# A study of communities of interest in Wellington Region

**February 2016**

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**Introduction**

1.    The Local Government Commission, with the assistance of the councils and communities of Wellington Region, is looking at the current local government arrangements with a view to ensuring these are the best possible arrangements to provide 'good local government' for the people of the region.

2.    'Good local government' is seen as a set of arrangements that best promote the purpose of local government as set out in section 10 of the Local Government Act 2002. This purpose has two parts:
   a.    to enable democratic local decision-making and action by, and on behalf of, communities
   b.    to meet the current and future needs of communities for good quality local infrastructure, local public services, and performance of regulatory functions in a way that is most cost-effective for households and businesses (with 'good quality' meaning efficient, effective and appropriate to present and anticipated future circumstances).

3.    It is noted that while the purpose of local government relates to local or community level governance of an area, there is no definition of the term "community" as used in the context of section 10.

4.    In the absence of statutory guidance, the Local Government Commission intends applying the concept of community of interest to assist it in the study of local government arrangements in Wellington Region. This is a useful tool given one of the statutory criteria for identifying reasonably practicable options for local government reorganisation is a requirement for a district to contain one or more "distinct communities of interest". In addition, importance is placed under the Local Electoral Act 2001, on regular council reviews to ensure ongoing "effective representation of communities of interest".

5.    This paper applies the concept of community of interest to Wellington Region in order to help assess whether the current local government arrangements are best for promoting 'good local government' in the region. This includes assessment of the appropriateness of current local government boundaries as groupings of one or more communities of interest.

6.    A draft of this paper was sent to the councils in the region for input and comment. Any further input or comment on the paper is welcome.

**PART A:** **GENERAL APPROACH TO IDENTIFYING COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST**

7. The approach taken assumes a broad view of the concept of community of interest. It encompasses both subjective and objective views of what a community of interest constitutes. The approach is based on the working definition of community of interest developed by Helen Fulcher[1] as applying to a particular locality and having one or more of the following three dimensions:
   a. Perceptual: a sense of belonging to an area or locality which can be clearly defined.
   b. Functional: the ability to meet with reasonable economy the community's requirements for comprehensive physical and human services.
   c. Political: the ability of the elected body to represent the interests and reconcile the conflicts of all its members.

8. The three dimensions are quite different in nature, ranging from highly subjective to clearly objective and therefore more easily measurable. A particular dimension can also exist simultaneously at different levels e.g. the local/neighbourhood level, district level and regional level.

9. It is acknowledged that since Fulcher prepared her paper over 26 years ago, there has been significant societal change and this will continue. This change includes technological developments that have impacted dramatically on how people, particularly younger people, interact with virtual and other non-geographically defined 'communities of interest'. While such changes need to be taken into account, local government is, and will for the foreseeable future remain, geographically defined and therefore this approach based on the three identified dimensions remains relevant.

10. While the three identified dimensions of community of interest are important individually in helping assess 'good local government', they do overlap and are often interwoven. Consideration of one dimension may, therefore, also involve to some degree another dimension.

11. The perceptual dimension of community of interest, for example, is important in the sense that if people feel a sense of belonging to an area they are more likely to engage in local community affairs often involving interaction with their local council, and to participate in activities like local elections. The perceptual dimension is then related to appropriate representation and decision-making structures needing to be identified under the political dimension of communities of interest.

12. The functional dimension clearly relates to the purpose of local government in respect of provision of good quality services, now and into the future, in the local area. Fulcher identifies four conditions relating to the functional dimension of community of interest which overlap the other two: the physical (and perceptual) distance from the administrative centre; communities of interest not being divided by municipal boundaries; recognising the interdependence of service centres and the surrounding countryside in rural areas; boundaries being easily identifiable and having regard to boundaries defined and used by other government and statutory bodies.

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[1] Fulcher, H., (1989), South Australian Department of Local Government, *A Discussion Paper Which Explores The Concept of Community Of Interest As It Applies To Local Government Boundaries*

13.     Recognition of both perceptual and functional dimensions is likely to result in the identification of different scope and scale communities of interest. The political dimension can then be used to achieve a balance between these dimensions in determining appropriate representation and decision-making structures for the 'enabling of democratic local decision-making and action for, and on behalf of, communities'.

**Identifying perceptual communities of interest**

14.     Fulcher notes that "communities show considerable diversity in the nature and strength of the networks which operate, both overtly and covertly, between local residents. In perceptual terms, community of interest may range from virtually non-existent, to transient, to a proud local tradition … in some localities, the physical proximity and daily interaction of residents in activities such as shopping, recreation, and worship may create only loose-knit networks … in other areas, people's interactions may be more neighbourly … in other localities (for example long-established rural communities), there may be a strong network of people, who are proudly self-sufficient and actively demonstrate their compatibility and common outlook."

15.     Fulcher cites evidence that perceptual communities of interest are likely to be more identifiable at a more local level than the district level. This evidence includes a study undertaken in South Australia on the attitudes of people to their "home area" or the area they felt they belonged and with which they identified. This found for people living in council areas fewer than 20,000 people, most identified the "area" in which they felt "at home" as the local government area. Above 20,000, perceived communities were smaller than the actual population of the local government area. Fulcher also cites the Maud Royal Commission's survey of community attitudes across England in 1969 which found that in urban areas, most people defined the "home" area by the group of roads within ten minutes walk of their residence, and in smaller boroughs, with the whole town.

16.     Commission officers are not aware of similar surveys on perceptions of size of "home areas" being undertaken in New Zealand but consider the above findings are likely to have some relevance here.

17.     Particular factors seen as likely to contribute to or reinforce perceptions of local communities of interest include:
    •   the evolution of local government i.e. establishment/mergers of former counties and boroughs in the area leading to the present now familiar structure, with associated sense of identity and belonging
    •   the geography of the area and significant physical features as they relate to land-use and patterns of development, and then to feelings of difference and separateness
    •   groupings of communities within a district into wards/community board areas reflecting geography and other factors such as similarities in socio-economic characteristics.

**Identifying functional communities of interest**

18.     Fulcher describes the functional dimension of community of interest as referring to "the interactions of the community, the sense of common activities such as trade, sport and schooling, and common needs for area-based facilities and amenities". In short, these interactions may be described as relating to where people live, work and play.

19. An example of the significance of these interactions in relation to different communities is shown in an Auckland study on the role of schools in parents' sense of belonging to a community.[2] In this study Māori and Pākehā parents indicated that schools and preschools were the most significant sites to their community belonging. For Pacific and Asian parents, the church was more important.

20. Fulcher identifies factors relating to measurement of the functional dimension including the distance factor and the importance of telecommunications in reducing the impact of distance, and the extent of local government's role as a provider of services. She also notes, in addition to measuring current use, the importance of assessing future demand through analysis of census data: "accurate demographic profiles of factors such as age, occupation, incomes, housing and family types, home ownership rate and recipients of welfare benefits, will indicate how homogeneous or stable the community is and the likely direction of changing needs relevant to council planning and policy".

21. The following factors are seen as important in identifying functional communities of interest, in some cases building on or reinforcing perceptual factors:
    - current broad land-use patterns (residential, commercial, rural) as they relate to where people currently live, work and play
    - travel to work data i.e. the extent people stay within or travel out of the district to work
    - location of spending data i.e. the extent people shop in or out of the district
    - the range of community, recreation, cultural facilities and services within existing districts
    - location and usage patterns of 'regional' facilities
    - current catchment areas for the delivery of core local authority infrastructure and regulatory services including the extent of shared or joint arrangements
    - flows of goods and services within and out of the region including the role of key infrastructure i.e. port, airport, state highways
    - current catchment areas for the delivery of important non-local government services e.g. health, education, social welfare.

**Identifying political communities of interest**

22. Fulcher notes the political dimension of community of interest "relates to the ability of local government to represent the interests of all its members". She says while there is a need for local government to define and represent an area that is a coherent social and economic unit, there are still likely to be diverse identities, needs and priorities clustered together within that unit.

23. Fulcher goes on: "(t)he political dimension of community of interest needs to acknowledge the existence of such diversity, be able to reconcile conflicts of interest and differing priorities, and bring policies to fruition. To do so effectively, there must be public confidence in local political leaders and in the ability of local activity to influence decision making processes. Resident interest and involvement in local politics will in turn foster the perceptual dimension of community and enhance the workings of local government as community government".

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[2] Witten, K., McCreanor, T. and Kearns, R., (2007), *The place of schools in parents' community belonging,* New Zealand Geographer Vol 63, pp 141 – 148

24. As previously noted, assessment of perceptual and functional dimensions of community of interest may result in different scale communities being identified. This requires careful assessment when identifying arrangements to reflect appropriate political dimensions of communities of interest. This tension is demonstrated by analysis of local authority election results in New Zealand which shows smaller local authorities, i.e. with a population less than 20,000 (in line with Fulcher's cited South Australian study), have tended to have distinctly higher levels of voter turnout than larger authorities. This fact may be seen to reflect a stronger sense of identity with, and belonging to, smaller communities translating into higher levels of engagement and participation. While acknowledging that factors affecting voter turnout are inherently complicated, this finding relating to the perceptual dimension of community of interest needs to be considered against the functional dimension which may suggest larger areas, on grounds of efficiency, are more appropriate.

25. In summary, factors seen as important in identifying political communities of interest include:
   - local government electoral arrangements within districts i.e. constituencies, wards, community board areas reflecting distinct communities of interest, including the projected degree of change in particular socio-economic factors as they impact on those arrangements
   - the existence and nature of other local social, cultural, ethnic communities which may cut across some electoral boundaries
   - hapū/iwi/Māori areas of interest and associated structures
   - parliamentary electorates
   - central government agency structures
   - non-governmental structures e.g. chambers of commerce, federated farmers
   - local interest groups including ratepayer and resident groups.

26. Local government representation and decision-making structures need to be designed to reflect a range of interests and to assist the reconciliation of diversity, conflicts and differing priorities. At the same time there is a need to consider efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability in the delivery of services to meet community needs. In summary, criteria for 'good local government' arrangements, guided by the purpose of local government, are seen as follows:
   - enabling democratic local decision-making and action by, and on behalf of, communities with arrangements that:
     o reflect whole communities of interest grouped as appropriate
     o provide fair and effective representation
     o do not create barriers to participation e.g. at elections
   - meeting current and future needs of communities for good quality local infrastructure, local public services and regulatory functions in a way that is most cost effective for households and businesses with arrangements that are:
     o efficient (achieve maximum economies, avoid unnecessary duplication, match the area of benefit with the area that pays)
     o effective (meet statutory responsibilities and the identified needs and priorities of the community, households, businesses)
     o appropriate to present and anticipated future circumstances.

27. Part B applies these criteria to Wellington Region.

***PART B:* APPLICATION OF THE APPROACH TO WELLINGTON REGION**

28.    This Part sets out information to assist the identification of the perceptual, functional and political dimensions of communities of interest in Wellington Region. It sets this out firstly in relation to the region as a whole and then on a district by district basis.


**WELLINGTON REGION**

**Evolution of regional governance**

29.    From 1853 to 1876 New Zealand was divided into, initially six, and then nine provinces with each having its own superintendent and directly elected provincial council. The Wellington Province originally included all of the southern part of the North Island excluding Taranaki, with Hawke's Bay subsequently excluded to form its own province in 1858.

30.    On their abolition in 1876, the provinces were replaced by a raft of boroughs and counties across the country, the number of which quickly multiplied (see below under individual territorial authorities for details of the history of the boroughs and counties in each part of the greater Wellington area).

31.    Given the small scale of the resulting local authorities and their limited functions, the need for further special purpose authorities quickly arose such as a Hutt River Board in 1899. The first special purpose local authority of a regional nature in the Wellington area was the Wellington Harbour Board established in 1880 to further develop and operate Wellington's port.  Its electoral area eventually included the Wairarapa and parts of the Manawatu.

32.    Further organisations of a regional nature were established in the 1940s.  Following enactment of the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Act in 1941, the Manawatu and Wairarapa Catchment Boards were established in 1943 and 1944 respectively, to deal with flood control and soil conservation in those areas. For the Wellington metropolitan area, a Wellington Regional Planning Authority was established in 1945 to coordinate planning and urban growth.

33.    In 1972 the Wellington Regional Water Board was established to take over bulk water supply from the territorial authorities and to assume responsibility for water and soil conservation.

