VOLUME 2

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTATION TO THE
DRAFT SECTION 32 REPORT:

Managing Risks Associated with Outdoor Use of
Genetically Modified Organisms

January 2013
LIST OF DOCUMENTS


Community Management of GMOs

Issues, Options and Partnership with Government
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Issues, Options and Partnership with Government

Prepared for

Whangarei District Council

In association with

Far North District Council,
Kaipara District Council,
Rodney District Council, and
Local Government New Zealand

by

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Executive Summary

1. This report investigates options for local authority management of genetically modified organisms (GMOs), and follows the preparation of an interim opinion by Dr Royden Somerville QC.

2. The use of GMOs is controlled at the national level by the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act (HSNO). It was Government’s intention at the time this act was developed that HSNO would define national minimum standards and local authorities would be free to set stricter standards to apply within their territories. This option remains open to local government through use of the Resource Management Act (RMA).

3. Such action would be part of a partnership between local authorities and central government with respect to GM activities. Rather than either having exclusive responsibility, management of GMOs would be shared - as first envisaged.

Sources of Risk

4. The activities of principal concern to local governments are those involving the outdoor use of GM organisms.

5. A leading economic risk is the difficulty in preventing GM production from causing trace contamination in non-GM crops. High levels of consumer resistance to GM foods in Europe and the wealthier Asian nations have led to market rejection of conventional foods due to trace GM contamination.

6. Key environmental risks include: effects on non-target species, invasiveness and reduced biodiversity. There is also uncertainty with respect to the effect of GMOs on soil ecosystems and effects arising from the use of plants to produce pharmaceuticals and other materials.

Uncertainty of Outcomes from ERMA Process

7. HSNO establishes the legal framework for assessments by the national regulator, the Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA). This provides for minimum national standards to be set for GM activities.

8. The act invests a great deal of discretionary authority in ERMA and sets remarkably few limitations on the outcomes it can deliver. From a local authority perspective, this results in uncertainty on two levels:

   • Whether ERMA will agree with and act on certain concerns held by local governments; and

   • Whether ERMA will exercise the same degree of caution as would local governments in managing those risks it agrees need to be addressed.
9. One area of concern is that HSNO makes the exercise of precaution a matter for ERMA’s discretion. Precaution is an option, not a requirement. ERMA states that it would be acting legally if it did not exercise caution.

10. A further area of concern is financial liability in the event of harm being caused. If an agent making use of GMOs has inadequate financial resources to cover environmental damage resulting from its activities, the burden will tend to fall on local government.

11. Under HSNO, an agent using GMOs is not liable for harm caused as long as it obtains and abides by an ERMA consent. Nor does HSNO require ERMA to ensure that an applicant is financially fit and so able to pay compensation should harm result.

Setting Controls Under the RMA

12. Should a local authority determine that particular risks were of concern to its community and that it wished to ensure certain outcomes as a result of this, then it can take action using other statutes. Of the existing statutes available to local government, the RMA offers the most durable, binding and well targeted instrument for regulating the outdoor use of GMOs. The relevant RMA provisions are not in conflict with those of HSNO and the two statutes can operate side by side.

13. The RMA provides a firm foundation for district councils to apply a precautionary approach in regulating the outdoor use of GMOs. The courts have ruled that a precautionary approach is inherent in the act. The RMA also provides a mechanism to address liability and compensation concerns. A community can put in place a liability regime requiring those engaging in a GM release to pay compensation for harm caused by an approved release.

14. Under the RMA, the appropriate scope for evaluation of GM concerns is the outdoor use of GMOs, and in particular field trials and releases, expressly including: genetically modified food crops, trees, animals, and pharma crops.

15. Not all categories of GMO use need be regulated with the same degree of precaution. This may result in two or more different sets of rules in order to group and match similar categories of risk with the appropriate controls.

16. Such rules can be argued to be efficient and effective in terms of RMA section 32 on at least two grounds:

   • ERMA can not be relied on to provision against particular risks.

