchurch.
39. Furthermore, since the Commissioner hearing in 2006 the 5-yearly Census of Population and Dwellings has been carried out by Statistics NZ and the results published. This has allowed me to evaluate the effect of Living 3 zones in promoting residential intensification around existing centres by making a comparison between the 2001 and 2006 census data.

The Aranui case study

40. I believe that the facts of the Aranui case study demonstrate an example where trade competition has resulted in significant adverse social effects on an existing centre, arising from the out-of-centre Pak'nSave retail development on Wainoni Road. I believe there is little doubt that trade competition was the underlying cause. While I acknowledge a range of out-of-centre social benefits have occurred, the outcomes already evident indicate, in nett terms, significant adverse effects on social well being for certain groups in Aranui as well as significant community disenablement in the longer run.
41. I will now summarise for the Court the findings of this case study work, with further details provided as attachments to my evidence. This summary will cover -
- the assessment methodology,
 - background information on the out-of-centre development,
 - comments on the appropriate perspective for an assessment of social effects,
 - a description of the Aranui community,
 - an assessment of social effects, and
 - my conclusions from this case study.

Assessment methodology

42. Social analysis typically uses both quantitative and qualitative data¹. There is often a tendency to assume that the only valid and reliable social data are derived from a sample survey. In terms of generating reliable and valid research findings this is a narrow perspective and one that is not supported by the sociological literature. Accepted methods for social research include case studies, various types of interviewing of selected subjects, focus groups and other qualitative methods, including direct observation. The crucial issues, long recognised by social

¹ Taylor, C. Nicholas, Bryan, C. Hobson and Goodrich, Colin G. (1995). Social Assessment: Theory Process and Techniques. Taylor Baines and Associates, Christchurch.

scientists, are reliability and validity². My conclusions in this evidence are drawn from research that uses a range of methods that have produced both quantitative and qualitative data.

43. In preparation for this evidence, I visited Aranui and its surroundings on numerous occasions to make direct observations, conduct face-to-face interviews, collect background data and hold focus group discussions. Demographic data for the Aranui community was obtained from the 2006 Census of Population and Dwellings. Altogether 16 semi-structured interviews³ were conducted with people providing a variety of social and community services, and the owner-managers of the supermarkets involved. The interviews were focused on issues and effects and designed to elicit in-depth information.
44. 14 owners or managers of businesses and organisations operating in or adjacent to the Aranui shopping centre were interviewed using a structured questionnaire. This survey was focused on 'before and after' comparisons of business activity and direct observations of social activity occurring in and around the Aranui shopping centre.
45. Focus group discussions were held with 9 Aranui Playcentre parents, 8 elderly residents of Aranui and 13 Year12/13 students at Araniu High School. Each focus group⁴ involved participants completing an individual questionnaire and then taking part in group discussion of particular issues or questions. Additional secondary data sources included Housing NZ⁵, the Christchurch City Council⁶ and ACTIS⁷.

Background information

46. Aranui had long been an established neighbourhood centre; a supermarket had established at the corner of Pages Road and Breezes Road some thirty years ago, and a range of other commercial activities progressively accumulated around it⁸. A range of other community facilities are also located close by, as I shall detail later.

² Coffey, A., and Atkinson. P. (1996). Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Research Strategies. Sage Publications, California. Kirk, Jerome and Marc Miller (1986). Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills.

³ A list of these key informant interviewees is provided in Attachment 1.

⁴ Elsewhere in my evidence and attachments I state numbers of responses to these individual questionnaires. In cases where there are missing responses, the numbers will be slightly different to those given in paragraph 44.

⁵ Numbers and locations of HNZA units, by Census Area Unit

⁶ Numbers and locations of CCC rental units; numbers, locations and permitting dates for Elderly Persons Housing in the Aranui area; Resource Consent documentation for Foodstuffs (SI) Ltd application for the Wainoni Pak'nSave supermarket.

