

Auckland's Special Character Areas: He Taonga o Tāmaki Makaurau



Author: Joshua Howie - postgraduate student at the University of Auckland in Auckland, New Zealand, (Masters in Architecture and Heritage Conservation).

Cover image: Drawing, Joshua Howie

Contents

1. Introduction

- 1.1 Brief 3
- 1.2 Background 3

2. Literature review: Auckland's special character areas and similar systems globally

- 2.1. The legal basis of Auckland's special character areas 4
- 2.2. The nature and location of special character areas in Auckland 5
- 2.3. How do special character areas work? 5
- 2.4. Advantages of special character areas and similar systems
 - 2.4.1. Economic benefits 6
 - 2.4.2 Social benefits 7
 - 2.4.3 Environmental benefits 8

3. Auckland's SCAs in the international context

- 3.1. Auckland's Urban Character: A summary
 - 3.1.1. Background 9
 - 3.1.2. What makes Auckland's urban character special? Victorian and Edwardian architecture 10
- 3.2. Auckland's urban character compared 12
 - 3.2.1. Brisbane's urban character 13
 - 3.2.2. Melbourne's urban character 15
 - 3.2.3. Character comparisons further abroad 17

4. Conclusion and statement 20

- 4.1 Statement 20

5. Appendices 20

6. Bibliography 21

1. Introduction

1.1 Brief

This project was commissioned by the Auckland branch of the New Zealand Founders Society. The scope of this project is twofold: first, to review existing literature on Auckland's Special Character Areas (SCAs) and identify the advantages and importance of such systems, and second, to compare the contents of the SCAs to international instances of equivalent urban fabric.

1.2 Background

In the face of a widely acknowledged housing crisis, Auckland's Special Character Areas, and the protective development restrictions their designation brings, have been publicly identified by both central and local government as an obstacle to urban intensification efforts in the city,¹ particularly in its central residential areas. This trend is exemplified by the 2020 National Policy Statement on Urban Development and subsequent 2022 Medium Density Residential Standards (MDRS),² as well as the corresponding local plan change 78 in Auckland.³

I have been asked to provide an informational basis on which to better understand the social, economic, and environmental benefits that can be gained through the preservation of broader areas of special character. Comparisons with urban fabric beyond the Auckland Unitary Plan's jurisdiction, particularly with international contemporaries, will be key in highlighting what makes Auckland's SCAs unique in the world.

The brief refers specifically to those SCAs covering Auckland's vast collection of Victorian and Edwardian timber-frame weatherboard houses (of a typology here known as 'villas') which are concentrated in older central neighbourhoods on the Tāmaki isthmus and North Shore. Neighbourhoods like these dominate the public's understanding of New Zealand's urban heritage; indeed, the pre-amalgamation Auckland City Council once referred to the isthmus as containing, "the most extensive range of timbered housing with... classical details and mouldings in the world,"⁴ though the basis of this assertion is unclear.

I will also endeavour to come up with a new statement, outlining concisely why Auckland's SCAs are important.

¹ Geraden Cann, "Auckland Council still shielding posh areas from development, Government may intervene," *Stuff*, July 24, 2022. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/business/129262682/auckland-council-still-shielding-posh-areas-from-development-government-may->

² Ministry for the Environment, "National policy statement on urban development," Accessed February 7, 2024. <https://environment.govt.nz/acts-and-regulations/national-policy-statements/national-policy-statement-urban-development/>

³ Auckland Council. "PC78: Intensification." Accessed January 10, 2024. <https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/plans-projects-policies-reports-bylaws/our-plans-strategies/unitary-plan/auckland-unitary-plan-modifications/Pages/details.aspx?UnitaryPlanId=140>

⁴ City of Auckland, *District Plan Isthmus Section- Operative 1999*, A10. <http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/council/documents/district/Part07a1.pdf>

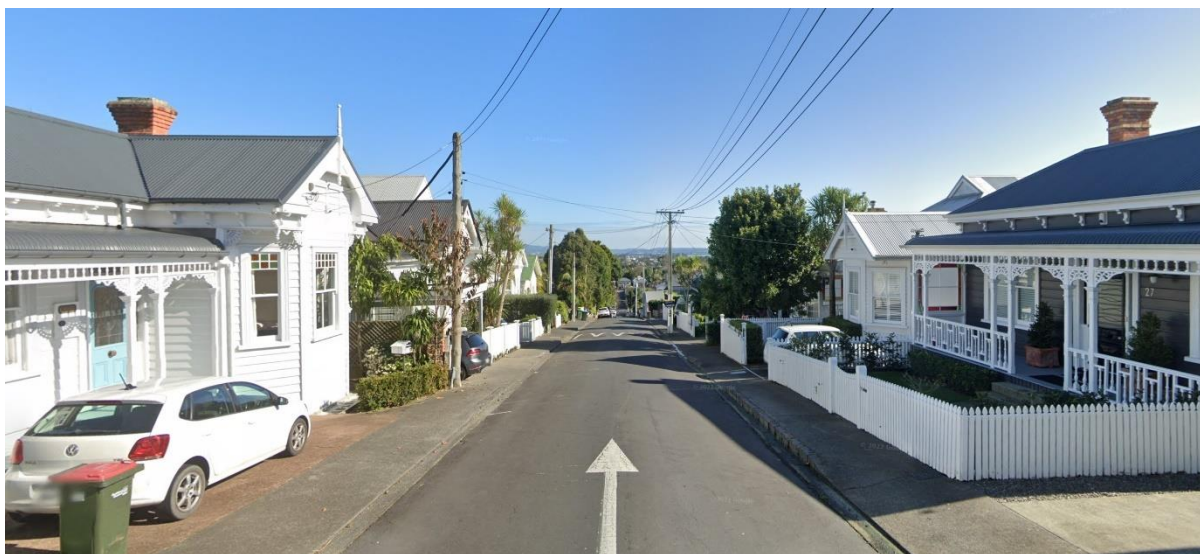
2. Literature review: Auckland’s special character areas and similar systems globally

2.1. The legal basis of Auckland’s special character areas

So, what are SCAs, legally? At the most basic level, **special character areas** are an overlay mechanism used by Auckland Council to “retain and manage”⁵ specific demarcated areas of the city’s **special character**.

The term ‘**special character**’ itself is somewhat misunderstood: though linked to the practice of conservation of historic built heritage and understood to be part of historic heritage by the public, section 7c of the 1991 Resource Management Act categorises special character as ‘*amenity*’, legally distinct from historic heritage.⁶ The sum of many parts, the RMA defines amenity as “those natural or physical qualities and characteristics that contribute to people’s appreciation of its pleasantness, aesthetic coherence, and cultural and recreational attributes.”⁷ In 2012 this distinction was clarified following the *New Zealand Heavy Haulage Association vs Auckland Council* case in the Environment Court, which concluded that future district plans should “avoid conflation between heritage matters and special character matters.”⁸ SCAs are therefore positioned at the bottom of New Zealand’s conservation pyramid.

So, what is special character if not heritage? Auckland’s Unitary Plan further clarifies *special character* as, “collective and cohesive values, importance, relevance and interest” embodied by specific neighbourhoods of the city – in short, it’s a ‘vibe’. And an endemic one at that.