   • Local authorities may reasonably wish to set higher standards for controls than ERMA sets. There is no legal barrier to councils setting higher standards than those specified by ERMA under HSNO.

17. Advice from Government questioning the likelihood of meeting the section 32 test did not adequately investigate these grounds.
18. Through its statements, Government has given the impression that HSNO and the ERMA process are extremely stringent – a "gold-standard" of regulation. However, at the same time, it has explicitly declined to set enforceable principles and standards that would provide surety that stringency would be the outcome of the regulatory regime. The result is a significant gap between expectations and the legal requirements. The setting of rules by local government such that selected community determined outcomes are assured can be an efficient and effective response.

*HSNO Reform*

19. The broad alternative to use of the RMA is for local government to press for the amendment of HSNO. The rationale for this is to provide a simpler means for local government to achieve the same regulatory effect as is currently available to it under the RMA. Reform should be made on two levels and provide for:

- The ability for local authorities to issue policy statements on GM activities under an amended HSNO, such that ERMA would be required to accommodate these policy statements in its decisions;
- The option to examine individual applications in tandem with ERMA assessments and, if required, to set stricter controls to apply within a local authority’s district.

20. The proposal is for local authorities to have the opportunity, but not the obligation, to work in tandem with ERMA. Such reforms would provide a more direct means of achieving the desired outcomes set by a community, while also giving an explicit statutory route and greater certainty to ERMA applicants. LGNZ is the party best placed to investigate amending HSNO and advancing proposals to Government.

*Next Steps*

21. A next stage of work will involve local authorities studying the risks to the region and at the same time drafting control options if the analysis suggests these are required. This process does not commit a council to implement such controls but it is the next step towards such an outcome. It would bring before a council information on the scope and severity of the risks at the same time as detailing the options for their control and the factors relevant in deciding between the options. Such work is required irrespective of whether the statute that would be used is the RMA or an amended HSNO Act.

22. A key part of this process would involve examining the outcomes a council wishes to see and determining which can be expected to be delivered by ERMA and which it wishes to ensure are delivered through its own initiatives. Ideally, this work would be done as part of a joint project between Northland local authorities. The analysis would provide a common resource base for councils to work from and assist the evolution of a uniform region-wide approach.
1. Introduction

Whangarei District Council (WDC) and other Northland councils wish to better understand their options for responding to risks arising from the use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs). On behalf of Northland councils and Local Government New Zealand, WDC has asked Simon Terry Associates Ltd (STA), to prepare a report, following the preparation of an interim opinion by Dr Royden Somerville QC for WDC’s solicitors, exploring two response options:

1. How local government could best protect the communities interests under existing statutes, including options for utilising instruments under the RMA or LGA;

2. What changes should ideally be made to governing law and how this could be progressed.

The report limits its consideration to the outdoor use of living GMOs and in particular field trials and releases. Expressly included are genetically modified food crops, trees, animals, and pharma crops. Although much of this report is relevant to regional councils, it focuses on the response options open to district councils.

While the report and Dr Somerville’s opinion are separate documents, the report draws extensively on his interim opinion which is attached as Appendix 1.

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1 The sponsors of this research are: Whangarei District Council, Far North District Council, Kaipara District Council, Rodney District Council, and Local Government New Zealand.

2 Research within contained laboratories involving GMOs, medical applications involving the manufacture and use of non-viable GM products, and food containing GM products that are not viable are excluded.
2. Principles at Issue

2.1 Background

In October 2001, Government announced a two year programme targeted at revising the regime for regulating genetically modified (GM) organisms. This was in response to the report of the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification. An existing voluntary moratorium was formally extended for two years to enable this work to be undertaken. Government chose to implement many of the Commission’s recommendations and also devised other measures of its own.

A key part of this programme was amending the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act 1996 (HSNO). The reforming legislation – the New Organisms and Other Matters (NOOM) Bill - was the subject of considerable attention by local government before it was passed in October 2003. Local Government New Zealand (LGNZ) and a number of local authorities presented submissions to Parliament arguing that, at very least, there was a lack of clarity as to the roles and responsibilities of local government with respect to GM regulation. In particular, it was argued by LGNZ that the responsibilities placed on local government were not matched by provisions to allow local government to exercise influence in support of them with respect to GM use.

