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# ID 1694 | CITY-MARKETING POLICY AS GENERATOR OF URBAN DISCONTENT

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

"Neoliberalism is a hypermarketized style of governance (i.e. government through and by the market)" (Weber, 2002, p. 520). Under the hegemony of neoliberal-globalism, the entrepreneurial state has largely deployed market-oriented policies including city-marketing to attract flows of people and investment from the global market (Brenner, 2004; MacLeod, 2011; Madureira, 2014; Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, 2009). According to Deleuze and Guattari (2009), these flows of capital and people are vital for the capitalist city existence and its functions, particularly its constant economic growth. These neoliberal policies, including city-marketing, generally promise, or fantasise, further enjoyment to their residents, local/international investors and new arrivals, including tourists, expats and labours (Dovey, Woodcock, & Wood, 2009; Gunder, 2010).

Based on post-structuralism, particularly Lacan's works, planning theorists such as Gunder and Hillier (2009) have investigated how the neoliberalised states have extensively deployed plans and policies to generate a fantasmatic images of their cities. These theorists have mainly provided an in-depth understanding of the role of planners in the production of these market-oriented policies in late capitalism.

In this context, the role of neoliberalised planning including city marketing in the production and accumulation of urban discontent is largely neglected in planning theory. This paper investigates this neglected side-effects of the implementation of city marketing policies in the production and accumulation of urban discontent in Auckland, the largest city of New Zealand. The production and accumulation of urban discontent in the neoliberalised cities has significantly increased socio-cultural conflict and its symptoms such as xenophobia, antagonistic behaviours.

## 2 NEOLIBERALISM, GLOBAL CITIES COMPETITION AND CITY MARKETING

Globalisation and its consequences have increasingly become a focal point in politics and also academic research. Globalisation is not a new phenomenon in the context of history (Banerjee, 2008, p. 1). "Globalisation is a process that can be described in terms of flows, networks, capacities, distribution, diffusions, and movement" (Pizarro, Wei, & Banerjee, 2003, p. 113). Population, capital, information and ideology movements are agents of globalisation (Pizarro et al., 2003, p. 112). Globalisation, as a process, inevitably affects cities – the nexus of global flows-and their inhabitants, whatever their position in the international global network hierarchy (Amen, Archer, & Bosman, 2006, p. 2). These global flows have significantly restructured local social-political institutions, reshaping the contemporary city's spatial spaces (Marcuse & Kempen, 2000, p. 2).

This research considers neoliberal- globalisation as a universal trend that implants, as its dominant ideology, the adoption of market values, through its encouragement, or promises, of maximum levels of enjoyment by the maximisation of consumerism (Stavrakakis, 2008a, p. 101). Since the 1980s, neoliberal¬globalism has constantly transformed local governments and their functions into as urban entrepreneurial organisations to respond to the market demands. Neoliberal globalism redefines planning and its functions as a component of the state apparatus. Sager (2012, p. 130) notes that "[p]olitical-

economic ideas of neo¬liberalism have become deeply entrenched in the public sector administration of countries in most parts of the world, affecting planners in a number of ways".

The neoliberalised cities compete to attract a greater portion of the international investors and skilled immigrants through the production of new desires for greater enjoyment by affluent consumers. Under the hegemony of global neoliberalism, decision makers, including planners, are primarily concerned with generating further economic opportunities (Olds, 1995, p. 1714) by directing the flows of capital to their cities. To reveal the way in which contemporary planning practice operates to maximise international investment flows and lure the creative class, a variety of concepts have been proposed, including 'urban¬entrepreneurialism' (Brenner (Brenner & Theodore, 2005; Jessop, 2002), 'city marketing' (Doel & Hubbard, 2002) and 'place branding' (Govers & Go, 2003). These concepts emphasise the competition between globalised cities for luring a greater share of global capital flows. Outside judgment and international perceptions are important for raising the profile of cities (Ong, 2007, p. 89). Thus, planners as the workers in an entrepreneurial apparatus, deploy and legitimise market-oriented policies including city promotion. Gotham (2002, p. 1735) states that "[m]arketing is the use of sophisticated advertising techniques aimed at promoting fantasy, manipulating consumer needs, producing desirable tourist experiences and simulating images of place to attract capital and consumers". Planning policies such as city branding are largely implemented to assist market operation and also to lure flows of capital, skilled workers, cheap labour, if required, to a neoliberalised city. Sager (2011, p. 153) mentions that "these policies, for example, gentrification and city marketing, are nevertheless included, as they fit hand in glove with neo-liberal ideology and have taken on new importance as policy instruments under neoliberal urban regimes". These market-driven policies tend to create conditions conducive to capital accumulation in neoliberal cities (Peck et al., 2009).