⁷ Minutes of ACTIS bi-monthly meeting held on 8 March 2006.

⁸ Most recently including a café, restaurant and takeaways, licensed premises, motor vehicle services, footwear clothing and soft goods, personal and household services, and secondhand goods (Evidence of Mr Donnelly to the Resource Consent hearing for Pak'nSave, confirmed by direct observation).

Nevertheless, as noted by Mr Davidson⁹ in his evidence to the Resource Consent hearing for the Wainoni Pak'nSave, commercial investment had stagnated in Aranui, overall retailing and commercial amenity in the area was poor, and Foodstuffs was willing to invest in a suburb that had not seen substantial investment for many years.

47. Foodstuffs had identified un-met consumer demand in the eastern part of the City generally and demand for discount shopping in Aranui itself. Mr Davidson's evidence¹⁰ to the Resource Consent hearing for Pak'nSave makes it clear that Foodstuffs's initial intention was to re-develop the existing Aranui New World site to convert it to a Pak'nSave development
48. However, for various reasons, this did not eventuate and Foodstuffs instead promoted a two-supermarket scenario, in which its existing Aranui New World supermarket would remain open at the same time as its new Pak'nSave development came into operation on Wainoni Road.
49. The reality was very different after consents for an out-of-centre development had been granted. Several months before the new Pak'nSave development was ready to open, the New World business was sold to the Pak'nSave business so that existing staff jobs could be secured. In the event, the New World supermarket closed when the Pak'nSave supermarket opened.

Perspective for an assessment of social effects

50. In my opinion, these background considerations draw attention to two issues regarding the assessment of social effects in this case. I wish to discuss them briefly because each issue results in a tendency to under-state the significance of the social effects for the community served by the existing centre.
51. First, if a two-supermarket scenario was accepted as likely, then it could be considered consistent to conclude that a positive nett social effect from the new Pak'nSave development was likely. Indeed, in my interviewing in Aranui, I discovered a number of people who reported that community expectations prior to Pak'nSave's opening were generally favourable - on the assumption that their existing New World supermarket would continue to operate. For some groups in the community, these favourable expectations have not eventuated since the New World supermarket closed immediately Pak'nSave opened.
52. The second issue concerns the way in which the assessment of social effects is framed. In simple terms, a before and after¹¹ comparison for Aranui tells only part of the story. This comparison simply identifies the direct and immediate effects on the community by considering the change in the community's social well being following the closure of the Aranui centre supermarket.

⁹ Mr Davidson was at the time General Manager of Retail Development for Foodstuffs (South Island) Limited. Refer to paras.17 and 20

¹⁰ Op.Cit. para.20.

¹¹ That is to say, comparing the existing Aranui centre as it was before, with the Aranui centre after the new out-of-centre development on Wainoni Road has occurred and the New World supermarket closed.

53. In my view it is necessary, in order to identify the full and longer-term extent of the social effects, to undertake what I describe as a "with and without" analysis. That is to say, comparing the community's social well being with the new out-of-centre Pak'N'Save in place (resulting in the New World closure), with what the community's long-term prospects for social well being would have been if the Pak'N'Save investment had been made in the Aranui centre, rather than at Wainoni Road¹², i.e. without the out-of-centre Pak'N'Save in place. This comparison represents the nett differential in the community's social well being between having a centres-based approach and not having one.
54. In summary, insofar as the assessment addresses the social effects of the existing centre and its community, the before and after approach captures only the potential adverse effects of allowing an out-of-centre retail development to proceed, while ignoring the 'lost opportunity' or cumulative 'displaced benefit' effects of the new investment. Indeed, paradoxically, the latter benefits are usually ascribed to the proposed out-of-centre development.