34.    Then in the late 1970s, a co-ordinated New Zealand-wide system of regional government was established responsible for certain functions needing to be carried out at a scale beyond the territorial authority level.  For the Horowhenua and Wairarapa regions, united councils were established.  These had responsibility for regional planning and regional civil defence, as well as providing necessary coordination between the territorial and special purpose authorities in the region.  The members of a united council were appointed by the territorial authorities in that region.  In the Wellington Region a directly elected regional council was established.  It took over the functions of the Wellington Regional Water Board and the Wellington Regional Planning Authority, and had responsibility for regional civil defence.

35.    The current Wellington Region was constituted in 1989 as part of comprehensive local government reforms across the country. The region brought together eight territorial authority districts and a small part of a ninth district, as well as a number of special purpose bodies.

36.     The area of Wellington Region comprised: the three Wairarapa districts of Masterton, Carterton and South Wairarapa and also a small part of Tararua District; the two Hutt Valley territorial authorities being Upper Hutt and Lower Hutt cities; and the three western districts of Wellington and Porirua cities, and Kapiti Coast District. The eight cities and districts fully in the region are shown in the map below.



37.     *Table 1* provides profiles of the eight cities and districts and *Table 2* sets out demographic data relating to these cities and districts.

**Determination of the current Wellington Region**

38.     In determining the current region, the then Local Government Commission carefully considered various dimensions of community of interest in relation to regional boundaries in the southern North Island but particularly the functional dimension.

39.     The Commission concluded that it was important and practicable to maintain the integrity of the Manawatu River catchment by including the majority of the former Eketahuna County (now part of Tararua District) in the proposed Manawatu-Wanganui Region. This in turn diminished the area and resources of the existing Wairarapa Region to the extent that the Commission considered that this region "would not be viable because of the limited resources available, the limited functional responsibilities for which the necessary qualified staff would need to be employed, and the fact that a better alternative was available".[3]

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[3] Draft Reorganisation Schemes, Wellington Region, December 1998, Section D 'Notes to the Draft Reorganisation Scheme for the Wellington Region', p. 6.

40. The Commission considered the better alternative was to include the Wairarapa in an extended Wellington Region noting Masterton was only 100 kilometres by road from Wellington City, which it believed was not a great distance in regional terms, and that there was a regular commuter train between the two centres. The Commission also noted there was a considerable community of interest between southern Wairarapa and metropolitan Wellington while there was not the same community of interest between Masterton and the proposed Manawatu-Wanganui Region.

41. The north-eastern boundary of the extended Wellington Region was set to include all of the Mataikona River catchment as the Commission considered this catchment would be better serviced from the Wairarapa than from the proposed Manawatu-Wanganui Region. This resulted in a small area of the new Tararua District being included in Wellington Region.

42. In the western area of the region the Commission came to the conclusion that "the present Wellington regional boundary at Pukerua Bay had not, and possibly never had, recognised the true northern boundary of the region's community of interest … (which) is still very strong at least as far as Waikanae, with many people commuting daily to Wellington for work". It subsequently determined, on the grounds of community of interest, that the north-western regional boundary should be just north of Otaki including all of the Waitohu River catchment.

43. The remaining Wellington regional boundaries, in the west, south and east, are defined by the coastline but also include several islands (see below under individual territorial authorities for details).

44. Today, perceptual, functional and political dimensions of community of interest are readily identifiable in Wellington Region, as established in 1989, and can also be seen to be interwoven.

**Perceptual dimension of community of interest**

45. Perceptions of a 'Wellington identity' date back to establishment of the original Wellington City in the late 1800s. The sense of identity (and belonging) then spread with the subsequent expansion of the city (see below under 'Wellington City') and associated development.

46. Beyond the formal boundaries of Wellington City, a sense of identity has developed given growing functional relationships between the areas of the region. The strength of this sense of identity, however, diminishes the further out in the region one travels.

47. The strength of a regional sense of identity in the greater Wellington area relates to both distance and also to geography. Clearly the Rimutaka Ranges impose both a physical as well as a perceptual barrier between the Wairarapa and the area to the west. The geography and associated river catchment of the Hutt Valley also serves to distinguish the two Hutt Valley territorial authorities from their neighbouring authorities. While there is an absence of a clear geographical demarcation between Wellington City and Porirua City, there is a reasonably clear physical separation between Porirua City and Kapiti Coast District to the north provided by the escarpment between Pukerua Bay and Paekākāriki.

**Functional dimension of community of interest**

48.    The single biggest influence on the development of the area to the west of the Rimutaka Ranges has been establishment of Wellington as the capital city and centre of government. In addition to the location of the public service, many private sector businesses saw location of their head offices in the capital city as advantageous and these factors promoted further commercial and industrial development.

49.    From the Second World War, the wider Wellington 'region' became a significant employment centre. This was supported by improved transport services enabling closer economic and social relationships between the various communities west of the Rimutakas.

50.    Declining industrial sector employment in Hutt Valley and Porirua, especially during the 1980s, led to a downturn in those local economies. This was partially countered by a growth in higher skilled employment, much of which was in located in Wellington City. At the same time further improvements to transport services, including extended electrification of the rail system and gradual renewal of old passenger transport infrastructure, have contributed to steadily improved servicing of Wellington City. This has reinforced the interdependence of the city and outlying areas up to at least Waikanae and Upper Hutt.

51.    Better transport systems have reduced the distance, both physically and perceptually, between communities and this trend is likely to continue given the Greater Wellington Regional Council commitment to ongoing upgrading of the rail infrastructure, and also improved state highway links such as the Kapiti expressway and new Transmission Gully route. Cross region linkages such as those between the Hutt Valley industrial areas and the state highways are also on the regional transport strategy list of projects.

52.    At the same time, while the Wairarapa does have functional connections to the north, it also has had a close and growing association with the communities west of the Rimutaka Ranges since the provincial period, as a result of the ongoing development of better road and later rail connections. Particular ties between the two areas today have arisen from transportation of primary products, commuting for employment purposes, availability of education (both Wellington and Wairarapa schools attract pupils across the divide) and the location of retail and recreational activities.

*Economic interdependence*

53.    To assess current economic and financial interrelationships within the region, the Commission engaged Market Economics to analyse these as part of the process of developing a draft reorganisation proposal for Wellington Region. The analysis found that "the majority of the inputs into the economy of each area came from within the region" and that "broadly the same proportion of (the districts') outputs flow to the economies of the other districts in the region". This shows a high level of economic interdependence within Wellington Region today and "while there is a greater level of interdependence between the economies of the western areas, the Wairarapa economies are typical of a more rural hinterland that supports and is supported by the core urban area".[4]

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[4] Draft Proposal for Reorganisation of Local Government in Wellington Region, vol. 2, Local Government Commission, page 45.

54. More work is required to understand whether the existing Wellington regional boundaries reflect the extent of both current and projected economic and financial interrelationships in central New Zealand, or whether these actually extend to a wider area of the southern North Island and/or to the top of the South Island. This work would include the important role of the regional transport system, including Wellington port and airport along with the state highway network serving these facilities and linking to other areas.

55. At the individual personal level, the most telling indicators of functional communities of interest are those relating to people's day-to-day lives – the places where they live, where they earn and spend money, and where they spend their leisure time.

*Location of work*

56. One such indicator is place of work statistics. *Table 3* sets out 2013 census data on place of work for the residents of each district in the region. This shows Wellington Region as a whole, comprising eight districts, is a cohesive and largely self-contained unit for employment purposes. A very high percentage of the working residents of each district work within the region, with the range being from 86.2% (Kapiti Coast) to 92.5% (Wellington City).

57. Within the region there are also some clear patterns. The metropolitan area of the region (the four cities west of the Rimutakas) forms a cohesive and self-contained unit for work purposes. The range of metropolitan working residents working in one of these cities is between 86.9% (Porirua) and 92% (Wellington City).

58. At the same time, there is a wide range in the levels of self-sufficiency within individual districts for work purposes. Wellington City is highly self-contained with 84% of its working residents working in their home area compared to just 37.2% of Porirua working residents and 38.4% of Upper Hutt working residents. Wellington City is clearly an employment hub for the whole metropolitan area with 41.3% of Porirua working residents working in Wellington City, 32.1% of Lower Hutt working residents and 25% of Upper Hutt working residents. Kapiti Coast is more self-contained than Porirua, Upper Hutt and Lower Hutt, with 54% of its working residents working in their home district, though a significant proportion (32.2%) work in the metropolitan area.

59. The three Wairarapa districts collectively also provide a relatively strong and self-contained unit for work purposes particularly in the northern area where Masterton acts as a sub-regional hub. In Masterton nearly 74% of working residents work in their home district and 83% work somewhere in the Wairarapa. For Carterton and South Wairarapa, the respective percentages are 24.6% and 77.4%, and 7.8% and 69.6%. On the other hand, the percentages of Wairarapa working residents working in the metropolitan area west of the Rimutakas is low, though higher in the southern part, being only 4.3% for Masterton, 11.8% for Carterton and 19.2% for South Wairarapa. This compares to Kapiti Coast at 32.2%.

60. Greater Wellington Regional Council officers have undertaken an analysis of travel patterns in the region that broadly supports the above analysis of location of work and related shopping patterns (see below). This analysis shows that self-contained travel trips in the region are highest in Wellington City and the Wairarapa and lowest in Porirua City, while self-contained travel in the morning peak period was generally lower than in the inter-peak period. The analysis also includes forecast patterns for 2031 compared to 2011 data. This shows that generally there is expected to be a lower share of self-contained trips than in 2011, showing that residents will travel further to reach employment or other places of interest, demonstrating an increasing degree of economic interdependence in the region.

*Location of shopping*

61.    Residents' shopping behaviour, within and across district boundaries, is another useful indicator of the degree of economic interdependence in Wellington Region. *Table 4* sets out place of spending by $s/transactions by residents of each district across the region based on 2013 BNZ bank card data.

62.    This data shows similar patterns to location of work. Again Wellington Region can be seen to be a highly self-contained unit for shopping purposes with the range of $ spending and transactions occurring within the region, being between 88.5% (Wellington) and 92.3% (Upper Hutt).

63.    At an individual district level, the percentages of $ spending and transactions occurring in the home district display a wide range, between 36.5% (Carterton $ spending) and 77.3% (Masterton $ spending).

64.    Again the metropolitan area shows it is a self-contained area for shopping, with the range in $ spending/transactions within the four cities being between 86.2% (Wellington $ spending) and 90.4% (Upper Hutt $ spending). At the same time, shopping within the Wairarapa by residents of the three districts is also significantly confined to this sub-regional area, particularly in the north ($ spending at 82.1% and 82.6% in Masterton and Carterton respectively, compared to 72.6% in South Wairarapa).

*Regional amenities and activities*

65.    Another measure of intra-regional activity is the importance attached to regional amenities and activities, and the degree of regional use of these.

66.    As result of research undertaken for the Wellington Mayoral Forum in 2011, a list of 'resident driven' regionally important amenities were identified.[5] The list, while not intended to be definitive, identified 22 amenities, organisations and events across the region and these are listed in *Table 5* in the order survey respondents thought everyone or most people in the region benefited by each. The table also shows the percentages of respondents who backed each amenity, organisation or event for region-wide support, and whether the respondent had actually used them. Interestingly, usage by respondents did not relate directly to the perceived level of benefit or backing for region-wide support.

67.    The amenities, organisations and events included services provided across the whole region, such as ambulance services, as well as those located in particular districts. The vast majority of the latter are located in Wellington City but others are located in the Wairarapa (3)[6], Porirua (2), Kapiti Coast (1) and Lower Hutt (1).

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[5] Colmar Brunton Social Research Agency, *Regional Residents Survey on Regional Amenities*, prepared for Wellington Region Mayoral Forum, 9 March 2011

[6] One of these facilities (Pukaka Mt Bruce Wildlife Centre) is actually in Tararua District.

68.   The five territorial authorities to the west of the Rimutaka Ranges and also Masterton District Council have formed a joint committee to govern and administer a Wellington regional amenities (WRA) fund. This fund has been established to "support eligible entities of regional significance with day to day operational expenses and new innovative projects that will achieve identified priorities for the region. The WRA Fund is focused on arts, cultural and environmental attractions and events to support and add to the attractiveness and vitality of the Wellington region".