Villas along O’neil St, Ponsonby – Special Character – Residential: Isthmus A

Google Earth. n.d. Street View from O’neil St looking west. Retrieved May 1, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@-36.85137439,174.7424927,50.11448026a,0d,60y,265.12785714h,87.00885265t,0r/data=CjgaNhlwCiQweDZkMGQ0NzliMWFmMmE2ZGQ6MHg1MDBiZiYxNDNhMmY5MTAqCFBBIINPTkZGAEGASlaChZkbUNoQXBmWjIfeGJiVktNmljbmJBEAl6AwoBMA>

⁵ Auckland Council, *Auckland Unitary Plan Operative in part – D18 Special Character Areas Overlay – Residential and Business*, 1. https://unitaryplan.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/pages/plan/Book.aspx?exhibit=AucklandUnitaryPlan_Print

⁶ David Bade et al., “The price premium of heritage in the housing market: evidence from Auckland, New Zealand” *Land Use Policy* 99, (2020): 3. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2020.105042>

⁷ New Zealand Legislation, *Resource Management Act 1991*, Part 1 Section 2(1). Retrieved January 22, 2024. <https://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1991/0069/latest/whole.html#DLM230272>

⁸ Auckland Unitary Plan Independent Hearings Panel, “Auckland Council - Closing Statement (B4.1 and B4.2),” 6. Retrieved January 22, 2024. <https://hearings.aupihp.govt.nz/online-services/new/files/zpA89zNEer4Mu4pP9yYjZbeMSeD9DCeli0tmqNMqotzp>

2.2. The nature and location of special character areas in Auckland

Contemporary Auckland is well-known for its ‘old’ timber architecture and urban fabric, comprising the cottage, villa, transitional villa and bungalow typologies, constructed on quarter acre lots in the first layers of Auckland’s urbanism beginning with initial suburban expansion in the 1870s (in the form of walking suburbs) and the concluding around 1940 as the impact of the second world war on New Zealand increased (these later layers enabled by the tram network and later, automobiles). The urban fabric of this period could be defined as a broader Auckland timber vernacular continuum, which will be explored further in **Section 3 Comparison**. These typologies feature prominently within the SCA system, contributing 71% of the total buildings within Auckland’s SCAs, concentrated in SCAs closer to the CBD – namely Isthmus A, B and C.

Nevertheless, Auckland’s 55 SCAs encompass a broad variety of eras, styles, materials and building uses from the city’s history, covering a total of 21,280 property sites and a total land area of 14.8 km² (occupying just under 2.6% of the city’s urbanised area,⁹ and 0.3% of the Auckland Unitary Authority’s total land area).¹⁰ Auckland’s first two SCAs were implemented in the 1978 Auckland District Scheme, one in a demarcated business area around Vulcan Lane and High Street in the central city (mainly comprising masonry buildings), and the other in the 19th century near the western suburbs of Freemans Bay, Ponsonby and St Mary’s Bay (then known as the Residential A zone, mainly comprising timber villas and cottages).

Coinciding with growing national and global consciousness around built heritage conservation, the 7 territorial authorities of the Auckland region implemented SCAs independently in varying degrees, which were maintained following Auckland’s 2010 amalgamation. The new Auckland Unitary Plan (first implemented in 2016) handles special character largely in the same manner as Auckland City Council did.

The Residential A zone perhaps best exemplifies the system’s evolution, growing into the Special Character Residential Isthmus A, B and C overlays today. Additionally, SCAs further expanded to cover other areas of Auckland’s history and particular urban character. For instance, the Special Character: Residential Balmoral Tram Suburb East and West areas, comprising mainly timber bungalows, acknowledge the influence of the development and expansion of the tram network on urban character in the central isthmus.

2.3. How do special character areas work?

The three key objectives of Auckland’s SCAs are outlined in Chapter 18 of Auckland’s Unitary Plan, and are: 1) to maintain and enhance the city’s **special character values**; 2) to retain **physical attributes** that **define, contribute to** and/or **support** special character; and 3) to **avoid, remedy** or **mitigate adverse effects** of **subdivision, use** and **development** on special character areas and their values.¹¹

Special character values (SCVs) function as an efficient way of documenting the relatively objective facets of the ‘vibe’ of a given area. These values include but extend beyond aesthetic qualities of independent buildings to broader aspects such as spatial relationships (between houses, streets and natural features), activities, and functions among others.

⁹ Stats NZ, “Urban land cover,” updated April 15, 2021. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/indicators/urban-land-cover>

¹⁰ Stats NZ, “Territorial Authority 2023 (generalised),” updated December 2, 2022. <https://datafinder.stats.govt.nz/layer/111194-territorial-authority-2023-generalised/>

¹¹ Auckland Council, *D18 Special Character Areas Overlay*, 6-8.

On paper, historic heritage designation (or scheduling) protects the “authenticity and integrity of **historic fabric**,” while SCA overlays, positioned at the less restrictive end of the heritage conservation spectrum, aim to protect “amenity and appearance value of the streetscape,”¹² however the line between the two can never be perfectly drawn. It is impossible to ignore the deep connection SCVs share with the urbanism of the past. Along with the SCVs, **Special character statements** in schedule 15 of the Auckland Unitary Plan document each respective neighbourhoods’ endemic condition in greater depth. This is also where links between values of an SCA and those of adjacent scheduled historic heritage sites are highlighted; scheduled sites are often critical to the ‘vibe’ of an area’s special character, and vice versa.

The practical impossibility of a clean separation between protection of special character and historic heritage is tacitly acknowledged by Auckland Council through the **policies** listed in chapter 18 of the AUP. Each of Auckland’s 55 SCAs are categorised as either **Residential (SCAR)**, **Business (SCAB)**, or **General (mixed residential and business)**.

Construction work on a site within any SCA must comply with the relevant policies in chapter 18, regardless of its activity classification. In the case of an Auckland villa within one of Auckland’s SCAs, proposed work would need to comply with **Special Character Area-Residential Policies** (applied indiscriminately for any site within Residential SCAs and specifically to residential-zoned sites within General SCAs). Special Character Values and statements must be carefully considered in relation to the policies.

Permitted activities do not require resource consent, and typically apply to limited conservative work, such as restoration of fabric or minor modification up to a certain **specified standard** at the rear of a building within an SCA. More substantial work is generally deemed restricted (extensions, pools, etc) by the chapter 18 activities table, and therefore requires Resource consent to be approved by council. Proposed work is reviewed by Auckland Council’s team of heritage specialists, compared to relevant policies with reference to the special character values and statement for the area. While in other cities these applications are reviewed by the planning department, Auckland employs its heritage department for such tasks, with mixed but generally favourable outcomes.

2.4. Advantages of Special Character Areas and similar systems across the world

2.4.1. *Economic benefits*

Auckland’s Special character areas have been consistently found to positively impact both property values and sale prices. It is impossible to ignore that much of Auckland’s designated areas of Special Character coincide with the city’s desirable central suburbs. Proximity to the city centre made these areas desirable to begin with and has allowed them to develop even greater desirability over the years, with transport links and access to large areas of public open space.¹³ Additionally, by virtue of being closest to the original location selected to become a city, these areas typically have other advantages of natural geography.

Nevertheless, significant chunks of Auckland’s central suburbia are free of special character designation. Therefore, the effects of special character designation alone, as well as the presence of the special character values it protects, can and have been studied. David Bade et al. found

¹² Lucy Rossiter and Kai Gu, “The Impact of Special Character Areas on Property Values and Homeowners’ Experiences: Cases from Auckland, New Zealand,” *Land* 12, no. 6 (2023): 1181. <https://doi.org/10.3390/land12061181>

¹³ Bade et al., “The price premium of heritage in the housing market”, 12.

houses located within SCAs had a 4.3% price premium over non-SCA houses sold in Auckland over a 10-year period between 2006 and 2016 (all being equal), suggesting that special character amenity and its preservation are attractive for home buyers. Rossiter and Gu studied the impact of SCAs on general property values in the central suburbs of Freemans Bay and Onehunga. Taking into consideration specific housing and neighbourhood characteristics and employing a larger sample size not limited to houses that had been sold,¹⁴ they found SCA designated houses in Freemans Bay and Onehunga to be 33% and be 9% greater in value respectively than their respective non-designated counterparts. This contextualises previous estimates as rather conservative. Given that both study areas included significant areas with and without SCA designation, Rossiter and Gu were also able to identify a positive effect of designated areas of Special Character on adjacent blocks and streets. Limited but definitive positive spillover to property prices in adjacent areas was also recorded in D Bade et al.'s study.¹⁵ Additionally, this trend is reflected in studies of England's conservation districts.¹⁶ 'Heritage effect' in England is transferrable as 'character effect' in New Zealand.