The Aranui community

55. Before presenting a summary of my ex-post assessment of social effects, I will provide a brief community profile of Aranui and its shopping centre in order to give context to the assessment. More detail is provided in Attachment 2.
56. The residential community of interest at Aranui for the purposes of this case study has been defined as the primary catchment area of the New World supermarket¹³ which operated in Aranui until November 2006 (see Figure 1 of Attachment 2).
57. Aranui is demographically distinct from Christchurch in a number of respects. The Aranui community (27% aged 14 years and under) has considerably higher proportions of children than Christchurch City (18% aged 14 years and under) but lower proportions of elderly (10% and 13% respectively, aged 65 years and over). Households in Aranui are more likely than their city-wide counterparts to rent the dwelling they live in (39% Aranui; 31% Christchurch) and correspondingly less likely to own it. Housing NZ is also a much more prominent landlord in Aranui than in the City as a whole. The distribution of household incomes in Aranui shows a bias towards lower household income levels compared with the City's relatively even distribution. The proportion of Aranui households without a motor vehicle (13%) is considerably higher than for the City at large (9%). While the youth of Aranui may typically have as much money to spend as their City-wide counterparts, the expenditure capacity of most Aranui residents is largely confined to low-medium income levels. The sources of personal income for Aranui indicate proportionately higher levels of beneficiaries, lower levels of employment, and much lower levels of income from other discretionary sources such as interest, dividends and rents.
58. The Aranui shopping centre straddles all four corners of the intersection of Pages Road and Breezes Road. For approximately thirty years, a supermarket has anchored the shopping centre. The present composition of businesses operating in the Aranui centre is detailed in Attachment 2. In addition to these commercial

¹² As was originally intended by Foodstuffs and would have been incentivised and promoted by the Variation 86 centres based approach.

¹³ Map provided by Mr Heath; boundaries confirmed by interviews with supermarket managers.

premises, a medical centre and a physiotherapy practice have operated directly adjacent to the centre (on the eastern side of Breezes Road, opposite the carpark entrance) for 17 and 24 years respectively. Other long-established community-related premises nearby include a community hall, two churches (one having a drop-in café and food bank which operate five days a week), three pre-school facilities at various points along Breezes Road, Police premises on Breezes Road with an adjacent youth activities centre. The Christchurch Worship Centre has rented premises in the shopping centre on Pages Road (owned by Foodstuffs) since August 2005. Aranui Primary School and Aranui High School are both located nearby. It is noteworthy that all these community-related facilities lie within the 800m walking distance (sometimes referred to as a 'pedshed') of the New World supermarket site (see Figure 3 of Attachment 2).

59. In the main, customer catchments for Aranui shopping centre businesses were similar to that of the supermarket. Modes of transport for customers accessing these businesses show a mix of modes as typical. While there are references to the supermarket carpark having been full at times, almost all the businesses reported that at least some of their customers typically walked to the centre. More than two thirds of the focus group participants interviewed reported that they used to visit the New World supermarket several times a week or even daily for some. The New World supermarket shared a lot of customers with Pak'n&Save Moorhouse. Furthermore, businesses interviewed universally reported observations of customers cross shopping. A small hardware store on Breezes Road closed down at the end of 2006 and is still vacant. The former supermarket building was tenanted in July 2007 as a bulk format furniture store.
60. Most of the existing businesses, including the New World supermarket when it was operating, reported established relationships with local community groups and social services. For smaller businesses, such relationships revolved around sponsorships and donations to local groups or supplying services to local groups. The New World supermarket gave financial support to local schools, pre-schools and youth groups for supplies and trips away. It was common practice for the supermarket to run accounts for schools and local businesses, and to cash cheques because staff knew many of the customers as regulars. On many weekends there were fund-raising barbecues/sausage sizzles held outside the entrance to the supermarket, to assist church groups, sports teams and schools. A community notice board was initiated by the most recent supermarket owner. In the winter months, nearby elderly residents would make frequent trips to the supermarket because it was warm. Participants at the focus group for elderly pointed out that because the New World supermarket was relatively close by, most were in the habit of walking there several times a week, and this activity was important for their health and their social interaction. It was not unusual for walks to the supermarket and shopping centre to result in a visit to a friend en-route for a chat and a cup of tea, or a visit to the drop-in café at St Ambrose.
61. Businesses interviewed consistently reported various types of social interaction observed in and around the shopping centre. All the businesses reported the strong presence of school students, and people stopping at places around the shopping centre to chat was also commonly reported. These observations of social behaviour and interaction were corroborated in many of the key informant interviews as well as by focus group participant responses. For playcentre parents and the elderly, almost all reported stopping to chat regularly or occasionally, while meeting someone to have a drink or something to eat was much less common and may