69.   Other bodies provide recreational and sporting services on a regional basis. These include Greater Wellington Regional Council which provides region-wide recreational amenities including a network of parks (all in the western area of region). While Sport Wellington, an umbrella body covering both the Wairarapa and the five western area councils, was established to support and provide strategic direction for sports bodies in the region.

70.   Individual sporting codes have a range of different jurisdictions across the region, with few corresponding directly to Wellington regional local government boundaries. In rugby there are separate Wellington, Wairarapa-Bush and Kapiti-Horowhenua unions covering, or extending beyond, the region. Similarly in cricket there are separate Wellington, Wairarapa and Kapiti-Horowhenua associations with the latter two being part of Central Districts as distinct from Wellington. In netball there are separate Wellington, Hutt Valley, Kapi Mana, Kapiti and Wairarapa centres within a much wider central zone covering the lower North Island. In football, the Capital Federation includes the Wairarapa and Kapiti. While in hockey there is a Wellington association covering the western area of the region separate from a Wairarapa association. Tennis Central is based in Wellington with a region covering the lower North Island with separate Hutt Valley, Kapi Mana and Wairarapa associations. Bowls Wellington includes Hutt Valley and Porirua, and is separate from Bowls Kapiti and Bowls Wairarapa.

71.   It is noted that sporting codes reflect the interwoven nature of the dimensions of community of interest. For example, identification with, and support for, a particular sporting code or team can help to reinforce perceptions of a sense of identity with an area. It is also interesting to note here that some suggest that the existing rugby unions in the country, which have generally stood the test of time, would be a useful basis for a local authority structure.

*Local government services*

72.   The catchment areas for local government network infrastructure[7], planning and regulatory services help to define functional communities of interest. In the case of infrastructure services such as roading and the 'three waters' in Wellington Region, these have distinct (sub-)regional characteristics. Land transport planning is undertaken at the regional level. Bulk water supply has long been delivered jointly across the Wellington metropolitan area, and more recently the four metropolitan councils have combined with the regional council for the delivery of both water and wastewater services. Emergency management planning has for some time been undertaken at the regional level in line with legislation, while more recently the region's nine councils have agreed to deliver services from a combined Wellington Regional Emergency Management Office.

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[7] Defined in section 197 of the Local Government Act 2002 as provision of roads and other transport, water, wastewater and stormwater collection and management.

73.     Further analysis of some of these services is being undertaken separately, such as transport, and they are therefore not addressed in detail in this paper. Other local government services are addressed below under individual districts.

*Non-local government services*

74.     Functional communities of interest are further reflected in the way particular non-local government services are delivered. Again these can also help to reinforce perceptions about the identity of an area through clearly identifiable and consistent boundaries.

75.     A number of functional/service delivery agency jurisdictions generally coincide with the area of the current Wellington Region (though a number exclude the Otaki area) or divisions within the region. These include:
- district health boards (DHBs) – involve separate Wellington-Kapiti Coast, Hutt Valley and Wairarapa DHBs (N.B. the northern part of Kapiti Coast District falls within Mid-Central DHB)
- Wellington Free Ambulance – covers an area similar to Wellington Region but also excludes the northern part of Kapiti Coast District while including Tararua Forest Park beyond Wellington Region boundaries
- Work and Income – the Hutt Valley, Porirua, and Wellington council areas fall within the Wellington Work and Income region while the Kapiti Coast and three Wairarapa council areas are covered by the Central Work and Income region
- Police districts – the Wellington police district coincides with Wellington Regional Council boundaries with the exception of the Otaki area
- Fire service – Wellington Region is part of a wider region covering the southern half of the North Island.

**Political dimension of community of interest**

76.     Ability to represent different interests and to reconcile conflicts of different communities is another important dimension of communities of interest i.e. the political dimension. This relates to the operation of local government itself and also to its relationship with central government and with a range of non-governmental bodies including hapū/iwi. To the degree these relationships coincide with local government boundaries, advocacy, on behalf of residents and ratepayers, and joint initiatives with other agencies and interests will be facilitated.

77.     Since its establishment in 1989, Greater Wellington Regional Council has been divided into constituencies based on the territorial authority districts in the region which have been seen to represent distinct local political communities of interest. For all this period there have been single constituencies for: the Wairarapa as a whole, Upper Hutt, Lower Hutt and Kapiti Coast. There originally were separate Wellington North and Wellington South constituencies and a Porirua constituency. These constituencies have subsequently undergone some reconfigurations with there now being a single Wellington constituency and a combined Tawa-Porirua constituency.

78.     A number of iwi cover areas in Wellington Region[8]:
- eastern side:
  o Rangitāne
  o Ngati Kahungungu ki Wairarapa

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[8] Taken from the Te Puni Kokiri Kahui Mangai website

- western side:
  - Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga
  - Te Atiawa ki Whakarongotai
  - Ngati Toa Rangatira
  - Te Atiawa (Wellington)
  - Taranaki ki te Upoko o te Ika.

79.    Iwi rohe do not coincide with local authority boundaries. This results in multiple council/iwi relationship agreements, particularly at the district level, to enable local authorities to meet their statutory obligations to Māori.

80.    At the regional level, iwi/Māori involvement in council decision-making involves two committees of Greater Wellington Regional Council:
- Ara Tahi as a standing committee of the council, being a partnership forum made up of the leadership of both tangata whenua and the council
- Te Upoko Taiao, a joint environmental planning committee with equal numbers (7) of both council and non-council members and also with equal voting rights.

81.    Wellington Region's local government structures currently bear a partial relationship to parliamentary representation structures in terms of both the general and Māori electorates. The Rongotai and Wellington Central general electorates are fully within Wellington City; the Ohariu electorate covers parts of Wellington City and Lower Hutt City; the Mana electorate covers parts of Porirua City and Kapiti Coast District; the Otaki electorate covers parts of Kapiti Coast District and Horowhenua District; the Hutt South electorate is within Lower Hutt City; the Rimutaka electorate largely relates to Upper Hutt City; and the Wairarapa electorate includes the three Wairarapa districts but extends north to also include Tararua District and parts of Central Hawke's Bay District. At the same time, Wellington Region is divided between three Māori electorates: Te Tai Hauauru, Te Tai Tonga and Ikaroa-Rawhiti.

82.    A number of non-governmental bodies, representing particular sectors/interests such as Federated Farmers of New Zealand and the Chambers of Commerce, have boundaries that coincide to some degree with the region's local authority boundaries. Federated Farmers of New Zealand's Wairarapa provincial branch covers the Wairarapa as well as Kapiti through to Wellington (including Hutt Valley). The Chambers of Commerce in the region have separate branches within a central region covering Taranaki, Wanganui-Manawatu, Hawke's Bay and Wellington local government regions.

*Flexible approach to political communities of interest*

83.    As noted above, the ability to represent interests and reconcile conflicts will involve a balance between perceived communities of interest, often seen as existing at a more local level, and functional communities of interest in a number of cases extending over a wider area. The usual approach to defining a balance between these dimensions of communities of interest is for the definition of one distinct and unique set of geographically defined boundaries thereby defining an area for political accountability purposes. However, while traditional geographical definition of boundaries is widely accepted as the basis for communities of interest, this does not prevent initiatives across these boundaries.

84. An example of such an initiative was a local government/central government agreement reached in 2012 for a formal collaboration in the management of natural resources and recreation across the lower North Island. This joint initiative, called 'Nature Central', involves the Department of Conservation and three regional councils (Greater Wellington, Horizons and Hawke's Bay). In addition to the four partners working collaboratively together, opportunities are also seen for the partners to work with the community, iwi/hapu and business groups to better manage natural resources across this large area.

85. Further initiatives, complementing the traditional approach to communities of interest, may be possible in respect of other local government functions and activities. These could involve all or part of Wellington Region or potentially a wider area which might be appropriate in respect of an activity like economic development for example.


## WELLINGTON CITY

## Evolution of local government

86. Wellington town/city (it became a city in 1886) has long been recognised for local government purposes dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. During the brief period of the Wellington Provincial Council a limited form of local government, by way of local boards, was also carried out in other areas such as Johnsonville and Kaiwarra (Kaiwharawhara), as well as in Lower Hutt, Masterton, Greytown and Featherston.

87. Following the abolition of the provinces, a structure of boroughs and counties was established. These included Melrose (1888), Onslow (1890), Karori (1891) and Miramar (1904), in the Wellington area. Counties included Hutt County covering the whole area west of the Rimutaka Ranges which was gradually reduced over time with areas incorporated into neighbouring boroughs or divided into smaller counties such as Makara County in 1908. The previous local board areas became town districts and most eventually became boroughs.

88. Some consolidation took place during the early twentieth century with surrounding boroughs being absorbed into Wellington City – Melrose (1903), Onslow (1919), and Karori and Miramar (1920). Further changes included Tawa becoming a town district in 1951 and then a borough in 1953 and Johnsonville Town District becoming part of Wellington City in 1953. Makara County was abolished in 1962 with part being constituted as Porirua Borough and the remainder rejoining Hutt County. This latter large rural area in the southern part of Hutt County (formerly part of Makara County) was subsequently transferred to Wellington City in 1973.

89. In the reforms of the late 1980s the Local Government Commission considered four options in relation to Wellington City, Tawa Borough and Porirua City. These were: a single city for the entire area; a two-city model (one covering the Porirua Basin and the other Wellington City); an enlarged Tawa Borough; and an enlarged Wellington City (including Tawa Borough and Takapu Valley from Porirua City). The Commission subsequently determined that there should be an enlarged Wellington City.

90. The Commission's decision was based on community of interest considerations, with it acknowledging that while there was a strong community of interest between Tawa and Porirua, this was also very strong between Tawa and Wellington City particularly in relation to location of employment. The Commission noted this factor became the predominant one in its decision "supplemented by the expression of opinion from Tawa that there was more a sense of belonging to Wellington than to Porirua in terms of the identity of Tawa within a wider community".[9]

**Geography and land use**

91. Wellington City today comprises an area of 290 km2 of which 65% is rural (largely the areas of Makara, Ohariu, Takapu Valley and Horokiwi). The vast majority of the population lives in the urban area and the draft Wellington City urban growth plan describes this as "a compact area contained by the town belt, outer green belt and steep hillsides". At the same time, the well-established identity of the rural area has largely been retained with these areas remaining reasonably distinct.

92. The interdependence of the rural and urban areas in Wellington City is reinforced by good roading connections between: Makara and Karori, Ohariu and Johnsonville, and Takapu Valley and Tawa.

**Groupings of communities of interest**

93. Since its constitution in 1989 (and before) Wellington City has been divided into wards reflecting distinct communities of interest in the city. Initially there were seven wards, however these were later reduced to five with the combining of the Onslow and Western wards and the Tawa and Northern wards. The only other substantive change since 1989, was the disestablishment of the central Lambton Ward for a period with its division between neighbouring wards, but it has since been restored.

94. The Lambton Ward, in addition to being the location of the CBD, is now increasingly also a residential location particularly in the form of inner-city apartment living. As such the ward increasingly has its own distinct profile.

95. The groupings of suburbs into the current five wards and their respective populations (based on 2015 estimates) are set out in the following table.

| Ward | Suburbs | Population |
|---|---|---|
| Northern | Ohariu, Tawa, Takapu Valley, Horokiwi, Grenada North, Grenada Village, Glenside, Churton Park, Paparangi, Woodbridge, Newlands, Johnsonville | 46,700 |
| Onslow-Western | Broadmeadows, Ngauranga, Khandallah, Kaiwharawhara, Ngaio, Crofton Downs, Wadestown, Wilton, Northland, Karori, Makara, Makara Beach | 43,600 |
| Lambton | Thorndon, Pipitea, Wellington Central, Kelburn, Te Aro, Aro Valley, Highbury, Brooklyn, Mt Cook, Mt Victoria, Oriental Bay | 47,500 |
| Eastern | Roseneath, Hataitai, Kilbirnie, Miramar, Maupuia, Karaka Bay, Seatoun, Breaker Bay, Strathmore Park, Moa Point, Rongotai, Lyall Bay, Melrose, Southgate, Houghton Bay | 38,500 |
| Southern | Newtown, Vogeltown, Mornington, Kingston, Berampore, Island Bay, Owhiro Bay | 27,600 |

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[9] Draft Reorganisation Scheme Wellington Region, December 1988, Section D page 11

*Functional relationships*

96.     The restoration of the Lambton Ward reinforces the now well established geographical and functional relationships between the city's wards. The Lambton Ward acts as the central hub for employment, shopping, and entertainment purposes, with the surrounding wards linked to this ward by good quality roading and public transport links.