This not only suggests that special character restrictions are good for special character, and that special character is good for surrounding neighbourhoods, but also that special character areas are generally attractive to buyers, and that people like living in them, despite their perceived restrictions. The impacts of restrictions on desirability in the face of a housing crisis were further reviewed by Bade et al., who found houses designated as both historic heritage and within an SCA increased in sale values by 7.9%. This in stark contrast to houses in scheduled Heritage-areas alone, which were negatively affected by 9.6%.

This suggests that where heritage buildings are surrounded by special character amenity, they are perceived to be of greater value and the more stringent restrictions are less of an issue for buyers. Though different, heritage and special character are often viewed or managed in a more officially connected way overseas. In England, for instance, the associated costs of restrictions are often mitigated by tax incentives, government subsidies, or both.¹⁷ It is likely that prospective buyers of a designated Special character area home will feel less like restrictions are a disadvantage where their neighbours also have restrictions. In the case of a heritage area and SCA home, this is even better (being the best house on the street).

The economic benefits of special character and equivalent classifications have been widely documented – special character as an amenity is in high demand. As much as this is an economic benefit for a homeowner, it has broader social benefits too.

[2.4.2. Social benefits](#)

In their paper on the impacts of heritage areas in the UK (which encompass what we in New Zealand would consider separate heritage and special character), Ahlfeldt, Holman and Wendland point out these areas have two very separate types of value – economic and cultural. While the former can be sold on the market for its “pure economic asset value”, they note that the latter isn't so simple. Given its intangibility, cultural capital is an asset with contemporary value in its own right, and potential to increase in future as attitudes to special character change. They note specific physical and social conditions of conservation areas, “may give rise to a flow of different goods and services over time, which may also have cultural value of their own.” The

¹⁴ Rossiter and Gu, “The Impact of Special Character Areas on Property Values and Homeowners' Experiences,” 11.

¹⁵ Bade et al., “The price premium of heritage in the housing market”, 12.

¹⁶ Gabriel M. Ahlfeldt, Nancy Holman and Nicolai Wendland, *An assessment of the effects of conservation areas on value* (commissioned by English Heritage, London: London School of Economics, 2012), 12.

¹⁷Ahlfeldt, Holman and Wendland, *An assessment of the effects of conservation areas on value*, 11-12.

London study found “green and peaceful residential environments” to be a desirable feature consistently listed by residents in every conservation area they studied, “no matter their location, level of deprivation or property premium.” This resource remains largely unacknowledged within Auckland.

This speaks to the social advantages also highlighted in this study. Residents of high deprivation Conservation areas in central London noted despite crime and drug use, they felt very connected to their communities both spatially and socially. There are some common traits associated with conservation areas overseas that apply to Auckland’s SCAs too. Streetscape, green space, and consistent character all provide a sense of calm that many people surveyed attested to.

2.4.3. Environmental benefits

While Auckland is in the midst of a housing crisis, climate change looms on the horizon. The proposed redevelopment of Auckland’s SCAs might not be as financially or environmentally sustainable as some imagine when viewed holistically. In my discussions with the Wellington heritage team, Senior Heritage & Urban Regeneration Advisor Noël Luzzi commented, “We already have so many houses. It will be expensive to rebuild them all. It will be much cheaper to renovate existing housing stock.”

This sentiment has been quantified in the United States by Preservation Green Lab of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. In their 2011 survey, they found that building reuse “almost always yields fewer environmental impacts than new construction when comparing buildings of similar size and functionality.” Indeed, in the US cities of Portland, Oregon and Chicago, Illinois, they found reused single family homes had reduced climate change impacts when compared to equivalent new builds, by 7% and 10% respectively.¹⁸ New building construction is a costly process with regards to the environment. In Chicago and Portland, they estimate it would take 38 years and 50 years respectively for new energy efficient houses to overcome the carbon expended in their construction alone and begin to have a positive climate impact. In contrast, the carbon generated by existing houses can be tackled right now – they estimate over the next 10 years, if 1% of Portland’s demolished and rebuilt single family homes and office buildings were instead reused and retrofitted, 15% of Multnomah County’s carbon reduction target would be met.¹⁹ Reuse of the existing character fabric could contribute even more to Auckland’s carbon reduction goals given the 23,000 parcel properties within SCAs. Upgrading existing housing stock would also simply be cheaper in terms of direct expense, and money saved would be well used if invested in improving public transit in the city and densifying areas better suited to redevelopment.

One obstacle identified was the public perception of rehabilitation (upgrading) as less predictable than new construction and therefore carrying higher risks of unforeseen costs.²⁰ While this is certainly relevant to Auckland’s SCAs, the villa typology specifically (which is examined in section 3 comparison) is relatively predictable in spatial planning and general dimensions, and though none are identical, they do by and large require the predictable improvements to increase energy efficiency.

¹⁸ Preservation Green Lab, *The Greenest Building: Quantifying the Environmental Value of Building Reuse* (Washington DC: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2011), 64.

¹⁹ Preservation Green Lab, *The Greenest Building*, 84.

²⁰ Preservation Green Lab, *The Greenest Building*, 84.

3. Auckland's SCAs in the international context

3.1. Auckland's Urban Character: A summary

3.1.1. Background:

The evolution and development of Auckland's special character has been shaped by both human-driven and natural selection pressures. Though the entirety of Auckland's formally recognised special character is colonial or post-colonial in nature, emerging in the last 140 years or so, it is important to acknowledge that the city's history of human occupation and development is much longer and richer than this limited snapshot. Between the 11th and 14th centuries,²¹ early Māori settlers set up sporadic coastal settlements along the Waitematā and Manukau harbours.²² Located between the two harbours, and containing a high concentration of naturally defensible volcanic peaks and fertile soil, the Tāmaki isthmus facilitated the distillation of sporadic settlements into a complex proto-urbanism, known as Pā (fortified settlements), which peaked in the 16th and 17th centuries. Though Māori constructed pits and palisaded fortifications at the top of these peaks, containing citadels (toi),²³ these settlements were far from insular. Housing a variety of functions essential to community life, from residences to kumara farming and storage, were vertical terraces, radiating from the summit to connect with surrounding fertile valleys and beyond to the coast and its resources. Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill) is perhaps the most elaborate example on the Tāmaki isthmus and is believed to have housed 4000 people at its peak.²⁴ Declining in the late 18th century, very little of this urbanism remains as 'living' character today. Maungakiekie, as well as other pa such as Maungarei (Mt Wellington) and Maungawhau (Mt Eden), became integral to the urbanism of Auckland as it changed drastically with the arrival of European settlers, as natural and archaeological spectacles as well as public green spaces.



Looking Northeast from the earthworks at Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill), with Auckland Isthmus in the background.

Google Earth. n.d. Street view across Maungakiekie, facing northeast. Retrieved May 1, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@-36.90155098,174.78198873,148.34095764a,0d,66.27915507y,60.39259305h,85.29384887t,0r/data=CjgaNhlwCiQweDZkMGQ0NzliMWFmMme2ZGQ6MHg1MDBlZjYxNDNhMmY5MTAqCFBPTINPTkZGAEGASlaChZ4RGEzWk5CRE9TR21CalpQZEzSXdxBEAI6AwoBMA>

²¹ Russel Stone, *From Tamaki-Makau-Rau to Auckland*. Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press, 2001, 19.

https://auckland.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/64UAUCK_INST/1pit749/alma9998157914002091

²² Matthew Campbell, Jaden Harris, and Andrew McAlister, *Auckland Council North and Northwest Rural Urban Boundary options: cultural heritage overview*, Auckland: CFG Heritage, 2013, 4-6. <https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/plans-projects-policies-reports-bylaws/our-plans-strategies/unitary-plan/history-unitary-plan/documentssection32reportproposedaup/appendix-3-2-2.pdf>

²³ Stone, *From Tamaki-Makau-Rau to Auckland*. Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press, 37.