Parliament’s Education and Science Select Committee reviewed these submissions and determined that no material change was required to the bill. This, however, was based on a split opinion. Government members declared that the regulatory regime was clear and they did not see a role for local government. In contrast, during Parliamentary debates on the NOOM Bill, representatives from National, New Zealand First and the Greens repeatedly voiced concerns about the interrelationship between HSNO and the RMA, and the position in which they saw local government being left as a result.

The following analysis picks up this first principles debate.

2.2 Exceeding National Minimum Standards

The HSNO Act came into existence as an offshoot from development of the RMA. Originally, hazardous substances and new organisms were to have been assessed under the RMA. HSNO instead established a dedicated central regulator, the

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4 During the committee stage of the Bill (September 10 2003), National MP Simon Power referred to the NOOM Bill as the “Local Government Caught Down the Creek Without a Paddle Bill”, while NZ First MP Brian Donnelly, who chaired the Education and Science Select Committee, observed that the Bill might also be called the “ ‘Leaving Local Government in the Lurch Bill’ and that is because it just purely and simply ignores them.” In the Second Reading of the NOOM Bill (September 19 2003), the Progressive Coalition and New Zealand First voted in support of an amendment proposed by the Green Party to introduce local government input into decisions about GM release.

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Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA), to evaluate what are generally higher risk activities. It was nonetheless “intended to be part of the same package of policy reform and springs from the same basis” as the RMA.  

Setting up a national regulator had the effect of reducing the burden placed on local government to undertake assessments that require specialist expertise. It was the thinking of government from the outset that HSNO would be a means of setting a floor on national standards, rather than a ceiling. This is clearly expressed in the following from an early Ministry for the Environment discussion paper.

It has been decided that: **additional controls may be set on hazardous substances and new organisms under other legislation where these controls are more stringent or specific** than those under the hazardous substances and new organisms legislation, and are required to meet other outcomes or responsibilities.  

Accordingly, HSNO section 142 (3) provides that local government can set higher standards for hazardous substances through RMA conditions, as they may deem appropriate. It states:

Nothing in subsection (2) of this section shall prevent any person lawfully imposing more stringent requirements on the storage, use, disposal, or transportation of any hazardous substance than may be required by this Act or regulations made under this Act where such requirements are considered necessary by that person for the purposes of the Resource Management Act 1991.

This provision was set against a background where the select committee considering the proposed HSNO legislation in 1995 was of the clear view that local government not only had a right to intervene locally to set higher standards, but also that primary responsibility would remain with territorial authorities in respect of land use activities.

“One issue relates to clarification and the Resource Management Act, and concerns the matter of making clear the respective roles of regional council and territorial authorities regarding the control of the use of land. The HSNO Bill makes no reference to functions of regional council with regard to hazardous substances management, and some submissions expressed concern at this. We invited comment from the Local Government Association, regional council and unitary authorities, who provided us with mixed responses. **We maintain that the control of the use of land with respect to hazardous substances is most appropriately carried out by territorial authorities.**”  

A parallel provision to section 142 (3) was not made for new organisms at that stage. This appears to have been the result of the frame of reference through which new organisms were viewed at the time, rather than an intended asymmetry. When HSNO was originally being devised, the framing was oriented more to evaluating the introduction of new species from overseas (which are also classed as new organisms)
rather than GMOs. The thinking at the time essentially excluded the prospect of controlling organisms outside of containment. The report of the select committee that reviewed the proposed HSNO legislation noted:

“New organisms can only be controlled while in containment, which is a location or facility where the organism or substance is confined to prevent escape.”

As a result, until the October 2003 reforms, the only category for release of a new organism was release without conditions – as the assumption had been that such organisms could not be recaptured or meaningfully controlled.