Concurrently, multiculturalism, as another consequence of flow of people (human capital), has recently been the subject of extensive research across a range of disciplines such as sociology, political studies and economics (Benhabib, 2002). Neoliberal globalism promotes multiculturalism, many cities have become more culturally diverse. Friedmann (2002, p. 157) indicates that cultural diversity is a defining characteristic of globalised cities. Florida's (2002) investigation of American cities reveals that cultural diversity effectively generates new economic opportunities in globalised cities by attracting more foreign investment (capital) and talented migrants (human capital). Further, Sassen's (2009) global city research further supports the role of cultural diversity as a key factor in economic growth. Sassen (2002) points out that the ranking of global cities in the universal trade network, as global trading hubs, corresponds with their socio-cultural heterogeneity. Vijver et al. (2008) stress that multiculturalism, as a market driven policy, has been globally deployed for stimulating the process of economic growth. The implementation of city marketing as a strategic policy lures the creative class in response to market demands in global cities (Storper & Scott, 2009). The next section will investigate a post-structural understanding how the implementation of city marketing policies attracts both human and non-human capitals to the neoliberalised cities.

## 3 NEOLIBERALISED CITY AS THE PLACE OF ENJOYMENT

A number of scholars such as Lacan (2006), Deleuze and Guattari (2009), and Žižek (2011a) have indicated that desire is the key driver in contemporary capitalism. According to Deleuze and Guattari (2009), the flows of desire are the sine qua non of a city-machine's operations: first and foremost, cities are desiring-machines. Dovey (2005, p. 20) stated that "the city is an immanent flow of desires". The existence of the city-machine is reliant on the generation of new desires, imperative for attracting capital and labour flows. Dovey (2005, p. 20) added "[f]lows of desire are the life force of the fluid city" such as Auckland.

Stavrakakis (2008a, p. 84) argues that "the emerging hegemony of consumerism, [as a dominant global value], cannot be explained without taking seriously the dimensions of desire and enjoyment". Similarly, Žižek (1989, p. 5) identifies 'surplus-enjoyment' as a main driver of global neoliberalism, which promises happiness through material consumption. Dovey (2005, p. 20) postulated that "[t]he world is not a collection of subjects who have desires, rather desires construct the subject". The flows of desire fabricate the identity of the city as the assemblage of an urban built environment and everyday life. The type of desires that are produced for profit, investment, privilege, consumption and power generally promise increased enjoyment, and significantly affect contemporary urban image and transformation. In the words

of Wood (2009, p. 204), "[f]rom this account of desire, flows of capital must, of necessity, be parasitic upon flows of desire; the basic argument which follows is 'before' the market can play a determining role in urban development, flows of desire must be made tantamount to, and seemingly derivative from, flows of capital."

Globalised cities are places in which regulated desires erupt into the production of flows of both material and sign values- symbolic images (Dovey, 2005; Ong, 2007). Cities across the western and non-western world have followed in an effort to materialise 'utopic images' based on market constructed desire (Kaika & Thielen, 2006). These utopic images reproduce and also reinforce to the flows of capital (human and money). In the neoliberal global context, first, the qualitative values such as quality of built/natural environment or quality of life are converting into purely quantitative values of money, investment, and profit. Secondly, the promised profit is actualised through consumption by generating a set of new regulated desires based on new qualitative values – advanced enjoyment (Wood, 2009).