97.     However, analysis by Greater Wellington Regional Council officers shows that transport linkages between the wards do vary across the city. This analysis shows the CBD, Johnsonville/Churton Park/Grenada and to a lesser degree the southern suburbs of Island Bay/Berampore/Newtown have higher shares of contained trips, i.e. people seeking destinations within the same area. While on the other hand Mt Victoria, Wadestown/Wilton and the Tawa basin have a low percentage of contained trips.

98.     Geographically, Wellington City generally provides a well-defined catchment area, defined by the western, southern and eastern coastlines, for the delivery of council services. However its northern boundary abuts both Lower Hutt and Porirua cities which raises increasing community of interest issues as a result of population growth and other development.

99.     In addition to services and facilities seen to cater for region-wide users, identified above under 'regional amenities and activities', Wellington City provides a wide range of city-wide council services and facilities. These include: one centrally-sited council service centre; cemeteries (2); landfill; central library; marinas and boat ramps; public gardens; reserves (town belt and outer green belt); quarry; golf course; regional aquatic centre; sportscentre (ASB);  and social housing (2200 units). [10]

100.    The range of both local government and non-local government services and facilities available in Wellington City reflects a strong functional community of interest. This contributes to the place-making role of local government and the building of community identity, which in turn reinforces the perceptual dimension of community of interest.

101.    At the same time, there are strong suburban networks of council services and facilities which reinforce a sense of identity at the local community level as well as the district level. These networks include: community centres (23); branch libraries (11); recreation centres (4); suburban reserves; swimming pools (6); and walking paths.

102.    In addition to travel to work and shopping links (discussed above under 'Wellington Region'), there is a functional relationship between Wellington and Porirua cities in relation to particular local government responsibilities. This is reflected in the operation of two joint committees between the two councils relating to:
        •   Porirua harbour and catchment strategy, and action plan
        •   wastewater treatment plant and landfill.

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[10] The services identified here generally exclude consideration of network infrastructure and regulatory services. In some cases these are being addressed separately, such as transport. Others such as water services have long been provided on a sub-regional basis i.e. for the four Wellington metropolitan councils collectively. Regulatory services are allocated uniformly to all councils by legislation rather than on the basis of functional communities of interest for the service concerned.

*Political relationships*

103. The current wards are designed to meet the requirement set out in the Local Electoral Act 2001 for effective representation of communities of interest. This is seen, among other things, as requiring the grouping of like communities and avoiding the splitting of distinct communities of interest, although this has sometimes been necessary at the margins to achieve the other statutory requirement for fair representation of electors i.e. the ratio of population to members in each ward being within +/-10% for the district as a whole. These calculations currently result in five wards with representation ratios as follows.

| Ward | Population | Number of councillors | Population per councillor |
|---|---|---|---|
| Northern | 46,700 | 3 | 15,567 |
| Onslow-Western | 43,600 | 3 | 14,533 |
| Lambton | 47,500 | 3 | 15,833 |
| Eastern | 38,500 | 3 | 12,833 |
| Southern | 27,600 | 2 | 13,800 |

104. To recognise the distinct communities of interest added to the city, the Makara and Ohariu areas in 1973 and the Tawa area in 1989, community boards were established for these areas as part of the 1989 reforms, and remain in place today. There are no other community boards in the city.

105. The council notes that it works with two mandated mana whenua organisations in its area, these being Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust and Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangitira.

106. Wellington City as a whole, with the exception of the Tawa area, currently comprises one constituency of the Greater Wellington Regional Council reflecting, at a district level, the city as one reasonably coherent community of interest. Tawa is combined with Porirua to form a separate constituency reflecting the topography of the Porirua Basin and related catchment considerations.

**Changes to communities of interest**

107. Wellington City is projected to have annual population increases leading to an overall 18% increase by 2043, the highest rate of increase of all eight districts in the region (see *Table 2*). In addition, it has the lowest proportion of population over the age of 65. These factors and the fact it has the lowest mean on the social deprivation index in the region, show the city is well placed in terms of future viability, in relation to achieving the statutory purpose of local government and particularly provision of good quality services now and into the future.

108. While its boundaries can generally be seen to reflect a distinct community of interest at a district level, population growth and other development do raise some questions in relation to Wellington City's northern boundaries.

109. The boundary with Porirua City in the north-west was defined in 1989 by a combination of land use (primarily residential in Tawa and light industrial in Porirua) and physical features (motorway and railway line). However it did also involve a short segment of the boundary running down the middle of Kenepuru Drive. Residential development in the area since 1989 raises further questions about the ongoing appropriateness of the current boundary including one cul-de-sac now divided between the two authorities. In addition, development of retail shopping in Porirua since 1989 is likely to have had a significant impact on the strength of functional connections in the area. Finally, the proposed Transmission Gully highway is planned to cut a path through an area covering parts of both Wellington and Porirua cities and the impact of this on the current boundary will need to be considered.

110.    The boundary with Lower Hutt City in the north east was adjusted in 1989 so that the Horokiwi Road area was included in Wellington City. While this boundary remains reasonably clear today, it is noted in 1989 the local residents association submitted it considered "their daily community of interest lay with Petone and Lower Hutt, rather than with Wellington City". This view may now need to be tested further. In addition, the proposed Grenada to Petone link road may have an impact on communities of interest in the area in the future.

111.    In terms of internal electoral boundaries, the current five wards, based around perceived and functional communities of interest in the form of groupings of suburbs, are now reasonably well established. The council is required, however, to regularly review its representation arrangements (as a minimum every six years) in light of demographic and other changes to ensure arrangements continue to provide for effective representation of communities of interest (also fair representation of electors). Ahead of its next scheduled review prior to the 2019 local authority elections, the council will need to consider any changes impacting on perceived and functional communities of interest, including changes in social/cultural/ethnic communities of interest and in service delivery arrangements, in relation to ward boundaries.

**PORIRUA CITY**

**Evolution of local government**

112.    Porirua Borough was established in 1962 out of part of the former Makara County and became a city (with 20,000 people) in 1965. Large areas of Hutt County were added to the city in 1973 (Pukerua Bay, Plimmerton, Camborne, Whitby, Paremata and small areas around Tawa) and in 1988 (Pauatahanui).

113.    Following the enactment of a new Local Government Act in 1974 allowing for the establishment of community councils, Porirua City Council was the only municipal authority in the country to show any real interest in the establishment of such bodies in urban areas. In 1976, two community councils were established in Porirua East (Waitangirua/Ascot Park and Cannons Creek).

114.    In 1989 the Local Government Commission considered that the community of interest of Takapu Valley lay with Tawa rather than with Porirua and given its decision to incorporate Tawa in Wellington City (see above under 'Wellington City'), Takapu Valley was also transferred. Other changes to Porirua City in 1989 were relatively small boundary adjustments.

**Geography and land use**

115.    Porirua City, including Mana Island, comprises an area of 175 km2 approximately 80% of which is zoned rural located primarily in the north and north-east of the city. The city centre is located in the south of the city close to the boundary with Wellington City. The city centre is a compact area clearly defined by the harbour and main roads and railway line, with adjoining industrial zones and also suburban zones at varying distances from the city centre linked by a good quality roading network.

116.    The geography of the city and the diversity of its various scattered local communities have facilitated the development of 'village planning' (see below).

**Groupings of communities of interest**

117.  Since its constitution in 1989, Porirua City has been divided into wards reflecting distinct communities of interest in the city. Initially there were five wards, however these were later reduced to three with the combining of the Plimmerton and Horokiri wards into Northern Ward, and the Tairangi and Cannons Creek wards into Eastern Ward. The groupings of suburbs/local communities into the current three wards and their respective populations (based on 2015 estimates) are set out in the following table.

| Ward | Suburbs | Population |
|---|---|---|
| Northern | Pukerua Bay, Hongoeka, Plimmerton, Camborne, Paremata, Pauatahanui, Judgeford, Whitby, Papakowhai | 21,500 |
| Eastern | Ascot Park, Aotea, Waitangirua, Cannons Creek, Ranui | 22,000 |
| Western | Titahi Bay, Takapuwahia, Elsdon, City Centre, Kenepuru | 10,900 |

*Functional relationships*

118.  The three wards are based on quite distinct functional profiles which are also likely to reinforce the perceptual dimension of communities of interest. The Northern Ward comprises the majority of the rural land in the city as well as significant areas of coastline and open space (including Mana Island), and is characterised by a series of small settlements or villages linked by state highways and other roads. The Eastern Ward is primarily residential in nature with easy access to the city centre and also to state highway 1 and the main trunk rail line into Wellington City, but which also create a clear physical boundary between the Eastern and Western wards. The Western Ward, including the city centre, comprises a mix of residential, commercial, light industrial and recreational land uses with a good roading network linking areas and activities.

119.  As a whole, Porirua City provides a reasonably well-defined catchment area for delivery of council services with the escarpment between Pukerua Bay and Paekākāriki providing a distinct boundary with Kapiti Coast to the north and the Haywards/Western Hills of Hutt Valley providing the boundary with Lower Hutt to the east. The exception, as noted above under 'Wellington City', is the southern boundary where development since 1989 is likely to have had impacts in terms of both functional, and also perceptual, dimensions of community of interest.

120.  In addition to Pataka Museum & Gallery and Te Rauparaha arena (including aquatic centre), identified above under 'regional amenities and activities', the council provides a number of services and facilities on a city-wide basis. These include those provided from both the city centre area such as central library, and from particular wards including: Aotea lagoon (Northern Ward), Bernie Wood turf (Eastern Ward), Whenua Tapu cemetery and closed cemeteries (Northern and Western wards), community housing (Titahi Bay – Western Ward), landfill (Western Ward). [11]

121.  At the same time there are local community networks of services and facilities including: civil defence centres; libraries (Cannons Creek, Pukerua Bay, Titahi Bay, Whitby); Cannons Creek pool; walkways and pathways; outdoor sports courts; playgrounds; skateboard parks; sportsgrounds; halls.

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[11] The services identified here generally exclude consideration of network infrastructure and regulatory services. In some cases these are being addressed separately, such as transport. Others such as water services have long been provided on a sub-regional basis i.e. for the four Wellington metropolitan councils collectively. Regulatory services are allocated uniformly to all councils by legislation rather than on the basis of functional communities of interest for the service concerned.

122.    The provision of services and facilities, whether on a city-wide or local community basis, facilitates the place-shaping role of local government and the building of community identity. While clearly this role is performed in Porirua, it might be assumed proximity to Wellington City, given the scale of its neighbour as the capital city and the degree of commuting for work purposes, has some effect on the level and range of services and facilities provided in Porirua.

123.    As noted under 'Wellington City', the close functional relationship between Porirua and Wellington cities is also reflected in the operation of two joint committees between the two councils for Porirua harbour and catchment, and for wastewater treatment and landfill.

*Political relationships*

124.    The current wards are designed to meet the requirement set out in the Local Electoral Act 2001 for effective representation of communities of interest. This is seen, among other things, as requiring the grouping of like communities and avoiding the splitting of communities of interest, although this has sometimes been necessary at the margins to achieve the other statutory requirement for fair representation of electors i.e. the ratio of population to members in each ward being within +/-10% for the district as a whole. These calculations currently result in three wards with representation ratios set out in the following table.

| Ward | Population | Number of councillors | Population per councillor |
|---|---|---|---|
| Northern | 21,500 | 4 | 5,375 |
| Eastern | 22,000 | 4 | 5,500 |
| Western | 10,900 | 2 | 5,450 |

125.    There are no community boards in the city.

126.    Porirua City has a well-established and recognised innovative collaborative approach to local planning and decision-making in the form of its 'village planning' programme aimed at enhancing each of the city's diverse local communities through local resident involvement. The programme presently involves 11 of the city's 16 villages.[12]

127.    The council notes it has an established relationship with Ngāti Toa Rangātira in its area.

128.    Porirua City is now combined with Tawa to form a combined constituency of the Greater Wellington Regional Council. This followed consideration of an option of merging the previous Porirua and Kapiti Coast constituencies (to meet the +/-10% fair representation requirement) which was rejected on the basis of the lack of commonality between these two communities and their physical separateness.