²⁴ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, "Maungakiekie-One Tree Hill - roadside stories," New Zealand History, last updated October 12, 2023, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/maungakiekie-one-tree-hill-roadside-stories>

Though Europeans made contact as early as the 17th century, it was not until after the city's official founding by William Hobson as the capital of the New Zealand colony, following the ratification of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840,²⁵ that Auckland's contemporary special character emerged. It is important to acknowledge global trends to identify what makes this character so unique.

3.1.2. What makes Auckland's urban character special? Victorian and Edwardian architecture

While Auckland's special character is by no means monolithic, they collectively constitute a single continuum which could be described as Auckland Colonial Vernacular.

Between the 1840s and 1890s, Auckland's early urban expansion was dominated by colonial cottages and primitive villas, remnants of which are largely concentrated in the central western suburbs of Herne bay, Ponsonby, St Mary's Bay and Freeman's Bay (Isthmus A , B and C). Both trace their origins to Australian colonial vernacular houses, adapted to local conditions and constructed exclusively from old-growth native Kauri. Both cottages and villas are typically raised above the ground, connecting to a front garden and public street beyond through an attached covered veranda (lowered beneath the main roof eaves on single storey variants). Decorative turned timber veranda friezes and fascias on open gables comprise the bulk of the limited ornamentation typical of this period. **Cottages** are distinguished by their narrow (often single-room wide) facades, and can be single or dual storey with generally gable roof forms. While originally constructed in dense rows, the few that remain today commonly appear in pairs or triples. The primitive **villa** emerged as a local adaptation of colonial four-room houses constructed half a century earlier in penal era Australia. Quadrisected rectangles in plan, and usually but not exclusively single storey, they are more spacious than cottages and occupy larger lots, employing a variety of roof shapes from singular hip or gable volumes to complex u-shaped three-faceted hip forms, the latter of which became more popular in the late Victorian era.



Villa (left) with cottages (centre and right) in Ponsonby.

Google Earth. n.d. Street View looking north from Cowan St. <https://earth.google.com/web/@-36.8494816,174.7403898,1,42,07664012a,0d,60y,354.96640334h,85t,0r/data=CjgaNhlwCiQweDZkMGQ0NzliMWFmMmE2ZGQ6MHg1MDBiZjYxNDNhMmY5MTAqCFBPTINPTkZGAEGASlaChZrSmFzdHI4OGdDbIVkTlM0MWOzMnFBEAIGAwBMA>

²⁵ Auckland Regional Council, *A Brief History of Auckland's Urban Form*, (ISBN 978-1-877540-57-8, Auckland: 2010), 5.

The face of Auckland’s colonial vernacular, architecturally speaking, is the **late Victorian villa**. As Auckland prospered into the 1890s, the more generous villa became the hegemonic housing style, and rapidly distilled into the distinct endemic typology we are familiar with today during the Edwardian period. While still connected to the street through wide front-facing verandas, the villas of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods have more complex internal spatial layouts, typically comprising a central corridor extending front to rear flanked by rooms on either side. Many villas of this period feature prominent bay window-shaped extensions to one side of their façades, protruding past the veranda and extending above to connect to the main roof form. Typically roofed with a square box gable (though many are hipped), ornate timber corbels support the roof’s edges where the walls below in the bay window are chamfered. Like their predecessors, these buildings are constructed from local hardwood, with weatherboard cladding and corrugated iron roofing. **They are more ornate than their predecessors** and have a striking consistency in scale and composition despite considerable variation in details from house to house. Ponsonby is a perfect example of this, villas as far as the eye can see. Lean-to extensions and broader modifications are common in all variations of the colonial Villa.



An ornate late Victorian villa (left) next to a transitional villa (right): note the similar spatial articulation below the roofs.

Google Earth. n.d. Street view from O'neil st, looking south. Accessed April 30, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@-36.85141642,174.74198344,46.54257584a,0d,60y,177.17705572h,90.06407166t,0r/data=CjgaNhlwCiQweDZkMGQ0NzliMWFmMmE2ZGQ6MHg1MDBlZjYxNDNhMmY5MTAqCFBPTINPTkZGAEGASlaChYzSGE4dUFwMENLTFB5Q2FUTDJZRC1REAI6AwoBMA>

Though Auckland’s massive growth following the first world war coincided with a shift in favour of lower, wider California bungalows (with clear Arts and Crafts influence), it did not suffer the loss or fragmentation of its timber character, quite the opposite. Dotted around the isthmus, Transitional villas emerged in the 1920s as variations of the standard villa in plan, adapted to the characteristics of California bungalows. Early examples maintain the attached veranda and protruding bay window extension while adopting lower roof and stud heights, as well as the overall aesthetic austerity of the California bungalow. Later transitional villas consolidated into a singular rectangular volume united by a single roof form, from which genuine bay windows extended. Integrated porches were generally favoured over verandas but the spatial layout in plan is still very similar to that of a villa. From here, bungalows developed, with less conventional spatial arrangements and often multiple roof forms. Though often featuring timber corbels supporting eaves, these were far more austere than Victorian predecessors on account of their arts and crafts influence. Gone are the ornate veranda friezes and carved pinnacles, in their place textured timber shingles paired with weatherboard in addition to square timber joinery. Houses of this era

tend to be made of imported timber on account of depletion of national Kauri forests by the early 1910s. Fine leadlight windows assumed the role of ornament during this period.

Though the overall profile of these houses is very different from their colonial predecessors, their relationship with the street remains similar. Where transitional villas and bungalows appear either as infill housing within villa dominated special character areas, or in larger districts adjacent to Villa-dominated areas, a visual continuity of streetscape is maintained. The result is a consistent Auckland timber vernacular spanning across vast areas of the Tamaki Isthmus.



A Grey Lynn bungalow located outside of special character area.

Google Earth. n.d. Street View from Rona Ave, looking north. Retrieved May 1, 2024. https://earth.google.com/web/@-36.86572442,174.73584043,51.32955631a,0d,60y,31.09712066h,85t,0r/data=CksaSRJDCiUweDZkMGQON2E2YmVjMjY5NWl6MHg5MmWlxZtc2ZGYwNjIjYzYyGU-_VejNbkLAlcGoJtKH12VAKghyb25hIGF2Z2RgBIAE6AwoBMA

For the purposes of the comparison below, I will focus my attention on special character defined by the classic villa and its adjacent styles.

3.2. Auckland's urban character compared

In an extensive survey of urban areas with fabric of a similar **age, density and materiality** to Auckland's Special character areas, **no direct equivalent was found anywhere in the world.**

I began my investigation broadly, by looking into urban settlements across the Americas, Afro-Eurasia and Oceania that I knew contained areas of timber urban fabric, ornate or otherwise, from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. From here, I expanded, using a combination of internet searching (with particular reference to Encyclopaedia Britannica, local blogs, and local and national government websites) and direct observation via Google Earth and its Street View feature. Following this method iteratively, each location building on the last, I completed a surface survey of the globe. I concluded my broad investigation by contacting heritage or local government representatives, as well as members of local independent historic or architecture societies, from those cities which faced similar architectural and urban selection pressures to Auckland during the late 19th and early 20th century (be it local weather conditions, availability of materials, regional and global architectural trends and/or European colonial influence, as well as degree of isolation, especially in the case of former colonial cities). In total, 27 people were contacted for 19 different urban areas, ranging from the remote colonial settlements of Jamestown, Saint Helena (UK) and Kingston, Norfolk Island (Australia), the Caribbean timber urbanism of Paramaribo, Suriname and Belize City, Belize, the urban character of San Francisco, New England and the Midwestern United States, timber vernacular in northeastern Europe centered around the Baltic in Vilnius and Riga, as well as Australia and the United Kingdom.