However when Government revised the new organisms component of HSNO through the NOOM Bill (with a view to improving regulation of GM organisms), it did not make similar provision for other statutes to set higher standards in relation to new organisms, so as to take an approach consistent with that for hazardous substances. In particular, once it had determined that controls could be successfully applied to new organisms outside containment (under what is termed “conditional release”), it did not provide for local government to set stricter standards under the RMA.

2.3 HSNO and the Role of Local Government

Government instead offered a quite divergent view: that local authorities do not have a role in GM regulation. The following was stated by Government members of the Parliamentary select committee that reviewed the changes to HSNO proposed in the NOOM Bill:

Such regulation is the role of the Authority [ERMA] under the principal Act. The Authority is a specialist body and responsibility should lie with it and not with local government.

This stance was supported by advice from the Ministry for the Environment (MfE). Its opinion was summarised as follows in a letter to the select committee.

“It is clear in our view that [local authorities] have little, if any, ability to control GMOs under the RMA or the LGA. Nor does the Ministry consider that the New

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8 This was due to experience with a range of introduced species. The Ministry for the Environment’s submission to the Royal Commission stated (p 18): “There were recent examples of new organism releases which had the potential for damaging consequences, and which pointed to deficiencies in the current controls on new organism imports. Examples which prompted such concerns were the introduction of chinchilla, Channel catfish brought in quarantine as part of an economic development scheme with Maori interests and then destroyed, and marron crayfish for which commercial breeding operations were established and then permission withdrawn requiring the destruction of the stock and a substantial compensation payment.”


10 Drawn from discussions with ERMA CEO Bas Walker.

Organisms and Other Matters Bill should give local authorities the ability to control GMOs.”  

However, MfE appears not to have taken account of all pathways open to local government to exercise control. The ministry’s view is scrutinised in section 4.4.

It is the second sentence that is the point of interest at this stage. It summarises the Ministry’s opinion that local authorities should not have the ability to control GMOs. The basis for this was fully set out as follows:

“Most local authorities would not have the level of expertise required to establish the specific controls needed for the management of a particular GMO. It is unlikely, therefore, that any controls placed on a GMO by a local authority would have a sound technical basis. In addition, this would undermine the HSNO regime, which is based on comprehensive scientific, economic and cultural risk assessments. Moreover, giving local authorities the ability to control GMOs would introduce a dual permitting regime with consequent additional costs of compliance and enforcement.”

The following critiques the three arguments contained in the above quotation.

a) Local Authorities could not set controls that have a “sound technical basis”:
This argument presents a fallacy of composition – that what is true for one is true for all. While local authorities would find it very difficult to assess certain types of “scientific risk”, this is not true for all such risks and is certainly not true for economic risks which are key risks with respect to GM varieties currently available for outdoor use. If a local authority is considering the release of a GMO within its territories and the economic impact on that area alone, it is at least as well placed to assess such economic risk, having access to similar independent professional advice that Government might draw upon.

b) Local authority controls “would undermine the HSNO regime”:
This argument, as presented, has no basis. The purpose of HSNO is protection of the environment and human health. HSNO sets minimum standards that apply nationally so local authorities would not be able to lower standards or reduce controls and thus “undermine” HSNO. On the contrary, as discussed above, local control would simply allow for higher standards to be put in place within local territories. The charge of “undermining” makes contextual sense only if there is a prior and unexplained assumption that centralised control is the optimum regulatory structure in all respects.

c) Local authority controls “would introduce a dual permitting regime”:
This argument ignores the options of local authorities setting controls well in advance and/or as part of the ERMA approval process and these being incorporated as conditions on any resulting approval. Mechanisms to provide for this are described in section 5. There is no need for two independent approval stages, as MfE presupposes.

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It is a matter of concern that none of the arguments MfE advanced to the select committee is sound. Equally concerning is that they run counter to the principles set out at the time the original HSNO legislation was being devised. Further, there is no discussion as to why it is considered necessary to breach the principle of local autonomy with respect to land use matters that was established at that time.