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[12] Ascot Park, Cannons Creek, Paremata, Pauatahanui, Plimmerton, Pukerua Bay, Ranui, Takapuwahia, Titahi Bay, Waitangirua and Whitby

**Changes in communities of interest**

129.    Porirua City is projected to have small population increases until 2033 and then for the population to gradually decrease from 58,100 to 57,600 by 2043 (see *Table 2*). Its population profile shows a relatively high proportion in the 0-14 age bracket, and a low proportion in the over 65 age bracket. The city also has a different ethnic profile from the other districts with a relatively low European population and higher Māori and Pacific populations. It has the widest range in the social deprivation index in the region (both the highest and lowest) and the second highest mean of all the districts.

130.    These characteristics need to be taken into account when assessing the viability of current local government arrangements and possible alternatives best able "to meet the current and future needs of communities for good quality infrastructure, local public services and performance of regulatory functions".

131.    Consideration should also be given to the impact of residential and retail development in the Porirua Basin since 1989 and also of planned future roading projects, in relation to perceptual and functional communities of interest. The impact of these developments is most likely to be seen in the area around the boundary between Porirua and Wellington cities.

132.    In terms of the internal electoral boundaries, the current three wards, based around perceived and functional communities of interest, are reasonably well established. The council is required, however, to regularly review its representation arrangements (as a minimum every six years) in light of demographic and other changes to ensure arrangements continue to provide for effective representation of communities of interest (also fair representation of electors). Ahead of its next scheduled review prior to the 2019 local authority elections, the council will need to consider any changes impacting on perceived and functional communities of interest, including changes in social/cultural/ethnic communities of interest and in service delivery arrangements, in relation to ward boundaries.

**KAPITI COAST DISTRICT**

**Evolution of local government**

133.    From 1876, this area was split between Hutt County to the south and Manawatu County to the north with the boundary being Waikanae River. In 1885 the Horowhenua Riding of Manawatu County was established as a separate county. Waikanae was constituted as a county town in 1969, with county towns also established within Hutt County for Paekākāriki (1960) and Paraparaumu (1967-74).

134.    The Manawatu Catchment Board was established in 1943 to deal with flood control and soil conservation in an area extending as far south as the Waikanae River catchment. The board subsequently also became a regional water board.

135.    Kapiti Borough was constituted in 1974 from parts of Hutt County, and also extending to the north taking in Waikanae from Horowhenua County.

136.    Immediately prior to the nationwide reforms in 1989, the Kapiti area was part of the region governed by Horowhenua United Council.

137. In 1989 the current Kapiti Coast District was constituted, incorporating the former Kapiti and Ōtaki boroughs and part of Horowhenua County, and was included in Wellington Region.

**Geography and land use**

138. Kapiti Coast District, including Kapiti Island, comprises an area of 731 km2. The district is defined by the Tararua Ranges in the east tapering to the coast in the south just north of Pukerua Bay, and 40 kilometres of coastline in the west. The northern boundary is defined by the Waitohu River catchment which is also the north western boundary of Wellington Region.

139. The council's district plan notes that nearly half of the district is land vested in the Crown in the Tararua mountain range and associated foothills, with most of the remaining land zoned rural. The residential zone comprises just 3.35% of the district and open space 2.17% including Queen Elizabeth Park administered by Greater Wellington Regional Council.

140. The district has a string of settlements from north to south with the main ones being Ōtaki, Waikanae, Paraparumu, Raumati and Paekākāriki. Paraparaumu is the largest of these and identified as the district centre.

**Groupings of communities of interest**

141. The district was divided into wards in 1989 reflecting distinct communities of interest based on the five main settlements. The Raumati and Paekākāriki wards were subsequently merged prior to the 1995 elections, with the resulting four wards and their respective populations (based on 2015 estimates) as follows.

| Ward | Population |
|---|---|
| Ōtaki | 9,790 |
| Waikanae | 11,200 |
| Paraparaumu | 20,100 |
| Paekākāriki-Raumati | 10,300 |

*Functional relationships*

142. The Ōtaki, Waikanae and Paekākāriki communities are reasonably discrete geographical areas with a small urban area servicing surrounding rural areas or open spaces in the case of the first two areas, and separated by a large regional park in the case of the third area. The Ōtaki and Paekākāriki communities have their own water supplies.

143. The adjoining Paraparaumu and Raumati communities have grown closer together over time to become more of a combined entity despite the current ward arrangements i.e. Raumati being in a combined ward with Paekākāriki.

144. The main communities are all currently linked by state highway one. They are also on the main trunk railway line which is now electrified as far as Waikanae facilitating travel, and in particular commuting into Wellington City.

145. The development of the Kapiti expressway, now under construction, will have a major impact on the district. This will be in terms of the path of the new state highway, the removal of the highway from the Paraparaumu and Waikanae town centres, and functional connections across the district. The council is budgeting a total of $40.9 million over 14 years for the ensuing town centre (Paraparaumu and Waikanae) upgrade project.

146. As a whole, Kapiti Coast generally provides a well-defined catchment area for delivery of council services. The escarpment between Pukerua Bay and Paekākāriki provides a clear boundary with Porirua to the south while to the east the Akatarawas provide a clear boundary with Upper Hutt as do the Tararua Ranges with the Wairarapa.

147. The northern boundary with Horowhenua District, however, is less clearly identifiable being based on the Waitohu River catchment which also serves as the regional boundary. There are some functional relationships across this district/regional boundary, with 411 Kapiti Coast residents at the 2013 census identifying their place of work as in Horowhenua District, and 549 residents of this district working in Kapiti Coast District. In addition, northern sections of Kapiti Coast District are covered by a different district health board (Mid-Central DHB), ambulance services and police district, from the rest of the district. The northern area of the district is also outside the Wellington telephone landline free-calling area.

148. Many of the council services and facilities are provided on a local or ward basis promoting local place-shaping and the building of community identity in the communities making up the district. As noted, Ōtaki and Paekākāriki have their own water supplies separate from the rest of the district. Other services include: cemeteries (4); community halls; libraries (4); museums (7); parks and reserves; recycling services, transfer stations, resource recovery facilities (2) and clean fill facility; rental housing (118 flats at 10 locations); sportsfields (16); swimming pools (3); a visitor centre. [13]

*Political arrangements*

149. As noted, the original Paekākāriki and Raumati wards were merged leaving a total of four wards since 1995. In 2004, Kapiti Coast adopted a mixed system of representation aimed at achieving a balance between representation of the district as a whole and local communities.

150. The current arrangements are designed to meet the requirement set out in the Local Electoral Act 2001 for effective representation of communities of interest. This is seen, among other things, as requiring the grouping of like communities and avoiding the splitting of communities of interest, although this has sometimes been necessary at the margins to achieve the other statutory requirement for fair representation of electors i.e. the ratio of population to members in each ward being within +/-10% for the district as a whole. [14]

151. These calculations currently result in five councillors elected at large and five elected from four wards with representation ratios as set out in the following table.

| Ward | Population | Number of councillors | Population per councillor |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ōtaki | 9,790 | 1 | 9,790 |
| Waikanae | 11,200 | 1 | 11,200 |
| Paraparaumu | 20,100 | 2 | 10,050 |
| Paekākāriki-Raumati | 10,300 | 1 | 10,300 |
| *Kapiti Coast District* | *51,390* | *10* | *5,139* |

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[13] The services identified here generally exclude consideration of network infrastructure and regulatory services. In some cases these are being addressed separately, such as transport. Regulatory services are allocated uniformly to all councils by legislation rather than on the basis of functional communities of interest for the service concerned.

[14] As a consequence of the +/-10% fair representation requirement of the Local Electoral Act, a significant area of Waikanae is currently in Ōtaki Ward. However a recent amendment to the Act providing more flexibility in the application of this provision means these arrangements are no longer necessary and the Local Government Commission has approved adjustments to restore these areas to Waikanae Ward.

152. Ōtaki and Waikanae were seen as sufficiently distinct communities to warrant establishment of community boards in those two areas in 1989. A Paekākāriki community board was subsequently established for the 1992 elections and a Paraparaumu-Raumati community board established for the 2004 elections.

153. Given the growing together of the Paraparaumu and Raumati communities and the geographical separation of Paekākāriki (separated by Queen Elizabeth Park), the community board areas now arguably better reflect communities of interest than the wards.

154. The council has entered into a partnership arrangement, Te Whakaminenga o Kāpiti, with mana whenua in the district being: Te Āti Awa ki Whakarongotai, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga and Ngāti Toa Rangatira.

155. As noted above, at the regional level consideration has previously been given to the combining of the Porirua and Kapiti Coast constituencies of the Greater Wellington Regional Council. However this was rejected on the grounds that the two areas were physically distinct communities of interest with few commonalities between them. Accordingly a separate Kapiti Coast constituency, first established in 1989, continues in existence.

**Changes in communities of interest**

156. Kapiti Coast District is projected to have a steadily increasing population from the current 51,390 leading to close to an overall 17% increase by 2043 (see *Table 2*). Its population profile shows the highest proportion in the over 65 age bracket of all the districts in the region. It also has a relatively high proportion of Europeans compared to the other districts.

157. These characteristics need to be taken into account when assessing the viability of current local government arrangements and possible alternatives best able to "meet the current and future needs of communities for good quality infrastructure, local public services and performance of regulatory functions".

158. In terms of the internal electoral boundaries, the current four wards and community board areas, based around perceived and functional communities of interest, are reasonably well established, albeit with the boards better reflecting communities of interest than the wards.[15] The council is required, however, to regularly review its representation arrangements (as a minimum every six years) in light of demographic and other changes to ensure arrangements continue to provide for effective representation of communities of interest (also fair representation of electors).

159. Subject to an approved adjustment to the Waikanae-Ōtaki ward boundary to mirror the community board boundary in this area, the council has resolved to maintain current representation arrangements in order to provide effective representation for communities of interest in the district. These arrangements involve a mixed system of representation, a total of 10 councillors with five elected at large and five from the four wards, and four community boards, for the 2016 elections.

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[15] As an indicator of the strength of local perceived communities of interest in the district, Kapiti Coast District Council advised the Commission that two initial engagement sessions for the Waikanae Beach Community Futures project attracted a combined attendance of approximately 250 people.

**LOWER HUTT CITY**

**Evolution of local government**

160. This area saw the constitution of several boroughs, formed out of the former Hutt County, and then the subsequent expansion of these boroughs until they were all combined in 1989.

161. Petone Borough was constituted in 1888 with a subsequent expansion to include Korokoro to the west in 1957. Lower Hutt Borough was constituted in 1891 with a series of expansions up the Hutt Valley in 1941 (when it was also proclaimed a city), 1944, 1956, 1957 and 1973. Eastbourne Borough was constituted in 1906 with an expansion to the north in 1965. Meanwhile Wainuiomata remained part of Hutt County until 1988 when, as a precursor to the reforms of 1989, it was constituted as a separate district.

162. The 1989 reforms saw the amalgamation of the then Lower Hutt City, Petone and Eastbourne boroughs, and Wainuiomata District. A small boundary change was also made to provide for all the Horokiwi Road area to be included in Wellington City.

163. In relation to the Hutt Valley as a whole, the Commission observed in 1989 that "the Hutt Valley is often referred to as a single community of interest. It is serviced as a single unit by many government agencies.  However, there are at least two distinct communities of interest, at the upper and lower ends of the valley reinforced by the geographic narrowing of the valley at the Taita Gorge."

164. The Commission recognised these two distinct communities of interest in the structural arrangements it determined for the Hutt Valley in 1989 with separate Upper Hutt and Lower Hutt city councils. It also noted that, in addition to community of interest factors, there were considerations of efficiency and effectiveness in the exercise of functions, duties and powers particularly in respect of Lower Hutt.

**Geography and land use**

165. The current Lower Hutt City has an area of 379km2 bounded in the east by the Rimutaka Ranges from just short of Taita Gorge, in the south by the coastline between Palliser Bay and Pencarrow and also including the eastern shoreline of Wellington Harbour around to Korokoro, and by the western hills of the Hutt Valley. The Hutt River is a significant geographical feature running north to south through the city and then into Wellington harbour with much of the city's development occurring on the valley floor. Development continues today to be influenced by river management and flood control issues.

166. According to the City of Lower Hutt district plan, approximately 85% of the land of the city is outside the urban area with distinctive rural areas including the western hills, land in the Orongorongo and Wainuiomata valleys and land south of Eastbourne. The rural area also includes Matiu/Somes, Mokopuna and Makaro/Ward islands. Much of the rural area is characterised by steep hillsides and exposed ridge lines with limited flat land and generally poor soil quality.