The Founders Society provided me with a list of contacts in cities long-established as comparisons to Auckland's special character (namely Australia, northeastern United States and the United Kingdom), and reassuringly all these were also captured in the broader survey that I undertook. This list was skewed in favour of the Anglosphere due to common British (often colonial) ties. The broader survey added value particularly by extending beyond the Anglosphere.

While it was highly informative to look beyond the Anglosphere, it is nevertheless impossible to deny that British colonial settlements constructed during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras across the world exhibit common characteristics in their architecture and broader urban fabric. This is certainly the case in Australasia, where the foundational influence of 18th century single or dual-room settler cottages remains clear beneath applied Victorian flamboyance and evolved planning articulation.

On careful inspection, however, there are clear regional differences on either side of the Tasman. While local kauri timber is the dominant construction material for these buildings in New Zealand, Australia has far more material variation in its houses, favouring stone and brick masonry during this era. There are two notable exceptions which share identifiably similar design language to Auckland's special character and timber construction: Brisbane and Melbourne. Additionally, I identified two areas of the US which embody less obvious similarities to Auckland's special character: urban Massachusetts and Chicagoland.

3.2.1. [Brisbane's urban character](#)

Brisbane's timber special character is defined by the "Queenslander". Recognised as the most iconic Australian architectural typology, it bears a resemblance to its timber vernacular cousins across the Tasman in Auckland. Indeed, both Auckland's villas and Brisbane's Queenslanders descend from single or dual-room hipped-roofed Georgian cottages in penal-era Australia, which tended to employ a central front door flanked by windows on either side opening onto a covered veranda. Both display similar stylistic variation corresponding to their respective eras, which overlap almost entirely. Like Auckland's villas, the late Victorian era Queenslanders employ timber ornamentation in the form of pinnacles and friezes, transitioning into a squarer aesthetics and looser layout formula in the federation era (much like Auckland's transitional villas and bungalows). Nevertheless, they are fundamentally different at both an individual architectural level and broader urban level, making the special character of the areas they inhabit very different.

Queenslanders are architecturally defined by their height, positioned on timber piles often the same height as wall studs, and their near wrap-around verandas, classically three sided, which are accessed from the ground via staircases. These features are a response to Queensland's tropical climate, protecting the houses from torrential rain and flooding while providing ventilated semi-outdoor space. While Auckland's villas are also generally raised on timber piles, they are much lower to the ground, accessed via shorter stairs to shallower street-facing verandas, and are aesthetically grounded with timber lattices and vegetation. They are therefore more connected to their broader context than Brisbane's Queenslanders.



Queenslanders in the central Brisbane suburb of New Farm.

Google Earth. n.d. Streetview looking south from Welsby St in New Farm, Brisbane. Accessed April 30, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@-27.4656712,153.04924601,3.80026054a,0d,60y,164.06142574h,88.43745325t,0r/data=CmwaahJkCiUweDZiOTE1OTg4OGU0MzlhMzE6MHg0NWVIM2Q1ODcxNmI2ODEyGYyofUModzvAlfa3X5mSIWNkik1NiBXZWxzYnkgU3RyZWV0LCBOZXcgRmFybSBRTeQslEF1c3RyYWxpYRgBIAEiGgoWM3dsdXpReTBXQkVhbWhtUDUxM0NLQRACOGMKATA>

When corresponding with the Brisbane City Council heritage team, they recommended I look into the suburb of New Farm for my comparison on account of its high concentration of Queenslanders. This, in addition to its proximity to the CBD, mean it could be regarded as the **Ponsonby** of Brisbane.

Although a direct quantitative comparison of the two is not possible, through visual surveys via Google Earth satellite images and street view, clear distinctions between the quality of this character emerge. While the character of these two cities share similar architectural details, materiality, and age, Brisbane is far more varied, with lower quality of character retained.

New Farm's urban character is heterogeneous on account of the Queenslander typology's variation in scale and physical articulation, which results in each house having a particular relationship with the street. Ponsonby's villas tend to maintain a relatively consistent pattern of relationship to the street, with 10-meter-wide houses sitting on quarter acre lots arranged neatly in rows. Though New Farm has a certain degree of regularity in its urban grid, it lacks the overall cohesive gestalt of Ponsonby's special character.

These distinctions are more than just foundational. Indeed, while Brisbane and its various LGAs do employ broad 'character overlays', they are more one-dimensional than Auckland's special character overlays, and do not distinguish the character of specific areas based on their quality. By extension, the number Queenslanders in greater Brisbane is not recorded, nor is their condition. The ubiquity of the style has arguably played a role in this – given that technically Queenslanders are still being constructed today, they do not benefit from public perception as a collective finite resource the same way Auckland's villas and bungalows can. The Queenslander, though iconic, does not define Brisbane in the way the Villa (and its descendants in the background) do Auckland.



A row of Queenlanders along Welsby St, in New Farm, Brisbane, showing the varied urban character.

Google Earth. n.d. Streetview from Welsby St looking north. Accessed April 30, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@-27.465299,153.04960626,3.8207593a,0d,60y,300.83627677h,84.81420532t,0r/data=CmwaahJKiUweDZiOTE1OTg4OGU0MzlhMzE6MHg0NWVIM2Q1ODcxNml2ODEyGYyOFUModzVAlfa3X5mSIWNAlk1NiBXZWxzYnkgU3RyZWV0LCBOZXcgRmFybSBRTQsIEF1c3RyYWxpYRgBIAEiGgoWNTB3NU01STBBV1NUOTYyc0RfME9EZxACOgMKATA>



A row of late Victorian villas along Albany Rd, in Ponsonby, Auckland. Note the overarching consistency.

Google Earth. n.d. Streetview looking east from Albany Road in Ponsonby, Auckland. Accessed April 30, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@-36.84637622,174.73486348,37.83514019a,0d,60y,100.55197161h,90.63171807t,0r/data=CmwaahJKiUweDZiOTE1OTg4OGU0MzlhMzE6MHg0NWVIM2Q1ODcxNml2ODEyGYyOFUModzVAlfa3X5mSIWNAlk1NiBXZWxzYnkgU3RyZWV0LCBOZXcgRmFybSBRTQsIEF1c3RyYWxpYRgBIAEiGgoWZEpJcVZLMlU2Zm51a3hiSWZXT0NHURACOGMKATA>

3.2.2. Melbourne's urban character

At first glance, much of Melbourne's colonial residential built character appears similar in style to that of Auckland, perhaps even more so than in Brisbane, with common Georgian architectural roots combined with Victorian and Edwardian stylistic conventions. Nevertheless, while timber defines the special character of Auckland, and plays an undeniable role in Brisbane, it generally took a backseat to brick and stone masonry throughout greater Melbourne during this era. Across the central suburbs, what are essentially rows of brick villas can be identified, with timber buildings dotted throughout, resulting in few true comparisons to Auckland's uninterrupted timber urban character.

The only area I identified that might be reasonably compared is Port Melbourne's designated Heritage Overlay 1 (HO1) areas, which comprise pockets of largely timber frame weatherboarded workers cottages.



Densely packed cottages along Port Melbourne's Albert st.