An interdepartmental report to the Education and Science Select Committee delivered two weeks prior to the MfE letter devoted seven pages to issues arising with respect to “HSNO and RMA/LGA Interface”. However it too provided no discussion on this point of principle, focusing instead on explaining the interrelationships between the acts. Its key statement skirted the question by quoting government policy without identifying any basis for it:

“In developing the conditional release category officials considered the issue of additional RMA controls being imposed on a GMO. The decision made by the government was that the HSNO application and approval process, including imposing controls, should manage all the potential adverse effects of GMOs. Therefore, the intention is that the approval process occurs at the national level under HSNO.”

The report did however conclude by stating that:

“It is difficult to define the interface between areas of legislation [with respect to certain aspects] … If it becomes necessary MfE will consult with councils about the interface issue with a view to introducing an amendment in legislation.”

Perhaps the most important outcome of this process is the missed opportunity to properly examine the concerns GM organisms raise for local government given its responsibilities under existing statutes. The following section takes up analysis of these themes.
3. Issues of Concern for Local Government

3.1 Sources of Risk

3.1.1 Economic

A leading source of concern is that cultivation of GM crops will cause trace contamination in non-GM crops. The Royal Commission on Genetic Modification recommended that Government “proceed with caution” on the basis that GM and non-GM crops could be successfully kept apart. However, the Commission did not identify exactly how this would be achieved and methods for preventing GM crops from contaminating other like crops in commercial production have yet to be demonstrated.

A series of more recent studies have revealed that harvesting, transport and processing pose much greater contamination problems than expected. Investigations by the European Commission resulted in the conclusion that even the ability to keep below a 1% level of contamination of other foods could not be assured – a level that would trigger EU labelling requirements. Given the high levels of consumer resistance to eating GM foods in Europe and the wealthier Asian nations in particular, trace contamination has become a significant issue.

Specific risks capable of causing economic damage include:

- Market rejection of an individual company’s crop due to trace GM contamination. The Gisborne-based company SunriseCoast experienced this market response in August 2003 when corn it grew for processing into a product for the Japanese market was rejected. Routine testing by the Japanese pizza maker that was to purchase the product showed trace contamination of 0.05%. This resulted in rejection of the entire line and the company estimates its losses were close to $500,000. The incident is likely to have arisen from trace contamination of seed stock.

- Market rejection of one type of crop from a region or country due to trace contamination from a different type of crop. The Australian Wheat Board does not support the farming of GM canola in Australia on the grounds that at least 50% of its sales would be lost if GM content of any form and at any level was present in its shipments. The Australian Barley Board objected to GM canola being released on similar grounds. The concern is that even though the canola would not cross-pollinate, the inability to reliably segregate the various grains through harvesting, transport, storage and shipment would result in contamination.

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17 Sunrise Coast, personal communication, November 2003.
Market rejection of one type of crop from a region or country due to concern about inability to separate GM and non-GM crops. Although less than half the corn grown in the US is GM, US corn exports to Europe have plummeted to less than 5% of the previous level due to an absence of, or lack of confidence in, systems to segregate the two products. The National Corn Growers Association, which represents the majority of US corn growers, estimated that loss of this market had cost around $1 billion in exports by 2001 (or some $300 million a year). 19

Market rejection due to perceptions that a GM crop has caused contamination. Perceptions of contamination can be as damaging as contamination itself. This form of market rejection need not be based on doubt about the adequacy of segregation systems. It may be made by market gatekeepers (wholesale buyers) who simply perceive damage to a country image (Brand New Zealand) or a particular exporter's brand. It may equally be as a result of end use consumers making such a judgement. The report of an inquiry by Western Australian Parliament noted that: “The commercialisation of a single GM grain crop may tarnish WA’s overall reputation of being a ‘clean and green non-GM producer and thus have implications for the marketability of other WA agricultural products.” 20

3.1.2 Environmental

Research on the environmental effects of GM plants is still at an early stage. This is in part because such studies are generally long-term while GM crops are still relatively new. It is also due to less emphasis having been given to this area of research than could have been expected thus far.