167. A significant amount of the rural land is in public ownership and managed for water collection, recreation and conservation purposes. Greater Wellington Regional Council administers 6,446 hectares in the Wainuiomata/Orongorongo water collection area and also administers Belmont and East Harbour regional parks. Belmont regional park includes land administered by the Department of Conservation and by Hutt City Council. The Department of Conservation administers Rimutaka forest park (also partly within South Wairarapa District).

**Groupings of communities of interest**

168.    The city was initially divided into five wards in 1989 based on distinct communities of interest in the enlarged city. This was subsequently increased to six wards, with an additional central ward established in the old Lower Hutt city area. The groupings of suburbs/local communities and their respective populations (based on 2015 estimates) are set out in the following table.

| Ward | Suburbs | Population |
|---|---|---|
| Northern | Stokes Valley, Taita | 15,750 |
| Eastern | Naenae, Fairfield, Waterloo, Waiwhetu | 17,250 |
| Western | Haywards, Manor Park, Kelson, Belmont, Tirohanga, Harbour View, Normandale, Maungarakei, Melling, Alicetown | 16,150 |
| Central | Avalon, Boulcott, Epuni, Hutt Central, Woburn | 16,950 |
| Harbour | Korokoro, Petone, Moera, Gracefield, Seaview (collectively forming Petone community board area)<br>Point Horward, Sorrento Bay, Lowry Bay, York Bay, Mahina Bay, Sunshine Bay, Days Bay, Eastbourne, Matiu/Somes Island (collectively forming Eastbourne community board area) | 17,950 |
| Wainuiomata | Wainuiomata | 18,000 |

*Functional relationships*

169.    The wards reflect now quite well established communities of interest based on both perceptual and functional dimensions. The Northern, Eastern and Western wards covering areas of the old Lower Hutt City, are mainly residential in nature though with large areas of rural land/open space and, in the case of the Northern and Eastern wards, also having some significant areas of commercial/light industrial activity. The Central Ward also includes large residential areas along with the main commercial areas of the city.

170.    The Harbour Ward comprises, in part, the old Petone Borough area plus Moera, Gracefield and Seaview. As such it has a distinctive character including strong heritage themes in the residential and commercial areas, as well as a distinctive industrial area. The ward also includes the old Eastbourne Borough area which is largely residential in nature with the population scattered throughout a number of bays along the eastern harbour edge, and includes the township of Eastbourne which has a small commercial area.

171.    The Wainuiomata Ward comprises a large physically separate area of rural land and open spaces surrounding a small residential area and commercial centre.

172.    The city provides a reasonably well-defined catchment area for the delivery of council services on a city-wide basis with physical features separating Porirua and Wellington to the west and south, and the Wairarapa to the east. The narrowing of the Hutt Valley at Taita Gorge defines the boundary between Lower Hutt and Upper Hutt. While this provides something of a physical boundary, joint interests in Hutt River and also significant transport links (both road and rail) up the Hutt Valley and some shared services do result in strong commonalities of interest between the two cities.

173. In addition to the Dowse Art Museum, identified above under 'regional amenities and activities', council services and facilities provided on a city-wide basis include cemeteries (Taita and Wainuiomata, also Akatarawa jointly with Upper Hutt City Council); i-site visitor centre; landfill (Silverstream – jointly operated with Upper Hutt City Council); cleanfill site (Wainuiomata); central library; museums (2); marina (Seaview); major recreation facilities; civic centre (town hall/ horticultural halls closed, Little Theatre). [16]

174. The close functional relationship between Lower Hutt and Upper Hutt cities is reflected in a joint Hutt Valley services committee charged with coordinating activities affecting the Hutt Valley as a whole, and in particular coordination of solid waste disposal and wastewater, and combined cemetery services. There are also arrangements between the two councils for joint environmental health management.

175. At the same time, there are also clearly identifiable and distinct local communities within the city. These include the three areas that joined the old Lower Hutt City in 1989 which have all retained their distinct identity, in the case of Wainuiomata and Eastbourne reinforced by a degree of geographical separation. Petone, while abutting the old Lower Hutt City area, has also retained its distinct identity based in part on its heritage character and features. Other parts of the old Lower Hutt City also retain a degree of distinct identity based on both geographical and socio-economic features such as the separation of the western hills by the Hutt River, motorway and rail line, and long-standing state housing areas in Naenae, Taita and Pomare.

176. Alongside city-wide services, the council provides local community service networks recognising these different areas of the city, thereby contributing to its local place-shaping role and the building of community identity. These networks include: swimming pools (6) and gyms (2); branch libraries (7); local parks, gardens and reserves; sportsgrounds; community halls; walking tracks & trails.

*Political relationships*

177. The current wards are designed to meet the requirement set out in the Local Electoral Act for effective representation of communities of interest. This is seen, among other things, as requiring the grouping of like communities and avoiding the splitting of communities of interest, although this has sometimes been necessary at the margins to achieve the other statutory requirement for fair representation of electors i.e. the ratio of population to members in each ward being within +/-10% for the district as a whole. These calculations currently result in six wards with representation ratios set out in the following table.

| Ward | Population | Number of councillors | Population per councillor |
|------|-----------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Northern | 15,750 | 2 | 7,875 |
| Eastern | 17,250 | 2 | 8,625 |
| Western | 16,150 | 2 | 8,075 |
| Central | 16,950 | 2 | 8,475 |
| Harbour | 17,950 | 2 | 8,975 |
| Wainuiomata | 18,000 | 2 | 9,000 |

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[16] The services identified here generally exclude consideration of network infrastructure and regulatory services. In some cases these are being addressed separately, such as transport. Others such as water services have long been provided on a sub-regional basis i.e. for the four Wellington metropolitan councils collectively. Regulatory services are allocated uniformly to all councils by legislation rather than on the basis of functional communities of interest for the service concerned.

178.   As part of the 1989 reforms, three community boards were established for the three areas joining the city (Eastbourne, Petone and Wainuiomata) and these boards are still in existence.

179.   Since 1989 the council has grappled with a perception that the additional community level of representation in the three areas added to the city was unfair on the residents of the old Lower Hutt City. As a result the council has considered options of establishing community boards across the whole city, abolishing the existing boards, and establishing other structures in the old city area such as community committees.

180.   At present there are four appointed community committees, for the central, northern, eastern and western areas of the old Lower Hutt city area, in addition to the three elected community boards.

181.   Since 1989, Lower Hutt City has formed its own constituency on the Greater Wellington Regional Council.

**Changes in communities of interest**

182.   The population of Lower Hutt is projected to have small increases from its current total of 102,050 for the next 15 years, but then to decline to 99,100 over the following 15 years to 2043 *(see Table 2)*. The city's age and ethnic profiles are similar to most other districts in the region.

183.   These characteristics need to be taken into account when assessing the viability of current local government arrangements and possible alternatives best able to "meet the current and future needs of communities for good quality infrastructure, local public services and performance of regulatory functions".

184.   In terms of the internal electoral boundaries, the current six wards, based around perceived and functional communities of interest, are now reasonably well established. The council is required, however, to regularly review its representation arrangements (as a minimum every six years) in light of demographic and other changes to ensure arrangements continue to provide for effective representation of communities of interest (also fair representation of electors). Ahead of its next scheduled review prior to the 2019 local authority elections, the council will need to consider any changes impacting on perceived and functional communities of interest including changes in social/cultural/ethnic communities of interest and in service delivery arrangements in relation to ward boundaries.

**UPPER HUTT CITY**

**Evolution of local government**

185.   Upper Hutt became a town district within Hutt County in 1908, and then a separate borough in 1928. Upper Hutt was proclaimed a city in 1966. The Rimutaka Riding of Hutt County was incorporated into the city in 1973. The Heretaunga-Pinehaven area of Hutt County was added to the city in 1988.

186.   As noted above, in 1989 the then Local Government Commission considered Upper Hutt to be a community of interest distinct from Lower Hutt and, accordingly, re-constituted the existing Upper Hutt City.

**Geography and land use**

187.    Upper Hutt City comprises an area of 540 km2, stretching from the Rimutaka saddle in the north-east and across to the Akatarawa Valley and ranges in the north-west, and south to Taita Gorge and the boundary with Lower Hutt. According to the council's sustainability strategy 2012-22, 51% of the city comprises indigenous forest and just 3% is zoned for residential purposes. The remainder is largely rural with some industrially zoned land. Again the Hutt River is a significant geographical feature with development largely confined to the Hutt River valley floor and consequentially influenced by river management issues.

**Groupings of communities of interest**

188.    In 1989 the city was divided into wards reflecting distinct communities of interest with a large rural ward surrounding the urban area comprising a northern, a central and a southern ward. However since the 1992 local authority elections, the council has seen the city effectively as a single community of interest with an at large system of representation.

*Functional relationships*

189.    The city provides a reasonably well-defined catchment area for the delivery of council services on a city-wide basis with physical features separating Kapiti Coast to the west and the Wairarapa to the north and east. The narrowing of the Hutt Valley at Taita Gorge defines the boundary with Lower Hutt. As noted above, while this provides something of a physical boundary, joint interests in Hutt River and also significant transport links (both road and rail) up the Hutt Valley and significant shared services, do result in strong commonalities of interest between the two cities.

190.    Council services are primarily provided on a city-wide basis, promoting its place-shaping role and the building of community identity. These services include: aquatic facility, Expressions arts and entertainment centre; Akatarawa cemetery (jointly owned with Hutt City Council); Silverstream landfill (jointly run with Hutt City Council); libraries (central, Pinehaven, mobile); parks and reserves; sportsfields including 2 artificial turfs; playgrounds; walking and cycling tracks.[17]

191.    As noted above, the close functional relationship between the two Hutt Valley councils in certain areas is reflected in the establishment of a joint committee to coordinate activities affecting the Hutt Valley as a whole and, in particular, coordination of waste disposal and wastewater, and combined cemetery services. There are also arrangements between the two councils for joint environmental health management.

*Political relationships*

192.    Upper Hutt City has an at large system of representation and currently elects 10 councillors. This results in the representation ratio set out in the following table (based on 2015 estimates).

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[17] The services identified here generally exclude consideration of network infrastructure and regulatory services. In some cases these are being addressed separately, such as transport. Others such as water services have long been provided on a sub-regional basis i.e. for the four Wellington metropolitan councils collectively. Regulatory services are allocated uniformly to all councils by legislation rather than on the basis of functional communities of interest for the service concerned.

| | Population | Number of councillors | Population per councillor |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper Hutt City | 42,000 | 10 | 4,200 |

193.    There are no community boards in the city.

194.    The council's governance statement notes that the council has a special relationship with Orongomai marae with which it consults as required. It also consults with Te Runanganui o Taranaki Whanui ki te Upoko o te Ika a Maui and Wellington Tenths Trust when appropriate.

195.    Since 1989, Upper Hutt has formed a separate constituency on the Greater Wellington Regional Council.

**Changes in communities of interest**

196.    Upper Hutt's population is projected to increase approximately 10% to 46,400 by 2043 *(see Table 2).* The city's age and ethnic profiles are similar to most other districts in the region.

197.    These characteristics need to be taken into account when assessing the viability of current local government arrangements and possible alternatives best able to "meet the current and future needs of communities for good quality infrastructure, local public services and performance of regulatory functions".

198.    The council is required to regularly review its representation arrangements (as a minimum every six years) in light of demographic and other changes to ensure arrangements continue to provide for effective representation of communities of interest (also fair representation of electors where there are wards). Ahead of its next scheduled review prior to the 2019 local authority elections, the council will need to consider any changes in social/cultural/ethnic communities of interest or changes in service delivery arrangements  which may be seen to influence the system of representation.

**THE WAIRARAPA[18]**

**Evolution of local government**

199.    Following the abolition of the provinces in 1876, the Wairarapa comprised a few small boroughs (the Masterton, Greytown and Carterton boroughs were constituted in 1877, 1878 and 1887 respectively) with the remaining rural area divided into Wairarapa East and West counties extending almost to Woodville in the north. These two counties were reconfigured in 1886 as Wairarapa North and South and were then progressively subdivided.