City marketing policies include several policies such as encouraging cultural diversity (Florida, 2002; Ong, 2008), establishing iconic architectural buildings such a Skytower (Dovey, 2008), socio-cultural events such as festivals and mega events like the Rugby World Cup (Pløger, 2010), and creating an utopic images such as "making the most world's liveable city" (Mohammadzadeh, Meares, & Owen, 2015). These city marketing policies can be interpreted within the process of generation of new qualitative values. The new qualitative values generate new desires for more consumption and promise greater enjoyment. "All cities believe that, if they have the best socio-cultural amenities and creative milieus, architectural heritage, and cultural events, they have a reliable strategy to get the maximum in return, in consumption and image turnover" (Pløger, 2010, p. 848).

In Anti-Oedipus, "Deleuze and Guattari argue that capitalism functions by simultaneously producing two different kinds of surplus values: a quantitative, capitalistic surplus value, and a qualitative, subjectifying surplus value" (Wood, 2009, p. 204). Massumi (2002, pp. 200-201) defines subjectifying surplus value based on Deleuze and Guattari's notion of flows: "This implies the existence, in fact the predominance, of a kind of surplus value that is created in the process of circulation itself. The value of commodity-images (defined broadly this time, to encompass objects, bodies, representations and information: decoded sites of force conversion) is attached more to their exchange and inclusive disjunction (the production of recording accompanying the singular acts of consumption made possible by the inclusive conjunctions of the capitalist axiomatic) than to their material production. Deleuze and Guattari call this form of surplus value the 'surplus value of flow'. It has two aspects, corresponding to the consumer/capitalist dense points of the capitalist relation: it continues to feed into capital accumulation in the hands of the capitalist, but wherever capital surplus value is extracted in an act of purchase, an evanescent double of, what accrues for the capitalist is deposited in the hand of the consumer. This ghost surplus value has a non-capital form; it is even reminiscent of the surplus value of pre-capitalism. It is more on the 'other' of prestige, an 'aura' – style, 'cool,' the glow of self-worth, personality. The process of shaping surplus subjective value operates simultaneously with the process of production and consumption, rather than before or after this process.

Desires for a green city, a sustainable city or being the world's most liveable city are representative examples that actuate the neoliberalised planning. Both capitalistic surplus value and subjectifying surplus value are produced through the process of the implementation of urban policies and plans, including city marketing policies. First, planning fantasises the desirable images for cities, such as being the most liveable, multicultural, and greenest city in the world. At length, these fantasies are used to attract a greater share of the global flows of finance and immigration, in competition with other cities. Second, these urban policies and plans synchronously generate subjective forms of surplus value such as political praise for local government, civic prestige for residents and acclaim for visitors (Dovey, 2005).

Outside judgment and international perceptions are important for raising the profile of cities in the market (Ong, 2007, p. 89). Thus, decision-makers as the leaders of the apparatus, constantly deploy the new visions, e.g. Len Brown's vision to make Auckland the world's most liveable city. Gotham (2002, p. 1735) states that "[m]arketing is the use of sophisticated advertising techniques aimed at promoting fantasy, manipulating consumer needs, producing desirable tourist experiences and simulating images of the place to attract capital and consumers". "The reputation of a city, its image, is perhaps the most visible sign of promotional efforts" (Short et al., 2000). Thus, one of the primary objectives of local decision-makers and

planners is to construct favourable images of their city via place branding or city marketing in terms of investment, living and visiting. The production and promotion of desirable images are imperative for the operation of the neoliberalised city, and these images are produced through the process of urban planning and design. “The best of cities have always been a curious mix of economic engine and seductive surface; places of work and play; producing wealth and desire in abundance” (Dovey, 2005, p. 1). The entrepreneurial images of cities are not generated based only on urban projects such as waterfront development projects, iconic architectural buildings and emporia; rather, cities also create allure through their rhetorical policies, such as liveability. Through the process of planning, interests are produced (Wood, 2009). Desiring-production generates a fantasy that persuades non-residents to invest, live in or visit a city. The connection of the city to the global networks within the capitalist mechanism is central in shaping this fantasy. In this context, the Auckland Council’s vision has been used as a tool for reinforcing the economic power and competitiveness of New Zealand’s primate city. Auckland Council promises advance enjoyment (non-capital surplus value) to its residents, foreign expats and visitors by living and investing in the world’s most liveable city.