Risks capable of causing environmental damage include:21

Effects on Non-target Species: GM crops may have adverse effects on non-target species in the receiving environment. This might occur directly or indirectly, via the reduction of food resources the organisms depend on. For example, the recently completed UK farm scale trials reported that two out of three GM crops tested had resulted in reduced populations of birds and insects relative to conventional varieties of the same crops.22

Invasiveness: Increased persistence, invasiveness and competitiveness with existing native or exotic plant species which could alter population dynamics and ecological balances. A particular concern in this regard are impacts on biodiversity.

20 Western Australian Parliamentary Select Committee Report, July 2003
21 For further detail, see Who Bears the Risk, Chen Palmer & Partners and Simon Terry Associates, October 2001, p 11-24.
22 GM Crops Fail Key Trials Amid Environment Fear, October 2, 2003,The Guardian
**Rare Events:** An incident that introduces consequences or effects of a disastrous magnitude in circumstances where little was known about the risk in advance. Though the emergence of BSE in UK cattle was more a health and economic threat, it is an example of this type of incident. At the time it first emerged in UK cattle, it was not considered possible for the disease to transfer to humans through consumption of meat products.

In addition to well recognised sources of risk, there are areas of more general uncertainty surrounding GMOs and their potential effects on receiving environments.

Little research has been done internationally on soil ecosystems. The Royal Commission noted the absence of research and understanding of the implications of GMO release for New Zealand soil ecosystems. It stated that “there is a need for research specific to the New Zealand environment”.\(^{23}\) Research into one aspect of concern – the asexual transfer of genetic material from one organism to another (or “horizontal gene transfer”) is now the subject of a research programme by Environmental Services Research, which notes that:

“\(\text{It will be very difficult for regulators to develop a risk framework that takes account of HGT without data applicable to New Zealand conditions.}\)\(^{24}\)”

Uncertainty is likely to increase with new generations of GMOs that radically alter the properties and functions of existing crops. This includes the use of food crops for the production of substances not intended for human food uses, ranging from the production of pharmaceuticals to fuels. In its review of the environmental effects of transgenic plants, the US National Science Council concluded that such GMOs pose a challenge for environmental risk assessment:

“\(\text{The introduction of such transgenes poses the potential for environmentally associated risks of a wholly different order than those associated with existing transgenic crops. If such a transgene moves into a wild relative, there could be widespread environmental dissemination of the pharmaceutical substance or other nonfood substances that could have impacts on wildlife as well as microbial populations.}\)\(^{25}\)”

### 3.1.3 Other Sources

Both the RMA and HSNO require cultural effects to be taken into consideration.\(^{26}\) Testimony before the Waitangi Tribunal regarding the claim to indigenous flora and fauna (WAI 262) outlines one source of concern with respect to cultural effects.\(^{27}\) Research would be required to describe potential cultural effects as a part of subsequent investigations into local authority response options.

\(^{23}\) Royal Commission Report, p. 133.
\(^{24}\) *Horizontal Gene Transfer in the NZ Environment*, Abstract for FRST programme C03X0202, 1 October 2002.
\(^{26}\) RMA section 3 and HSNO sections 5 and 68(1) in particular.
\(^{27}\) See for example the brief of Evidence of Mason Durie to Waitangi Tribunal in respect of WAI 262, January 2002.
Health risks arising from outdoor release are taken here to be one way in which GM contamination would impact - as distinct from intentional consumption, something that is not dependent on outdoor release.

### 3.2 Local Government Responsibility

Local government has overarching responsibilities that are relevant to any proposed outdoor release of GM organisms. These derive principally from the “Local Government Act 2002” (LGA) and RMA, and are outlined in detail in sections 3.1 to 3.3 of Dr Somerville’s opinion. The following offers an overview only.

The LGA provides for local authorities “to promote the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of communities, in the present and for the future” (§10(b)). It also provides (in Section 14), “principles relating to local authorities”. These principles provide for a sustainable development approach to be taken by councils in performing their roles.