reflect the limited choice available in the shopping centre. For youth, the Aranui shopping centre was not a place associated with 'hanging out'. Nevertheless, more than half of the youth focus group participants reported that they used to meet there to have a drink or something to eat occasionally.

62. According to City Council analysis, 7 services pass through Aranui daily, Monday to Friday, before 9am, 19 services between 9am and 6pm and 5 services after 6pm, for a total of 31 services daily. At the present time, none of these services travels between Pages Road and Wainoni Road.
63. In my discussions with many people in Aranui, the issues of affordability on limited incomes and physical mobility or accessibility to shops and community facilities were the most frequently raised. In this regard, it is evident from the 2006 census data that people with certain characteristics have tended to locate closer to the existing Aranui shopping centre, with its cluster of shops (including at that stage a supermarket) and other community facilities. The data tabulated in Attachment 2, Table 10, indicate that within the 800m walking distance of the New World supermarket site residential composition is more likely (than elsewhere in Aranui) to reflect people who are elderly, have comparatively very low household income, are super-annuitants, have poorer health status or some form of disability, are not in the labour force, live in one-person households, and in a household with no motor vehicle.

Assessment of social effects

64. I will now turn my attention to reporting the social effects of what has happened in Aranui as a result of allowing an out-of-centre supermarket development.
65. The basic facts are that the new Pak'nSave opened on land zoned for residential use at 174 Wainoni Road in December 2006 and the old New World supermarket closed in the Aranui shopping centre simultaneously.
66. The social effects which I shall shortly summarise in my evidence are attributed to the operation of a new supermarket on a new site. In my view, location is the central issue in this assessment of social effects. However, other aspects of the new supermarket development are worth noting as well, namely that the new supermarket is bigger and of a different brand, and the owner/manager of the new supermarket has brought to the business a degree of sensitivity to local community interests.
67. The development has given rise to a range of beneficial social effects as well as a range of adverse social effects. More detail, with elements of quantification, is provided in Attachment 3. In summary, there are possibly beneficial contributions to the social well being of many who live in the community of Aranui from access to cheaper goods; it is likely that more employment has been created for a number of Aranui residents; the owner of the Pak'nSave supermarket has described supporting a wide range of community groups throughout his primary catchment area with sponsorships in kind, although this may to some extent come at the expense of community groups within Aranui itself; he has also demonstrated a positive, neighbourly disposition to some immediate neighbours who requested easy, direct access to the supermarket via gates in their boundary fence. These are all contributions to social wellbeing that would arise to some extent irrespective of location.