## 4 AUCKLAND AS THE WORLD MOST LIVEABLE CITY

Historically, Auckland has been the primate city, the city of migrants, and the dominant business and finance hub in New Zealand. Auckland is New Zealand’s largest city-region, home to more than 1.5 million people, a third of New Zealand’s total population, and contributes more than 37 per cent of New Zealand’s GDP (Auckland Council, 2012).

Horton (1995) observed that since the 1990s neoliberal globalism toward an urban entrepreneurialism had impacted New Zealand’s urban policy. Neoliberal globalism percieves cities as economic entities in themselves which can leverage their competitive advantage (Porter, 1995). The competitive cities strategy utilises land-use policy to foster spatial agglomeration and greater economic performance. Since 2000, the central government showed greater interest in Auckland’s contribution to the national economy, as the region showed strong economic growth (Lewis & Murphy, 2015). The central government’s initiative for “competitive cities” formed a key component of the economic agenda to support prosperity and future growth (Ministry for Local Government, 2009). Auckland was characterised as the “engine room” for New Zealand’s economic growth (Ministry for Local Government, 2009). This shows the strategic role of Auckland for the central government, not primarily as a population centre, but a vehicle to support the national economic strategy. Governance reforms were justified by imperatives for international competitiveness, Auckland’s significance to the national economy, and the desire to better serve interdependent needs for social, environmental, cultural and economic well-being (P. Salmon, Bazley, & Shand, 2009).

In 2002 the Auckland Regional Economic Development Strategy as an initiative was shaped to increase New Zealand’s GDP earnings, to expand export markets and attract foreign investment (Rowe, 2004). Supporting the international competitiveness of New Zealand cities is now a primary component of the central government’s economic agenda (Ministry for the Environment, 2010). In 2007, the central government assigned a Royal Commission of Inquiry into Auckland Governance to address ongoing problems in the region, to identify the issues facing Auckland in future, and to resolve them. The Royal Commission identified the lack of an integrated decision-making mechanism, including planning, as one of the main reasons for on-going problems in the Auckland region (McKinlay, 2011). The report suggested a fundamental governance reform to shape a unitary authority for the region with a mandate to develop an integrated planning mechanism. The first bill, the Local Government (Tamaki Makaurau Reorganisation) Act 2009, which provided for the merger of the eight pre-existing councils into a single unitary council and the establishment of the Auckland Transition Agency, was passed through all stages under urgency in 2009. The legislative reform termed the new Auckland region as the ‘super-city’. The term of 'super city' reflected the scale of the integrated authority (1.5 million people) compared with the scale of New Zealand's other large local authorities such as Christchurch City with a population of approximately 350,000.

In 2010, the Auckland Council was shaped an inclusive and united organisation to take over the functions of the Auckland Regional Council and the region's seven city and district councils, including Auckland City Council, Manukau City Council, Waitakere City Council, North Shore City Council, Papakura District Council, Rodney District Council and most of Franklin District Council (Rowan, 2011). According to the

legislation, Auckland Council has aimed to provide integrated actions, plans, strategies and policies for the future of the Auckland region. Shaping Auckland Council can be perceived as a result of New Zealand's national agenda for international competitiveness (McArthur, 2017). Ministry of the Environment (2010) led an initiative for "competitive cities" as a key component of the national economic agenda to support prosperity and future growth.

Auckland Council a new amalgamated organisation has subsequently enabled a new local agenda oriented toward liveability. Lewis and Murphy (2015) identified the shift from sustainability to liveability as a guiding spatial imaginary and a governmentality as a consequence of shaping Auckland Council. They observed that the shift in urban policy has attributed greater economic significance to the city as the pre¬eminent spatial form to support both quality of life and economic growth. However the city competitiveness agenda has been introduced and then led by the central government, the first elected Mayor of Auckland , Len Brown, outlined his vision to transform Auckland into the worlds' most liveable city. His vision set the newly amalgamated Auckland Council's goal to make Auckland as the world's most liveable city that deployed as a vision for the Auckland Plan, released in 2012.

The vision guides and shapes the agency of Auckland Council as a new organisation (Gunder, 2014). Thus, the Mayer's vision has significantly informed Auckland Council's strategies, plans and policies such as the Auckland Plan and the Auckland Unitary Plan. However, Auckland has been one of the most liveable cities in the world. The new integrated Council aims to improve the liveability of Auckland and, subsequently, to increase its ranks among other competitor cities such as Melbourne and Vancouver.