200.    Wairarapa North County was divided into Pahiatua, Akitio, Eketahuna, Mauriceville, Masterton and Castlepoint counties between 1888 and 1900. The Masterton and Castlepoint counties were amalgamated in 1958 and then joined by Mauriceville County in 1965. The new Masterton County then combined with Masterton Borough in 1988 as a precursor to the 1989 reforms. These reforms saw the constitution of the current Masterton District involving just minor boundary alterations in the north to reflect river catchments.

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[18] Given the nature of the history of local government in the area and the similarities of geography, land use and resource management issues to be addressed (reflected in the area having a combined district plan), this section covers the three Wairarapa districts collectively.

201.     Carterton Borough was constituted in 1887. Several boundary alterations between the borough and Wairarapa South County occurred during the twentieth century until the borough and county united to form the current Carterton District in 1988. The district was reconstituted in 1989.

202.     In the south, Featherston County was divided from Wairarapa South County in 1901. Featherston Borough was constituted in 1917. A Martinborough town district was constituted in 1905 which became a borough in 1928. A number of boundary alterations between the county and the two boroughs occurred during the twentieth century until the three areas, along with Greytown Borough, were united to form the current South Wairarapa District in 1989. The new district was defined by the former Featherston County, but also incorporating the three internal boroughs of Greytown, Featherston and Martinborough. None of these three centres were seen as sufficiently strong to support separate units of local government and accordingly a South Wairarapa District including these three areas, was constituted.

203.     While it did consider options of either one territorial authority for the Wairarapa based in Masterton, or two authorities based in Masterton and Carterton, the Commission in 1989 concluded that it was appropriate to recognise the strong local communities of interest in the different areas and accordingly constituted the three current districts.

204.     Prior to the 1989 reforms, an extended Wairarapa area, almost as far as Woodville in the north, formed a region governed by the Wairarapa United Council. Prior to this, the area also was covered by the Wairarapa Catchment Board and Regional Water Board.

**Geography and land use**

205.     The three districts comprising the Wairarapa cover an area of 5,867 km2 (Masterton 2,300 km2, Carterton 1,180 km2 and South Wairarapa 2,387 km2) which is approximately 74% of Wellington Region.

206.     The combined Wairarapa district plan describes the area as bounded by the Pacific Ocean in the east and south, the Tararua and Rimutaka Ranges in the west and hill country to the north. The area is predominantly rural in character with a range of pastoral, horticultural and forestry land uses.

207.     A number of towns service the rural area including Masterton, Carterton, Greytown, Martinborough and Featherston as well as numerous smaller rural and coastal settlements.

**Groupings of communities of interest**

208.     The Wairarapa is primarily rural in nature and comprises large sparsely populated areas but also a number of small more densely populated urban areas. In 1989 the three districts were all divided into wards reflecting their distinct rural and urban communities of interest.

209.     The main issue for the three councils, when undertaking their subsequent periodic reviews of representation arrangements, has been the appropriate grouping of the rural and urban communities of interest. Currently the councils have determined different arrangements for the grouping of these communities of interest.

210.     Masterton District was originally divided into two wards, being a large rural ward surrounding an urban ward based on the town of Masterton. In 2007 Masterton moved to a mixed system of representation, retaining a rural ward and an urban ward, while also having some councillors elected to represent the district as a whole.

211. Carterton District was originally divided into four wards being three rural wards (Western, Eastern and Central) and a ward based on the town of Carterton. These wards were reduced to two in 1998 (Urban and Rural) and then in 2013, the council decided to adopt an at large system of representation.

212. South Wairarapa District was originally divided into three wards based on the towns of Greytown, Featherston and Martinborough with their surrounding rural areas. These three wards have been retained.

*Functional relationships*

213. Masterton District Council services are primarily provided on a district-wide basis and include: aerodrome; camping ground; cemeteries (6); housing for elderly (74 houses and flats); urban and rural transfer stations; library; parks and reserves; sportsfields; playgrounds; rural halls (6). [19]

214. Carterton District Council services are also primarily provided on a district-wide basis and include: events centre; holiday park; library; parks and reserves; sportsfields; playgrounds; swimming pool; transfer station.

215. South Wairarapa District Council services are provided on both a district-wide and local community basis and include:  cemeteries (4); libraries (3); parks and reserves; sportsfields; playgrounds; swimming pools (3); transfer stations (4).

216. The three councils have entered into shared service arrangements reflecting common interests in certain areas. Most notably this includes the decision to develop a combined district plan for the three areas. The reason for this, as stated in the combined plan, was "so that consistent policies and methods will be used to address the Wairarapa's significant resource management and cross boundary issues".

217. Other joint services include solid waste management and local civil defence/emergency management delivery. There are also joint library services between Carterton and South Wairarapa; and a joint roads management arrangement between Carterton and Masterton.

*Political relationships*

218. As noted, the three districts have three different systems of representation. The arrangements are designed to meet the requirement set out in the Local Electoral Act for effective representation of communities of interest. This is seen, among other things, as requiring the grouping of like communities and avoiding the splitting of communities of interest, although this has sometimes been necessary at the margins to achieve the other statutory requirement for fair representation of electors i.e. the ratio of population to members in each ward being within +/-10% for the district as a whole.

219. In the case of Masterton District, which has adopted a mixed system of representation, these calculations have resulted in five councillors elected at large and five elected from two wards with representation ratios (based on 2015 estimates) set out in the following table.

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[19] The services identified here generally exclude consideration of network infrastructure and regulatory services. In some cases these are being addressed separately, such as transport. Water and wastewater services are provided by the three districts using a mix of district-wide and local schemes. Regulatory services are allocated uniformly to all councils by legislation rather than on the basis of functional communities of interest for the service concerned.

| Ward | Population | Number of councillors | Population per councillor |
|------|-----------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Rural | 5,380 | 1 | 5,380 |
| Urban | 19,000 | 4 | 4,750 |
| *Masterton District* | *24,380* | *10* | *2,438* |

220.   Carterton District has an at large system of representation and, based on 2015 estimates, has the representation ratio set out in the following table.

|  | Population | Number of councillors | Population per councillor |
|------|-----------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Carterton District | 8,790 | 8 | 1,099 |

221.   South Wairarapa District has a ward system of representation electing nine councillors from three wards. This results in representation ratios as set out in the following table based on 2015 estimates.

| Ward | Population | Number of councillors | Population per councillor |
|------|-----------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Greytown | 3,410 | 3 | 1,137 |
| Featherston | 3,110 | 3 | 1,037 |
| Martinborough | 3,490 | 3 | 1,163 |

222.   Since 1989 South Wairarapa District has had three community boards matching the three wards, with each electing four members (and each board also consisting of two ward councillors).

223.   The three councils have adopted different positions in relation to consultation with Māori. The Masterton District Council has memoranda of partnerships with the two tangata whenua in its district, namely Rangitāne o Wairarapa and Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa. The South Wairarapa District Council has established a Māori standing committee comprising two representatives from each of the marae in the district, one representative from the two iwi, plus two councillors. The Carterton District Council has developed a close relationship with Hurunui o Rangi marae being both Kahungunu and Rangitane, including representatives attending council meetings .

224.   The combined Wairarapa area has, since 1989, comprised one constituency on Greater Wellington Regional Council.

**Changes in communities of interest**

225.   *Table 2* shows slight variations in population projections for the three districts. The population of Masterton, easily the largest district, is projected to increase marginally over the next 10 years to 24,800 and then to decrease to 23,700 by 2043. Carterton's population is projected to increase by 16% by 2043, albeit from a small base of less than 9,000 people. South Wairarapa's population is projected to increase moderately for the next 15 years to 10,240, and then to decline slightly by 2043.

226.   The population profiles, in terms of age, of the three districts are very similar. Their profiles in relation to ethnicity are also similar, although Masterton has a slightly more diverse ethnic make-up compared to the other two districts.

227.   These characteristics need to be taken into account when assessing the viability of current local government arrangements and possible alternatives best able to "meet the current and future needs of communities for good quality infrastructure, local public services and performance of regulatory functions".

228.	In particular, consideration needs to be given to whether the size of the current Wairarapa districts, including two with less than 10,000 people, and their respective population projections, will enable each district to continue to be able to achieve the objective of 'good local government'. This includes meeting community needs for services appropriate to present and anticipated future needs. Or, alternatively, whether some form of reorganisation would result in arrangements better able to meet this requirement into the future.

229.	In recognition of the challenges facing the three Wairarapa districts, the three councils jointly submitted a local government reorganisation application in 2013 for the councils to be combined and to form a unitary authority. While that particular application did not proceed, some form of reorganisation is still under consideration.

230.	In the absence of any reorganisation in the short term, the councils will be required to review their internal electoral boundaries as part of their regular review of representation arrangements (as a minimum every six years).  These reviews will be in light of demographic and other changes, and the resulting need to ensure arrangements continue to provide for effective representation of communities of interest (also fair representation of electors). Ahead of their next scheduled reviews prior to the 2019 local authority elections, the council will need to consider any changes impacting on perceived and functional communities of interest including changes in social/cultural/ethnic communities of interest and in service delivery arrangements in relation to existing or potential ward boundaries.

**TABLE 1:** Wellington Region territorial authority district profiles

| | Wellington | Porirua | Kapiti Coast | Lower Hutt | Upper Hutt | Sth Wairarapa | Carterton | Masterton |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Area | 290 km2 | 175 km2 | 731 km2 | 379 km2 | 540 km2 | 2,387 km2 | 1,180 km2 | 2,300 km2 |
| Population (2015 estimates) | 203,900 | 54,400 | 51,390 | 102,050 | 42,000 | 10,010 | 8,790 | 24,380 |
| Persons per km2 | 703 | 311 | 70 | 269 | 78 | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| No. of councillors | 14 | 10 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 10 |
| Population per councillor | 14,564 | 5,440 | 5,139 | 8,504 | 4,200 | 1,112 | 1,098 | 2,438 |
| Community boards | 2 | - | 4 | 3 | - | 3 | - | - |
| Voter turnout | 2013: 42% 2010: 40% 2007: 40% | 2013: 37% 2010: 39% 2007: 39% | 2013: 51% 2010: 49% 2007: 53% | 2013: 37% 2010: 40% 2007: 41% | 2013: 41% 2010: 44% 2007: 41% | 2013: 45% 2010: 52% 2007: 56% | 2013: 46% 2010: 57% 2007: 60% | 2013: 47% 2010: 54% 2007: 60% |