68. The supermarket investment by Foodstuffs has resulted in landscaping of a large area of carpark (improved visual amenity), including the sealing over of soil contaminated with arsenic by previous timber yard activities on the site, thereby removing a health risks to people who live nearby. Foodstuffs has also contributed substantially towards the council costs of developing the new recreational reserve adjacent to the supermarket site; its contribution enabled the project to be brought forward on the Council's timetable, thus hastening the creation of a new recreational amenity for the area. While these are site-specific benefits, they are also, with the exception of the contaminated soil issue, not atypical of the kinds of improvements that occur whenever new supermarkets are developed or existing ones upgraded.
69. Adverse social effects on the Aranui community become evident when considering physical accessibility and convenience. A substantial proportion of the residential community now have further to travel to get to their nearest supermarket (at private cost in terms of time or money) and for some groups the option of walking to the supermarket has been taken away, with consequences for accessibility, health and social isolation.
70. There are situations where the loss of a particular store effects certain groups of people in a particular way, as for example with the loss of the hardware store, which closed when the supermarket closed. While this type of social effect may appear relatively minor, they still affect the lives of probably 30-40 households in each case; therefore numerically probably at least equivalent to the number of households which experience neighbour-related benefits from the new Pak'nSave supermarket on Wainoni Road.
71. The numbers of people visiting the Aranui shopping centre are widely reported as being substantially reduced and most shops report reduced customer numbers. As a consequence, many in the Aranui community have lost an important social hub - a focus of regular and frequent informal social interaction. This is a significant adverse social effect at the community level, probably affecting the majority of Aranui residents to some degree, but not necessarily all to the same extent.
72. In the context of this case, perhaps the most profound adverse long-term effect has been the lost opportunity for substantial suburban renewal in Aranui, the kind of suburban renewal envisaged under a centres-based policy of periodic maintenance and enhancement. The development over time of any shopping centre and community focal point relies on private sector and public sector investments. Private sector investment on the scale of Foodstuff's recent supermarket development does not happen often in one location. The fact that it was allowed to happen at a considerable distance away from the Aranui shopping centre means that the Aranui shopping centre will experience the adverse social effects of this trade competition for many years to come. In my opinion, this puts the Aranui community in a quandary that is disabling of positive community development. Rather, it creates a real risk of community fragmentation.
73. I accept that not everyone in the Aranui community will consider themselves adversely affected by the out-of-centre Pak'nSave development. Under this arrangement some Aranui residents have definitely benefited, but I believe that rather more have been disadvantaged, particularly when we consider the loss of the social hub and the loss of suburban renewal potential for the existing centre. Thus for Aranui, the overall social effects of the present situation can be described as a

win-loss combination.

74. I also accept that if Foodstuffs had re-developed its Aranui site for a Pak'nSave, as it originally intended, and as the City Plan's centres-based policies would give preference to, then the actual development would have been somewhat different in scope and design. However, under such a scenario, the same range of social benefits would have been created and the adverse social effects avoided, thereby creating a social win-win situation.
75. Others to benefit from improved access to grocery shopping by the establishment of Pak'nSave on Wainoni Road - those City residents further afield throughout the primary Pak'nSave catchment (see Figure 1, Attachment 2) - would have benefited to a similar extent under either scenario.
76. I have attempted to summarise the social effects graphically, in the following Figures. The first figure represents¹⁴ the before and after comparison of effects, while the second figure represents the with and without comparison of effects.

Case study conclusions

77. I draw the following conclusions from this case study of social effects -
 - a before and after comparison of social well being outcomes for the residents of Aranui demonstrates that some local residents gained some benefits while a similar number have been disadvantaged. For the Aranui community, I believe this situation is, in itself, a significant adverse social effect, as it gives rise to 'winners' and 'losers' within the same community and is therefore not conducive to social cohesion. Also, in terms of social amenity effects, there has been a clear loss of a social hub, which will not be replaced in the near term by the Pak'nSave.
 - a with and without comparison of social well being outcomes for residents of Aranui differentiates more clearly between the social outcomes from allowing an out-of-centre supermarket development and those that would have resulted from in-centre renewal and consolidation. The additional benefits to city-wide residents are, for all intents and purposes, neutral between these two scenarios. Consequently, the actual outcomes for the residents of Aranui are undoubtedly significantly adverse from the out-of-centre development that was given consent.

¹⁴ The scale of the bar segments on the graphs indicate the numbers of households estimated to experience each social effect; the scale should be treated as comparative rather than absolute.

Social effects on the Aranui Community BEFORE the opening of Wainoni Pak N Save

Social effects on the Aranui Community AFTER the opening of Wainoni Pak N Save and New World closure

Social effects on other city residents AFTER the opening of Wainoni Pak N Save