Auckland Council (2012) defines its vision, making Auckland as the world's most liveable city, in the Auckland Plan as an aim to "create a strong, inclusive and equitable society that ensures opportunity for all Aucklanders". Nonetheless, the Auckland Council vision that significantly has informed its plans and policy that can be perceived as a city marketing and branding exercise. Ranking highly in the Economist Intelligence Unit's Global Liveability Ranking, Mercer's Quality of Living Survey, and Monocle magazine's Quality of Life Survey is used as an imaginary tool to attract foreign investment, skilled workers and cheap labour (Mohammadzadeh et al., 2015).

The Auckland Council's vision to make it as the most liveable city ranking is an illustrative example of how a vision as a city marketing policy generates an utopic image of the city that produces new desires for both domestic and international actors that inherently functions as an economic driver for a city in the global market. The vision is promoted globally as a lucrative model for city development in media. Thus, several cities across the world have followed in an effort to materialise this globally accepted vision. The contemporary city should continually produce new desires; one of the new functions of local government is the facilitation and legitimation of the production of new desires, by promoting the image of the city within global market as the world's most liveable. To reveal the way in which the local government operates to maximise international investment flows and lure the creative class. Decision makers, including planners, endeavour to project a desirable image of the city by implementing appropriate city-marketing policies. In brief, "[p]romoting the right image [largely focused on advances enjoyment] is central to city-marketing" (Boland, 2007, p. 1027). Auckland Council's vision and its city marketing policy promise Auckland residents, immigrants, investors both objective and subjective capital values through living in the city and their contributions to its economic growth.

## 5 THE PRODUCTION OF URBAN DISCONTENT

The neoliberalised cities are inherently unable to materialise their promises at least for a large number of their residents and new arrivals. Based on Lacan's works, this paper claims that the Auckland Council's vision to make "Auckland the world's most liveable city",(Auckland Council, 2012) has intensified of urban discontent.

For Lacan, although the symbolic order restricts enjoyment, it simultaneously allows for the fantasy of the attainment of complete future enjoyment, so as to make the restrictions endurable. This mechanism is complicated in the neoliberalised society, which promises "advanced enjoyment" (Stavrakakis, 2008a) or "surplus-enjoyment" (Žižek, 1989) as the core of the market operation. Accordingly, McGowan (2012) conceptualises neoliberalised society as the "society of commanded enjoyment".

Under the hgemony of neoliberal globalism, city marketing promotes advanced enjoyment to the people through investing, living, working, and even visiting the city. Nonetheless, at least two main reasons can be identified for the failure of the neoliberalised state to materialize its promises in city marketing policies: first, as Freud (2002, p. 81) stated that “the programme of becoming happy cannot be fulfilled”. Second, neoliberalism largely operates based on increasing social, economic and geographic inequality (Harvey, 2007). In this context, the promises cannot be delivered to a large number of the neoliberalised city’s residents and new arrivals.

Lacan deployed the notion of lack to formulate the mechanism of capitalism and its promised enjoyment (Evans, 2010). Based on Freud’s works, Lacan argued that enjoyment is incomplete because desire can never be fully satisfied; instead, desire is continually being replaced by new desire. “Desire can only be sustained by dialectic of lack and excess; in order to remain attractive, the promise of excess relies on the continuous renewal of lack” (Stavrakakis, 2008b, p. 94). “Desire and lack always go together, overdetermining the dialectic aporia of human life” (Stavrakakis, 2008b, p. 90). This dichotomy between lack and desire perpetuates the contemporary city in late capitalism (Baudrillard, 2016).

Gunder (2009, p. 287) observes that “[b]eyond the traditional employment and investment opportunities, the quality of life available, including amenity, life and range of leisure opportunities are necessary elements for the city-region to attract businesses and talented people”. City-marketing policies are also constituted around lack, the liveablity or the quality of life; the attainment of full enjoyment is fantasised through living in the city (Haines, 2011). Despite the fact, the promises made, satisfaction cannot be achieved due to an inherent lack.