Local Government New Zealand offered the following comments with respect to the ability of the current HSNO legislation to provide for communities to exercise these responsibilities.

Local authorities are to work with local communities towards achieving sustainable development. This means councils will be facilitating the development of Long Term Council Community Plans, in which outcomes for an area are described and the role of council in delivering or enabling the achievement of those outcomes are identified.

We do not believe that the responsibilities given to local government under the LGA have been fully recognised in [HSNO]. [Emphasis added]

Local authorities have been clear about their desire to have a strong “voice” in the making of decisions about the release/non release of GMOs …

The field trialling, conditional and full release of GM organisms are land uses, and the RMA deals more specifically with regulation of such activities. Section 5(2) of the RMA states:

(2) In this Act, “sustainable management” means managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic, and cultural wellbeing and for their health and safety while –

(a) sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources (excluding minerals) to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and

(b) safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil, and ecosystems; and

(c) avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment.

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28 *LGNZ Submission to Parliament with respect to the New Organisms and Other Matters Bill, June 2003, p 5 and 7.*
Dr Somerville noted in this respect that:

The people of the district may perceive that to sustain the principal uses of rural land in the district depends on avoiding or managing environmental risks associated with GMO-related activities. This may be considered in order to promote a number of values within the purpose provisions of the statutes, ranging from socio-economic, cultural, health and safety values to concerns about the biophysical environment, for example, biological diversity.  

The idea that districts would be established as areas free of certain categories of GM organisms was supported by the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification. Recommendation 13.1, which was not actioned by the Government, states:

That the methodology for implementing section 6(e) of the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act 1996 be made more specific to … allow for specified categories of genetically modified crops to be excluded from districts where their presence would be a significant threat to an established non-genetically modified crop use.

The concept of exclusion zones has gained support internationally. Australia has set in place legal provisions for this which are detailed in section 5.3.2. In Europe, ten regions are jointly pressing for the right to set zones that exclude GMOs. Theses are Tuscany Aquitaine, Upper Austria, Basque Country, Limousin, Marche, Salzburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Thrace-Rodopi, and Wales.  

LGNZ offers the following comment on exclusion zones and HSNO:

It is not apparent how the management framework outlined within [HSNO] will allow communities to preserve the opportunities they have identified, and agreed to pursue, as part of their own strategic goals. For example, a district (or a grower association) may wish to brand and market its grapes, wine, oranges, apples, lamb, milk, cut flowers or other crop or produce as GE Free.

At the highest level, the key problem for local government can be viewed as a lack of surety of outcome. The uncertainty is on two levels:

a) Whether ERMA will agree with and act at all on certain concerns that may be held by local governments;

b) Whether ERMA will manage risks it concurs need addressing such that it exercises the same degree of caution as would local governments.

HSNO provides wide scope for ERMA to assess applications for release such that the outcomes it delivers depend a great deal on the individuals making the assessments. There is the potential to manage more cautiously or less cautiously within the legal framework of the act. While the act is highly prescriptive in respect of procedural

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29 Opinion on Land Use Controls and GMOs, Dr R J Somerville QC, February 2004, p 10.
30 On November 4 2003, they declared themselves 'the network of GMO free regions' under a document signed by the agriculture ministers of each region.
31 LGNZ Submission to Parliament with respect to the New Organisms and Other Matters Bill, June 2003, p 8.
matters, there are remarkably few constraints with respect to how assessments are to be conducted.

The act and the ERMA methodology that derives from it make many important features discretionary. The methodology does not actually set up any precise method or process by which analysis must take place. It has more the form of a checklist of considerations. Those sections that focus on the actual evaluation generally demand of ERMA only that it “take into account” and “consider” a variety of matters.\textsuperscript{32} There are thus remarkably few limitations on the outcomes ERMA can deliver.\textsuperscript{33}

The wide discretion given to ERMA also results in an absence of meaningful accountability. This problem is made more acute by the lack of a right to appeal an ERMA decision, other than on points of law.