*TABLE 2:* **Wellington Region territorial authority demographic profiles**

| | Wellington | Porirua | Kapiti Coast | Lower Hutt | Upper Hutt | Sth Wairarapa | Carterton | Masterton |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Population (2015 estimates)** | 203,900 | 54,400 | 51,390 | 102,050 | 42,000 | 10,010 | 8,790 | 24,380 |
| **Population projections (2013 base)** | *2018:* 208,200<br>*2023:* 215,400<br>*2028:* 222,700<br>*2033:* 229,500<br>*2038:* 235,600<br>*2043:* 241,000 | *2018:* 55,800<br>*2023:* 56,900<br>*2028:* 57,700<br>*2033:* 58,100<br>*2038:* 58,000<br>*2043:* 57,600 | *2018:* 52,500<br>*2023:* 54,300<br>*2028:* 56,100<br>*2033:* 57,700<br>*2038:* 59,000<br>*2043:* 60,000 | *2018:* 101,900<br>*2023:* 102,400<br>*2028:* 102,600<br>*2033:* 102,100<br>*2038:* 100,900<br>*2043:* 99,100 | *2018:* 43,100<br>*2023:* 44,200<br>*2028:* 45,200<br>*2033:* 45,900<br>*2038:* 46,300<br>*2043:* 46,400 | *2018:* 10,250<br>*2023:* 10,400<br>*2028:* 10,450<br>*2033:* 10,450<br>*2038:* 10,400<br>*2043:* 10,250 | *2018:* 9,360<br>*2023:* 9,650<br>*2028:* 9,900<br>*2033:* 10,050<br>*2038:* 10,150<br>*2043:* 10,200 | *2018:* 24,700<br>*2023:* 24,800<br>*2028:* 24,800<br>*2033:* 24,700<br>*2038:* 24,300<br>*2043:* 23,700 |
| **Age of population** | *0-14:* 34,000(17%)<br>*15-39:* 83,900(42%)<br>*40-64:* 62,400(31%)<br>*65+:* 19,800(10%) | *0-14:* 13,000(24%)<br>*15-39:* 17,500(32%)<br>*40-64:* 17,700(33%)<br>*65+:* 5,900(11%) | *0-14:* 9,300(18%)<br>*15-39:* 11,200(22%)<br>*40-64:* 17,500(34%)<br>*65+:* 13,100(26%) | *0-14:* 21,400(21%)<br>*15-39:* 33,200(33%)<br>*40-64:* 33,800(33%)<br>*65+:* 13,300(13%) | *0-14:* 8,500(20%)<br>*15-39:* 12,600(30%)<br>*40-64:* 14,500(35%)<br>*65+:* 6,100(15%) | *0-14:* 1,920(19%)<br>*15-39:* 2,310(23%)<br>*40-64:* 3,660(37%)<br>*65+:* 2,020(20%) | *0-14:* 1,710(20%)<br>*15-39:* 2,100(24%)<br>*40-64:* 3,180(37%)<br>*65+:* 1,690(19%) | *0-14:* 4,800(20%)<br>*15-39:* 6,500(27%)<br>*40-64:* 8,200(34%)<br>*65+:* 4,700(19%) |
| **Ethnicity (2013 census)** [20] | *European:* 72.8%<br>*Māori:* 7.6%<br>*Pacifica:* 4.7%<br>*Asian:* 14.9%<br>*Other:* 4.2% | *European:* 60.0%<br>*Māori:* 19.6%<br>*Pacifica:* 24.6%<br>*Asian:* 6.0%<br>*Other:* 2.0% | *European:* 85.3%<br>*Māori:* 12.6%<br>*Pacifica:* 2.6%<br>*Asian:* 3.2%<br>*Other:* 2.5% | *European:* 67.2%<br>*Māori:* 16.2%<br>*Pacifica:* 10.4%<br>*Asian:* 11.1%<br>*Other:* 2.7% | *European:* 80.1%<br>*Māori:* 13.3%<br>*Pacifica:* 4.6%<br>*Asian:* 5.7%<br>*Other:* 2.7% | *European:* 86.5%<br>*Māori:* 13.2%<br>*Pacifica:* 1.9%<br>*Asian:* 2.0%<br>*Other:* 2.2% | *European:* 87.8%<br>*Māori:* 11.3%<br>*Pacifica:* 1.8%<br>*Asian:* 1.3%<br>*Other:* 2.3% | *European:* 83.2%<br>*Māori:* 17.9%<br>*Pacifica:* 3.1%<br>*Asian:* 2.3%<br>*Other:* 2.3% |
| **Social Deprivation Index 2013** | *High:* 1044<br>*Low:* 888<br>*Mean:* 947 | *High:* 1238<br>*Low:* 865<br>*Mean:* 1010 | *High:* 1100<br>*Low:* 898<br>*Mean:* 958 | *High:* 1153<br>*Low:* 893<br>*Mean:* 997 | *High:* 1063<br>*Low:* 883<br>*Mean:* 973 | *High:* 1060<br>*Low:* 939<br>*Mean:* 978 | *High:* 1012<br>*Low:* 923<br>*Mean:* 946 | *High:* 1156<br>*Low:* 921<br>*Mean:* 1018 |

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[20] The percentages shown do not total to 100% as they include multiple responses

**TABLE 3:** Travel to work data – within Wellington Region (2013 census)

**Area of workplace**

| Usual residence | Wellington | Porirua | Kapiti Coast | Lower Hutt | Upper Hutt | South Wairarapa | Carterton | Masterton | Total – all areas or area not identified (% working in home district) | Number (%) working in Wellington Region | Number (%) working in metropolitan area of Wellington Region* | Number (%) working in Wairarapa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wellington | 88,452 | 2,784 | 282 | 5,046 | 567 | 69 | 18 | 81 | 105,240 (84.0%) | 97,299 (92.5%) | 96,849 (92.0%) | 168 (0.16%) |
| Porirua | 9,612 | 8,655 | 318 | 1,608 | 321 | 12 | 0 | 12 | 23,247 (37.2%) | 20,538 (88.3%) | 20,196 (86.9%) | 24 (0.10%) |
| Kapiti Coast | 4,698 | 1,158 | 11,388 | 807 | 138 | 6 | 0 | 9 | 21,105 (54.0%) | 18,204 (86.2%) | 6,801 (32.2%) | 15 (0.07%) |
| Lower Hutt | 15,042 | 699 | 120 | 24,366 | 1,584 | 24 | 9 | 33 | 46,824 (52.0%) | 41,877 (89.4%) | 41,691 (89.0%) | 66 (0.14%) |
| Upper Hutt | 4,968 | 438 | 48 | 4,461 | 7,494 | 21 | 15 | 24 | 19,503 (38.4%) | 17,469 (89.6%) | 17,361 (89.0%) | 60 (0.31%) |
| South Wairarapa | 648 | 12 | 0 | 147 | 114 | 2,748 | 213 | 372 | 4,785 (57.4%) | 4,254 (88.9%) | 921 (19.2%) | 3,333 (69.6%) |
| Carterton | 291 | 15 | 0 | 102 | 72 | 294 | 1,851 | 999 | 4,062 (45.5%) | 3,624 (89.2%) | 480 (11.8%) | 3,144 (77.4%) |
| Masterton | 315 | 18 | 6 | 96 | 36 | 243 | 798 | 8,004 | 10,836 (73.8%) | 9,510 (87.8%) | 465 (4.3%) | 9,045 (83.5%) |

*The metropolitan area comprises Upper Hutt, Lower Hutt, Porirua and Wellington cities.

**TABLE 4:** BNZ cardholder spending and transactions by cardholder and merchant origin/destination in Wellington Region
(**January - December 2013**)
**CARDHOLDER SPENDING**

**MERCHANT LOCATION**

| CUSTOMER LOCATION | Wellington | Porirua | Kapiti Coast | Lower Hutt | Upper Hutt | South Wairarapa | Carterton | Masterton | Total NZ (% home district) | Wellington Region | Metropolitan area | Wairarapa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wellington | $367,296,832 | $26,075,776 | $6,925,328 | $36,533,557 | $2,278,161 | $2,283,036 | $443,976 | $1,789,024 | $501,029,637 (73.3%) | $443,625,689 (88.5%) | $432,184,326 (86.2%) | $4,516,036 (0.9%) |
| Porirua | $19,875,559 | $55,257,204 | $2,582,079 | $6,163,785 | $791,525 | $303,941 | $65,901 | $238,450 | $93,435,529 (59.1%) | $85,278,443 (91.3%) | $82,088,073 (87.8%) | $608,292 (0.6%) |
| Kapiti Coast | $10,728,565 | $5,775,105 | $78,554,457 | $2,466,581 | $486,875 | $211,654 | $46,552 | $201,452 | $111,007,249 (70.7%) | $98,471,242 (88.7%) | $19,457,126 (17.5%) | $459,658 (0.4%) |
| Lower Hutt | $31,196,999 | $2,729,896 | $1,964,371 | $135,900,707 | $4,673,082 | $715,034 | $158,502 | $605,736 | $194,603,952 (69.8%) | $177,944,327 (91.4%) | $174,500,684 (89.7%) | $1,479,272 (0.8%) |
| Upper Hutt | $8,045,260 | $1,213,728 | $640,918 | $14,153,442 | $45,550,032 | $324,287 | $96,642 | $373,122 | $76,248,641 (59.7%) | $70,397,432 (92.3%) | $68,962,462 (90.4%) | $794,051 (1.0%) |
| South Wairarapa | $2,268,722 | $157,751 | $82,080 | $1,249,975 | $875,577 | $9,197,174 | $1,660,136 | $6,664,233 | $24,124,990 (38.1%) | $22,155,647 (91.8%) | $4,552,025 (18.9%) | $17,521,543 (72.6%) |
| Carterton | $980,937 | $83,380 | $44,262 | $543,730 | $258,813 | $1,223,202 | $7,507,667 | $8,291,210 | $20,596,623 (36.5%) | $18,933,201 (91.9%) | $1,866,860 (9.1%) | $17,022,079 (82.6%) |
| Masterton | $2,192,864 | $127,197 | $137,719 | $912,699 | $312,185 | $1,303,551 | $1,202,431 | $39,755,017 | $51,456,963 (77.3%) | $45,943,664 (89.3%) | $3,544,945 (6.9%) | $42,260,999 (82.1%) |

## CARDHOLDER TRANSACTIONS
### MERCHANT LOCATION

| CUSTOMER LOCATION | Wellington | Porirua | Kapiti Coast | Lower Hutt | Upper Hutt | South Wairarapa | Carterton | Masterton | Total NZ (% home district) | Wellington Region | Metropolitan area | Wairarapa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wellington | 7,299,522 | 414,568 | 120,319 | 479,553 | 49,088 | 37,583 | 8,176 | 27,232 | 9,520,405 (76.7%) | 8,436,041 (88.6%) | 8,242,731 (86.6%) | 72,991 (0.8%) |
| Porirua | 413,162 | 1,043,400 | 45,894 | 90,228 | 18,327 | 4,937 | 1,099 | 3,834 | 1,774,707 (58.8%) | 1,620,881 (91.3%) | 1,565,117 (88.2%) | 9,870 (0.6%) |
| Kapiti Coast | 212,026 | 95,996 | 1,353,632 | 38,940 | 10,643 | 3,600 | 1,061 | 3,933 | 1,944,028 (69.6%) | 1,719,831 (88.5%) | 357,605 (18.4%) | 8,594 (0.4%) |
| Lower Hutt | 636,923 | 56,353 | 36,320 | 2,368,726 | 97,540 | 12,513 | 3,437 | 10,962 | 3,522,645 (67.2%) | 3,222,774 (91.5%) | 3,159,542 (89.7%) | 26,912 (0.8%) |
| Upper Hutt | 181,480 | 26,858 | 14,336 | 226,648 | 878,813 | 6,889 | 2,087 | 6,768 | 1,457,690 (60.3%) | 1,343,879 (92.2%) | 1,313,799 (90.1%) | 15,744 (1.1%) |
| South Wairarapa | 40,153 | 1,672 | 1,493 | 14,831 | 15,183 | 225,470 | 27,892 | 88,177 | 454,517 (49.6%) | 414,871 (91.3%) | 71,839 (15.8%) | 341,539 (75.1%) |
| Carterton | 20,643 | 1,497 | 910 | 9,701 | 6,082 | 33,151 | 164,505 | 141,630 | 411,179 (43.5%) | 378,119 (92.0%) | 37,923 (9.2%) | 339,286 (82.5%) |
| Masterton | 39,090 | 2,369 | 2,442 | 14,011 | 7,935 | 31,254 | 26,419 | 750,823 | 972,187 (77.2%) | 874,343 (89.9%) | 63,405 (6.5%) | 808,496 (83.2%) |

**TABLE 5:** **Wellington regional amenities, organisations and events**

Prior to the Colmar Brunton telephone survey commissioned by the Wellington Mayoral Forum in 2011, an online pre-survey of 630 respondents living throughout Wellington Region was conducted to develop a list of regionally important amenities. The following list of 22 amenities, organisations and events was identified as a result.

| Amenity, organisation, event | % thinking everyone or most people in the region benefit | % backing region-wide support | % used recently |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ambulance Services | 92 | 87 | 31 |
| Te Papa | 86 | 69 | 77 |
| Westpac Stadium | 78 | 75 | 59 |
| Wellington Zoo | 77 | 65 | 36 |
| Wellington Botanic Gardens | 66 | 30 | 58 |
| TSB Arena | 64 | 47 | 47 |
| Rugby Sevens | 61 | 54 | 29 |
| Martinborough Fair | 56 | 16 | 39 |
| Michael Fowler Centre | 52 | 37 | 42 |
| Zealandia | 51 | 40 | 26 |
| Wellington Museum of City & Sea | 49 | 33 | 28 |
| Kapiti Island | 46 | 54 | 6 |
| NZ International Arts Festival | 46 | 52 | 42 |
| World of Wearable Art | 46 | 44 | 28 |
| Pukaka Mt Bruce Wildlife Centre | 40 | 38 | 11 |
| Wings over Wairarapa | 34 | 23 | 18 |
| Wellington City Gallery | 30 | 25 | 35 |
| NZ Symphony Orchestra | 29 | 57 | 13 |
| Pataka Museum & Gallery | 29 | 25 | 27 |
| Downstage | 28 | 20 | 20 |
| New Dowse | 27 | 17 | 31 |
| Te Rauparaha Arena | 23 | 20 | 18 |