We desire because we don’t find the sacrifice of our enjoyment entirely satisfying, but desire, unfortunately, does nothing to overcome that dissatisfaction. In fact, desire is sustained dissatisfaction (McGowan, 2012). The neoliberal utopia as fantasised by the city marketing policies is predominantly a virtual utopia; its promised enjoyment, by advertising fantasy, that cannot be actualised (Stavrakakis, 2008b). Desire is constructed through fantasy – and it is through the fantasy we learn how to desire. As far as the final satisfaction of our desire is concerned this is postponed from discourse to discourse, from fantasy to fantasy, from product to product, from the most sustainable city to the world’s most liveable city. It is this continuous displacement that constitutes the essence of consumer culture (Stavrakakis, 2000, p. 89). If the disruption of replacing desires intesifies urban discontent.

Žižek (1989, 1993), Stavrakakis (2006) and Laclau (2005), among others, conceptualise socio¬political antagonisms, such as xenophobia or racist movements, as fantasises embedded in this same impossibility of full enjoyment tha results in intesfication of urban discontent. In this context, since fantasies can seldom be realised and full enjoyment is unattainable, some people misidentify the source of their dissatisfaction in external agents such as immigrants or ethnic groups. New fantasies, often of a racist nature, are replaced with market-based fantasies. These fantasies demonise others as the cause of one’s lack of attainment of full enjoyment. The recent Global financial Crisis (GFC) shows the failures of neoliberal globalism. It has brought an increase in socio-political conflict in late capitalism. Critical thinkers, such as Žižek (2009, 2011a), Laclau (2005), Stavrakakis (2002, 2007) and Mouffe (2007), among others, have extensively deployed Lacanian concepts to investigate these socio-political conflicts.

## 5.1 AUCKLAND AS THE PLACE OF URBAN DISCONTENT

Sine the 1980s, the New Zealand economy was opened up to competition from imports and foreign investors through economic liberalisation and reform. The liberalisation, or neoliberalisation, of the economy has significantly influenced on Auckland as the main commercial and industrial hub of New Zealand. The neoliberalisation has facilitated flows of foreign investment in commercial, property retail and private real estate. The flows of foreign investment have boosted property development in Auckland, particularly in its CBD (Moricz & Murphy, 1997). “The city’s role as a major hub for the inward and outward flow of goods, services and people continued to expand as did its designation as the dominant centre for the retail and service industry sectors as well as the portal for overseas companies in New Zealand” (Neill & Shirley, 2013). Following the facilitation of flow of capital through neoliberalisation of the economy, the government has changed immigration policies in the late of 1980s to attract individuals who could contribute business expertise, or make a capital investment in New Zealand (flows of human capital) (Simon-Kumar, 2015).

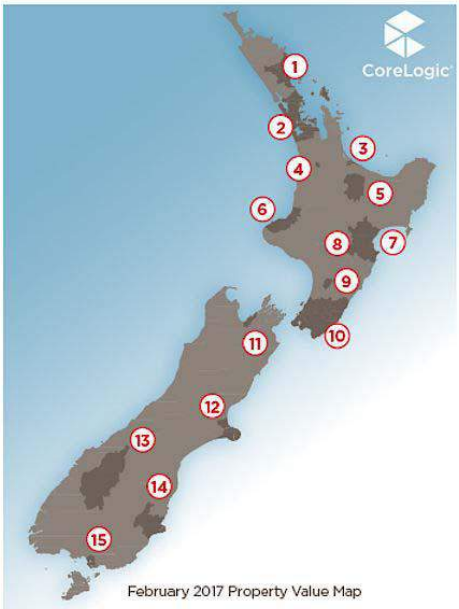
"Between 1981 and 2006, the number of overseas-born people usually resident in New Zealand rose from approximately 450,000 to 920,000, an increase of more than 100 per cent" (Law, Genç, & Bryant, 2013). Auckland has attracted the large number of the new arrivals (Bedford & Spoonley, 2014; Spoonley, 2015). Flow of people increased the demand for housing that subsequently fuelled pre-existing housing inflation. Housing inflation among other factors made the cost of living in Auckland higher than other places in New Zealand (Neill & Shirley, 2013). The amalgamation of Auckland Council and, then, implementation of the new vision for making Auckland as the world's most liveable city have reinforced the flows of capital and people required for the city's economic growth. Concurrently, the central government changed the immigration policies to attract individuals to the country in 2009. However, several occupations were removed from the long-term skills shortage list and rules around sponsorship were tightened. New investor and entrepreneur categories, including "Investor/Entrepreneur" and "Investor/Entrepreneur Plus", were introduced to attract business migrants. According to Minister of Health, and Minister for Sport and Recreation, Jonathan Coleman, these schemes has facilitated entry criteria and fast-track applications for large investors (Coleman 2011). In 2013, the new immigration policy let students working full time in New Zealand; this policy increased the number of foreign students in Auckland as the primary education hub of the country.