Google Earth. n.d. Streetview looking north from Albert St, Port Melbourne, Victoria. Accessed April 30, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@-37.83689488,144.93339797,4.99494076a,0d,65.84963556y,341.63559973h,94.94266838t,0r/data=CmwaahJkCiUweDziOTE1OTg4OGU0MzlhMzE6MHg0NWVIM2Q1ODcxNmI2ODEyGYyofUModzAlfa3X5mSIWNAKik1NiBXZWxzYnkgU3RyZWV0LCBOZXcgRmFybSBRTQE1IEF1c3RyYWxpYRgBIAEiGgoWTWjxQkzN3E4OTNsaFJDNhEzN5dxcACOGMKATA>

This urban character comprises both single and double-fronted buildings which correspond roughly in width to Auckland's colonial vernacular cottages and villas respectively. While Auckland's Victorian and Edwardian villas and cottages are characterised by their turned timber embellishments, cast iron ornamentation is employed in the Port Melbourne workers cottages, reflecting the higher degree of industrialisation in the city during this era.

Port Melbourne's broader urban character differs from Auckland's too, primarily due to its incredible density. Its cottages are very close together, and many share party walls. The cottages in Port Melbourne also engage with the street much more directly, through projecting verandas flush with or lower than the street level, positioned at the very front of their lots. Many forgo a front garden altogether, instead installing tall fencing within or just in front of their verandas. In contrast, Auckland's cottages and villas alike are generally raised above street and are positioned further apart on larger lots. Bookending these differences is the local topography – where Port Melbourne is relatively flat, the Auckland isthmus hilly, making for fundamentally different streetscapes.



Even at its lowest densities, Port Melbourne's workers cottages are far closer together than Auckland Villas. Note the significantly flatter landscape, also.

Google Earth. n.d. Street View looking northwest from Princes St in Port Melbourne, Victoria, Australia. Accessed April 30, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@-37.83638575,144.94047774,4.89327955a,0d,60y,348.44992052h,89.73183045t,0r/data=CmwaahJkCiUweDziOTE1OTg4OGU0MzlhMzE6MHg0NWVIM2Q1ODcxNmI2ODEyGYyofUModzAlfa3X5mSIWNAKik1NiBXZWxzYnkgU3RyZWV0LCBOZXcgRmFybSBRTQE1IEF1c3RyYWxpYRgBIAEiGgoWZWhW0VHTHZRcTZfcmBMW1vcEZqQRACOGMKATA>

The quality of Port Melbourne’s HO1 areas is very high, and while brick buildings are dotted throughout, they fit in much like the few bungalows in isthmus A, B and C SCAs, being sympathetic and not compromising the quality of special character. Port Melbourne’s HO1 does not even approach the scale of timber special character in Auckland. While Ponsonby was selected as a case study, its adjacent suburbs are equally as consistent. Port Melbourne is, however, a good example of the importance of special character protection measures, especially when compared to examples further abroad.

3.2.3. Character comparisons further abroad

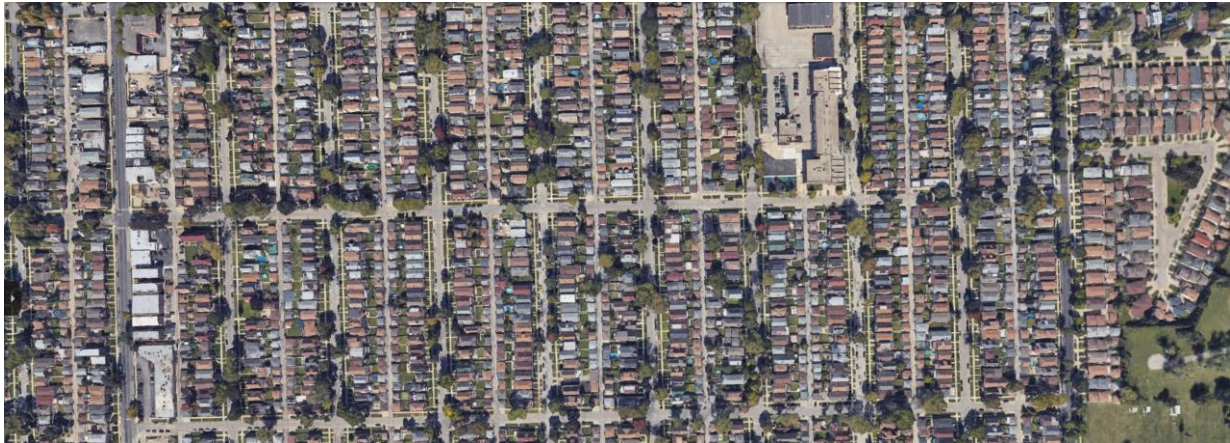
Chicago workers cottages: In my interview with Jack Rocha, Research Specialist at the Great Cities Institute (University of Illinois at Chicago) and member of the Chicago Worker’s Cottage Initiative, I realised just how similar Chicago’s Victorian and Edwardian timber houses are to Auckland’s vernacular timber architecture of the same era. Though they vary greatly in number of levels and materiality, Chicago workers cottages are united as a typology through their long and narrow floor plans, a result of the denser urban landscape in Chicago’s outer suburbs established in the mid-19th century, and their common architectural traits, including street-facing verandas and gable roofs. The timber variants, which form clusters in the outer suburbs, bear an uncanny resemblance to Auckland’s colonial cottages, despite being larger and more austere. Though originally ordained with turned timber ornament, much of this was removed over the 20th century.

There is no denying that Chicago’s collection of workers cottages is vast, but its continued existence is not guaranteed. Currently there are no character or heritage overlay mechanisms that acknowledge this kind of urban character, and their numbers are in steady decline as the city is redeveloped. Unfortunately, this means the number and area of land covered by timber workers cottages remains unknown.

Interview via zoom on January 10, 2024 (4pm NZT)
Jack Paul Rocha, MUPP:
jrocha3@uic.edu | 412 South Peoria Street, Suite 400, Chicago, IL 60607 | (312) 413-0558



Timber workers cottages on N Sayre Ave, Dunning, Chicago.
Google Earth. n.d. Street View looking west from N. Sayre Ave. Accessed May 1, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@41.94795878,-87.80094505,196.40183171a,0d,60y,268.24683493h,85t,0r/data=!hoKFJJsMUFE0cU4xdGdZ1NRZzd1a00xZHcQAjoDCgEw>



Aerial of Dunning, Chicago, showing the dominance of the workers cottage typology

Google Earth. n.d. Aerial imagery of Dunning, Chicago. Accessed May 1, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@41.94836636,-87.80134725,193.06039928a,565.81637651d,56.32365729y,0h,0t,0r/data=OgMKATA>

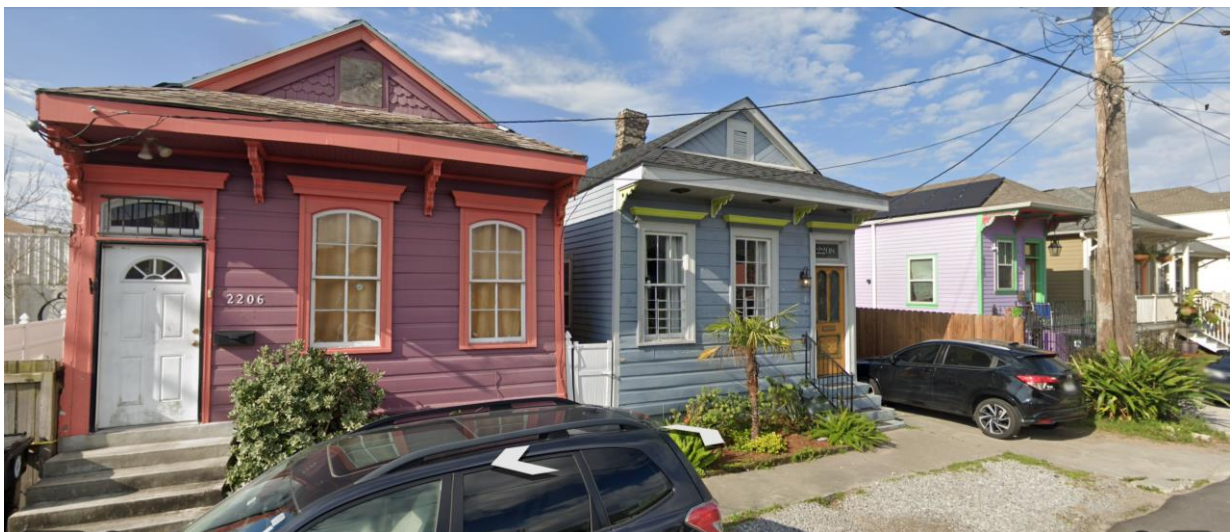
New Orleans Shotgun Houses: Just northwest of the French quarter of New Orleans, Louisiana, in the Tremé and Bayou St. John neighbourhoods, are rows and rows of weatherboarded timber shotgun houses from the late Victorian era. These houses feature similar turned and carved timber ornamentation to Auckland's villas and cottages, but their dimensioning is very different. Long and narrow in plan, these houses are characterised by their lack of corridors, instead comprising compact rooms placed in series.