Murphy (2011, 2016) observed that the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) has significantly decreased construction activities in New Zealand, particularly in the Auckland region. According to New Zealand Stats, building consents for new dwellings declined by 30 per cent from 2007 to 2008 and consents for all residential developments in 2009 were down 54 per cent from the peak of 2004. The shortage of supply in the market alongside the increasing the flows of internationa capital investment and people have rocketed up the price of housing in Auckland region. The 13th annual Demographia International Housing Affordability Survey (2017) classified Auckland as the fourth worst housing affordability, with a Median Multiple of 10.0 among the major investigatedcities in the world. The current housing inflation is one of the causes for the Auckland's unaffordability. The latest monthly house price index published by QV shows that Auckland values are quickly increasing. In the three months to January 2015, housing price increased

5.1 per cent which equates to over 20 per cent annually (QV, 2015). The growth is considerably higher than the 1 per cent to 2.5 per cent rate of increase per three months during 2014. It is the highest since 2003 at the start of the previous boom. The following map illustrates the housing price changes in Auckland compared with other major cities of New Zealand in 2017.

### 5.2 FIGURE 1 –HOUSING PRICE INFLATION

| | 12 month change | Average Value |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Whangarei | 19.4% | $468,033 |
| 2. Auckland Region | 12.8% | $1,043,680 |
| 3. Tauranga | 19.4% | $673,923 |
| 4. Hamilton | 16.7% | $532,171 |
| 5. Rotorua | 29.0% | $386,810 |
| 6. New Plymouth | 12.7% | $420,813 |
| 7. Napier | 18.8% | $419,190 |
| 8. Hastings | 21.7% | $397,013 |
| 9. Palmerston North | 14.9% | $349,494 |
| 10. Wellington Region | 21.5% | $589,784 |
| 11. Nelson | 16.9% | $513,933 |
| 12. Christchurch | 2.8% | $498,710 |
| 13. Queenstown Lakes | 29.5% | $1,039,434 |
| 14. Dunedin | 15.6% | $359,629 |
| 15. Invercargill | 9.2% | $235,895 |
| NEW ZEALAND | 13.5% | $631,349 |



According to the CoreLogic NZ (2017), there are unique things about Auckland that set it apart from the rest of the country namely: Strong net migration, consumer confidence and low-interest rates.

These factors are increasing demand in Auckland's housing market, while a shortage of housing stock and a relatively low percentage of properties for sale are holding back supply to meet the incresaing demands.

The housing market is the mian driver of the New Zealand economy growth, and the value of housing represents almost three quarters of total household assets in New Zealand (The Reserve Bank of New Zealand, 2017). The amalgamation of Auckland Council and then the implementation of its vision as a neoliberal city marketing is one the drivers of housing price inflation in Auckland (Lewis & Murphy, 2015; Wetzstein & Le Heron, 2010). Investment in Auckland real-estate market seems promising for both domestic and international investors (objectifying surplus-value) (Kelsey, 2015). Based on Lacan's works, Žižek (1989, 2011) stated that theres is corelation between the production of 'surplus-value' and 'surplus¬enjoyment'. He (1989, p. 53) argued that "surplus value is the cuase which sets in motion the capitaltsic process of production and surplus enjoyment is the object-cuase of desire".

In addition, the Auckland Council's vision as one of the world's most liveable cities offers, or at least promises, the high quality life-style to its residents (subjectifying surplus value), if they can afford it. Thus, affluent people who can afford to pay the cost of living in Auckland, partcularly accomodation, may attain the quality of life that is suggested. The flows of investors and affluent migrants have remarkably exacerbated urban problems such as unaffordability, gentrification and social inequality in Auckland (McArthur, 2017; Mohammadzadeh & Bahmanteymouri, 2015).

Auckland Council as the local government has been successful in attracting flows of capital and people, required for the city's economic growth. The amalgamation of Auckland Council and implementation of appropriate vision has assisted the council to compete effectively with other cities in the global market. Nonetheless, the fluxes also generated some side effects such as housing inflation and unaffordability (Mohammadzadeh & Bahmanteymouri, 2015).

In recent years, there has been a great deal of concern expressed by various parties about the decline of affordability of residential housing in New Zealand; bringing into question as it does the possible end for many, of the kiwi dream of near universal home ownership (Bourassa & Shi, 2017). The decline in affordability has been particularly apparent in Auckland, where the surge in housing prices in recent years has been particularly strong. A range of causes has been put forward for the decline in affordability, including such things as the impact of overseas buyers, high immigration, low interest rates that over stimulate demand and a sluggish supply side response. Coleman and Landon-Lane (2007) investigated the relationship between migration, residential construction and house prices in New Zealand between 1962 and 2006. They found that a net migrant flow of one percent results in house price change of 8 to 12 percent. Using regression modelling, they concluded that migration flows do impact housing prices, explaining that this is possibly caused by shifting local demand coinciding with migration flows or that migration flows effect housing value expectations. Ge (2009) investigated New Zealand houses prices between 1980 and 2007. He argued that the main cause of New Zealand house price variations identified was migration, followed by mortgage rates, the number of building permits and the level of unemployment, which are also found to be important factors.

Ley's investigation on Vancouver Houisng market (2017)shows that "House prices have risen rapidly and the detached housing market is now unaffordable to most Vancouver residents. Despite public discontent about the likely role of investors in boosting prices, provincial and local governments, who value the revenues of high property prices and BIP fees, have shown little desire to intervene." In New Zealand, foreign investors and flows of immigrants are often recognised as the main causes of the housing price inflation in Auckland. In other words, the new arrivals are used as the scapegoats and are demonised as the people who steal enjoyment of the host society. Moreover, the production of urban discontent as a malfunction of neoliberal-globalism is largely misinterpreted or overlooked.

## 6 CONCLUSION

The regulated desires embedded in the subjectifying surplus-values shift public interest from crucial socio¬cultural challenges, such as the increase in social inequalityor lack of affordable housing, towards

superficial demands, such as making the world's most liveable city. As Dovey (2005, p. 210) argued, "[t]he interests and identities of social classes can be seen as the end-products of processes of new modes of production, the production of desire". In this context, the global neolibaralism as the hgemonic ideology shapes public interest and determines the planning process for considering the regulation of desires for prestigious architectural buildings, place or city marketing. Planners, urban designers and decision-makers are thus misguided in their recognition of existing urban challenges that produce urban discontent. In this context, one should ask who gains and who loses through the implematation of city marketing?

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# ID 1696 - PROTOTYPES AS OPEN-ENDED ARTEFACTS IN URBAN DESIGN

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

When dealing with the quality of an urban space the criticism sets, almost without exemption, the end product of the urban design process as the main object of judgment. However, the product of urban design, in contrast to other consumer products, is more than a cohesive product of aesthetics and function. On the contrary, the design of space is a complex system of multiple individual products (open spaces, buildings etc.), each one with its own functions and needs. Moreover, due to the fact that each one of these individual products follows a unique path of development through time, it appears that the orchestration of this multitude of individual activities is difficult to accomplish.

Following the reasoning mentioned above, it becomes clear that the shaping of physical space is rarely under the full control of the designer and that most of the times the formulation of a physical space becomes the design of an overall framework of development. The latter highlights the importance to consider urban design not only as an object of design, but more importantly as a process of design. If we assume that participatory design, self-organizing, user-centered design and open source design are considered to be bottom-up processes, the hypothesis here is that open-ended design is a process that can either be initiated as a top-down or a bottom-up approach, but nevertheless, requires the participation of more than one person, in order to be successful. This implies that a set of rules must be negotiated and tested among all the actors participating in the process for any open-ended project to be implemented.