I reached out to Bryan Block, executive director of the New Orleans Historic District Landmark Commission, to learn more, but unfortunately this unique urban character is even less documented than Chicago's workers cottages, and have no special character or heritage designation. What remains clear through visual survey is that unlike in Brisbane or Port Melbourne, the ornate shotgun houses of central-suburban New Orleans dominate and define the urban character which they inhabit, much like the villa does in Auckland. The ornate timber special character of New Orleans may well rival Auckland's in scale and consistency, though quantifying or even further qualifying this comparison is beyond the scope of this report due to the lack of study in this field.

Bryan Block, Email messages to Author: December 22, 2023; January 19, and February 2, 2024.

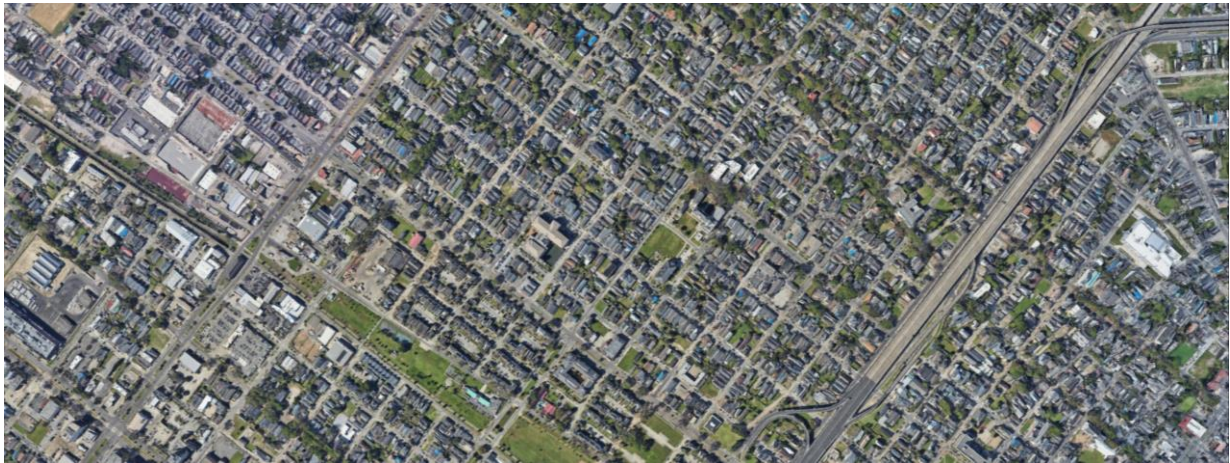
Bryan D. Block:

bdblock@nola.gov | 1300 Perdido St, 7th Floor, New Orleans, LA 70112 | (504)658-1421



Colourful shotgun houses in Tremé, New Orleans.

Google Earth. n.d. Street view looking west from St Ann St., New Orleans, Louisiana. Accessed April 30, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@29.96793144,-90.07736305,1.83268832a,0d,66.74147555y,245.92326429h,89.8807712t,0r/data=lhoKFIEyMzBycVI4SDROT1VHTUVoN1pEc1EQAj0DCgEw>



Aerial of Tremé, New Orleans. Note the consistency in street grid and dimensioning of the shotgun houses from above.

Google Earth. n.d. Aerial imagery of Tremé, New Orleans, Louisiana. Accessed May 1, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@29.96881336,-90.07676856,0.40502247a,1072.54062906d,59.75158176y,0h,0t,0r/data=OgMKATA>

Typical Nantucket Houses: Following my sweeping research of New England, I identified Nantucket and Greater Boston as areas of potential comparison to Auckland’s special character. While Boston and its satellite cities like Salem, Massachusetts, have strong timber architectural tradition, my correspondences with their respective heritage teams revealed neither city’s timber urban fabric was comparable to Auckland in era, scale or quality of preservation.

Nantucket’s transition from fishing settlement to holiday destination in the late 19th century, and its corresponding development boom, means it’s built character is much closer in age to Auckland’s. I interviewed Mary Bergman, executive director of the Nantucket Preservation Trust, to learn more. I found that the late 19th and early 20th century *typical Nantucket house*, loosely defined as a shingle-clad freestanding cottage with open-gable roof, dominates the local character in much the same way that the villa does in Auckland. Despite being a subset of the ubiquitous New England cape cod architectural tradition, she emphasised that Nantucket and neighbouring Martha’s Vineyard are rare instances where buildings of this style are dominant in a relatively dense built environment. Despite its small scale, the special character of Nantucket is iconic nationally, if not globally. This highlights just how unusual the scale of Auckland’s special character is internationally.

Interview via zoom on February 9, 2024 (9am NZT).

Mary Bergman:

mbergman@nantucketpreservation.org | 11 Centre Street, Nantucket, MA 02554 | 508.228.1387



Nantucket’s unique and consistent urban character is world-renowned despite its small scale.

Google Earth. n.d. Street view looking west down India St, Nantucket, Massachusetts. Accessed May 1, 2024. <https://earth.google.com/web/@41.28369096,-70.10228406,7.5306201a,0d,68.49960897y,246.90789022h,92.74893236t,0r/data=CmwaahJkCiUweDziOTE1OTg4OGU0MzlhMzE6MHg0NWVIM2Q1ODcxNmI2ODEyGYYoFUModzvAlfa3X5mSIWNAKik1NiBXZwzYnkG0U3RyZVV0LCBOZXcgRmFybSBREQslEF1c3RyYVwpxYRgBIAEiGgoWTOw0OHp6SnhnZTNHRmNGcFhURl8tURACOGMKATA>

4. Conclusion and statement

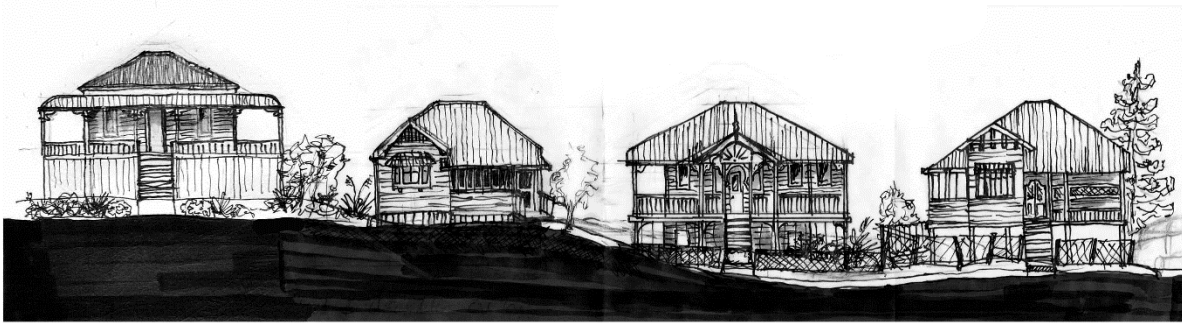
From this broad survey, we can say with confidence that Auckland is unrivalled in the scale and consistency of its areas of ornate timber colonial architecture, even when compared to Brisbane and Melbourne. Furthermore, this architecture and its streetscapes are in and of themselves endemic to Auckland, entirely unique globally, making Auckland's Special Character Areas a taonga.

4.1. Statement:

Auckland's special character areas encompass a rare gem in global urbanism, a taonga – a collection of documented *and* protected timber architecture from the 19th and 20th centuries unrivalled worldwide in scale and quality.

5. Appendices

**Appendix 1: Drawn comparison of streetscapes: Brisbane (top) Auckland (middle) and Melbourne (bottom).
Drawn by the Author (2024)**



6. Bibliography:

Ahlfeldt, Gabriel M., Nancy Holman, and Nicolai Wendland. *An assessment of the effects of conservation areas on value*. Report commissioned by English Heritage. London: London School of Economics, 2012.

AlSadaty, Aliaa. "A Typological Approach to Maintain Character in Historic Urban Areas." *Urban design international (London, England)* 27, no. 3 (2022): 198–210.
https://auckland.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/64UAUCK_INST/3mftp2/cdi_proquest_journals_2705224153

Auckland Council. "PC78: Intensification." Accessed January 10, 2024.
<https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/plans-projects-policies-reports-bylaws/our-plans-strategies/unitary-plan/auckland-unitary-plan-modifications/Pages/details.aspx?UnitaryPlanId=140>

Auckland Council. *Auckland Unitary Plan Operative in Part – D18 Special Character Areas Overlay – Residential and Business*. Accessed January 7, 2024.
https://unitaryplan.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/pages/plan/Book.aspx?exhibit=AucklandUnitaryPlan_Print

Auckland Council. *Auckland Unitary Plan Operative in Part – Schedule 15 Special Character Schedule, Statements and Maps*. Accessed December 15, 2023.
https://unitaryplan.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/pages/plan/Book.aspx?exhibit=AucklandUnitaryPlan_Print

Auckland Regional Council. *A Brief History of Auckland's Urban Form*. Report Number ISBN 978-1-877540-57-8. Auckland: 2010.

Auckland Unitary Plan Independent Hearings Panel. "Auckland Council - Closing Statement (B4.1 and B4.2)." Retrieved January 22, 2024. <https://hearings.aupihp.govt.nz/online-services/new/files/zpA89zNEeR4Mu4pP9yYjZbeMSeD9DCeli0tmqNMqotzp>

Author Last Name, First Name. "Title of Article." *Newspaper Title*, Month Day, Year of publication.

Bade, David, Jose Gabriel Castillo, Mario Andres Fernandez, and Joseph Aguilar-Bohorquez. "The price premium of heritage in the housing market: evidence from Auckland, New Zealand." *Land Use Policy* 99, (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2020.105042>

Campbell, Matthew, Jaden Harris, and Andrew McAlister. *Auckland Council North and Northwest Rural Urban Boundary options: cultural heritage overview*. Auckland: CFG Heritage, 2013.
<https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/plans-projects-policies-reports-bylaws/our-plans-strategies/unitary-plan/history-unitary-plan/documentssection32reportproposedaup/appendix-3-2-2.pdf>

Cann, Geraden. "Auckland Council still shielding posh areas from development, Government may intervene." *Stuff*, July 24, 2022. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/business/129262682/auckland-council-still-shielding-posh-areas-from-development-government-may->

Chicago Worker's Cottage Initiative. "What is a Worker's Cottage?" Accessed December 15, 2023.
<https://workerscottage.org/whatis.html>

City of Auckland. *District Plan Isthmus Section- Operative 1999*. Updated April 15, 2002.

Claremont Cottage District 1000-Block of S. Claremont Avenue Between Taylor and Grenshaw Streets and 2342 W. Grenshaw Street. Landmark designation report. Chicago: City of Chicago Department of Planning and Development (2019).

https://www.chicago.gov/content/dam/city/depts/zlup/Historic_Preservation/Publications/Claremont_Cottage_District_report.pdf

Ding, Grace. "Demolish or Refurbish - Environmental Benefits of Housing Conservation." *Construction economics and building* 13, no. 2 (2013): 18–34.

Easton Architects, LLP. *Salem Historical Commission Guidelines Notebook*. Published report. Salem, Massachusetts: City of Salem, Massachusetts (2022).

Fisher, Rod. "Brisbane's Timber Houses in Queensland Context: The Human Dimension." *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 13, no. 9 (1989): 309-328. UQ eSpace.

https://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:205761/s00855804_1989_13_9_309.pdf

Gallagher, Rachel, Thomas Jason Sigler, and Yan Liu. "Character Contradiction: The Exclusionary Nature of Preservationist Planning Restrictions." *Urban studies (Edinburgh, Scotland)* 61, no. 6 (2024): 1013–1030.

Intensification Streamlined Planning Process: A Guide for Territorial Authorities. Wellington: Ministry for the Environment Manatū Mō Te Taiao, 2022.

https://auckland.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/64UAUCK_INST/13vfdcn/alma99265434001002091

Larsen, Knut Einar, and Nils Marstein. *Conservation of Historic Timber Structures. An Ecological Approach*. Riksantikvaren, 2016. <http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2373604>

Laurenson, Helen Barbara. *Myths and the City: A Social and Cultural History of Auckland, 1890-1990*. PhD History, University of Auckland, 2010. e-Theses University of Auckland (9920599531400209).

Ministry for Culture and Heritage. "Maungakiekie-One Tree Hill - roadside stories." New Zealand History. Last modified October 12, 2023. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/maungakiekie-one-tree-hill-roadside-stories>

Ministry for the Environment. "National policy statement on urban development." Accessed February 7, 2024. <https://environment.govt.nz/acts-and-regulations/national-policy-statements/national-policy-statement-urban-development/>

New Zealand Legislation. "Resource Management Act 1991." Retrieved January 22, 2024. <https://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1991/0069/latest/whole.html#DLM230272>

Port Phillip City Strategy and Policy Team. *Port Phillip Heritage Review Volume 1: Section 6: Part 1*. Report Version 36. St Kilda, Victoria, Australia: City of Port Phillip, 2021.

<https://www.portphillip.vic.gov.au/media/fdnnxqvn/vol-1-section-6-part-1.pdf>

Preservation Green Lab. *The Greenest Building: Quantifying the Environmental Value of Building Reuse*. Washington DC: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2011), 64. https://living-future.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/The_Greenest_Building.pdf

Rossiter, Lucy, and Kai Gu. "The Impact of Special Character Areas on Property Values and Homeowners' Experiences: Cases from Auckland, New Zealand." *Land* 12, no. 6 (2023): 1181. <https://doi.org/10.3390/land12061181>

Stats NZ. "Territorial Authority 2023 (generalised)." Last modified December 2, 2022. <https://datafinder.stats.govt.nz/layer/111194-territorial-authority-2023-generalised/>

Stats NZ. "Urban land cover." Last modified April 15, 2021. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/indicators/urban-land-cover>

Stone, Russel. *From Tamaki-Makau-Rau to Auckland*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001. https://auckland.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/64UAUCK_INST/1pit749/alma9998157914002091

Te Kaunihera o Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland Council. "PC78: Intensification." Accessed January 10, 2024. <https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/plans-projects-policies-reports-bylaws/our-plans-strategies/unitary-plan/auckland-unitary-plan-modifications/Pages/details.aspx?UnitaryPlanId=140>

Vijuma, Antra. "Renovation of Wooden Buildings in Riga." *Architecture and urban planning* 14, no. 1 (2018): 14–19. doi: 10.2478/aup-2018-0002