HSNO suggests ERMA notify local government of applications for GM activities that it considers might be of interest.\textsuperscript{34} However, ERMA is under no greater duty to take into account submissions of district and regional councils in its decision-making than those of any other submitter.

The absence of provisions that would compel ERMA to accommodate the positions of communities thus leaves local government unable to give surety to their communities that HSNO decisions will not override outcomes they have determined they wish to see. Further, there are at least two matters on which local government would tend to seek outcomes that it is far from clear ERMA would deliver under current policy settings. Here there is not simply uncertainty that ERMA will concur with local government, but grounds for serious doubt that it would support certain positions. These are addressed in the following two subsections.

### 3.3 Precaution

Traditional risk assessment seeks to estimate the probability that certain defined risk events will come to pass and then make an assessment of the harm that is likely to result. This framework is heavily dependent on two factors.

1. That enough is known about the identified risk events to reliably predict the nature of adverse affects and the probability of these occurring.
2. That the scope of important risk events can be defined in advance.

Risk assessment is a powerful tool when there are known impacts and known probabilities. It is not suitable however for use in circumstances characterised by

\\textsuperscript{32} The notable exception is section 36. This requires that if a release would be “likely” to cause “significant” harm to the environment or human health, it may not be made. As it is difficult to imagine responsible decision-makers approving a release which they thought at the time was likely to cause significant harm, it is also difficult to view this as a strong bottom line.

\textsuperscript{33} See: Submission in Respect of Revisions to the ERMA Methodology, Sustainability Council, October 2003.

\textsuperscript{34} Section 53(4).
important unknowns. As many of the targets of environmental regulation have become more complex and less well understood, the limitations of this approach have increased. The precautionary principle is in essence the evolutionary answer to the need for an approach that better allows for the limitations of knowledge that regulators are increasingly confronted with.

The precautionary principle was devised essentially as a response to analysis of the long-run effects of certain substances and organisms that had demonstrated alarming adverse effects that were unforeseen when first approved. Past surprises have included the effects from asbestos, X-rays, DDT and chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs). A seminal work by the European Environment Agency (EEA) recently reviewed 14 of these unpleasant surprises. The Precautionary Principle in the 20th Century draws lessons for regulators from these case studies in support of adoption of the precautionary approach. It describes the principle in the following terms.

“The precautionary principle is an overarching framework of thinking that governs the use of foresight in situations characterised by uncertainty and ignorance and where there are potentially large costs to both regulatory action and inaction”.

“A central lesson … concerns the importance of recognising and fully understanding the nature and limitations of our knowledge. What is often referred to as ‘uncertainty’ actually hides important technical distinctions.”

A key distinction the EEA offers is between risk, uncertainty and ignorance:

| **Risk:** | Known impacts, known probabilities |
| **Uncertainty:** | Known impacts, unknown probability |
| **Ignorance:** | Unknown impacts and therefore unknown probabilities. |

HSNO governs only substances deemed to be potentially hazardous or which are new organisms - where new organisms as a class have shown the potential to be hazardous. These classes of risk were specifically removed from coverage of more

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36 The latter is a class of propellant formerly used in aerosol cans that came into widespread use in the 1950s with no recognition that these chemicals might cause damage to the ozone layer. This was in spite of a relatively good understanding at the time of the ozone layer and its function in shielding the earth from excessive UV radiation. Only in the 1970s did research first clearly show the link between the use of CFCs and the destruction of ozone in the upper atmosphere.


40 The Ministry for the Environment’s extensive submission to the Royal Commission on genetic Modification documented the long gestation of the HSNO Act and the numerous practical
general environmental regulation under the RMA and set under special purpose legislation that makes use forbidden until individual assessment is completed and approval is forthcoming.

The nature of these classes of risk also means that assessments will more often involve areas characterised by uncertainty or ignorance. Thus, prima facie, one would expect precaution to be a fundamental guiding principle of HSNO.

The wording that has been the basis for most of the international agreements incorporating the precautionary principle in law is that established at the Rio Earth Summit in June 1992. Principle 15 of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, to which New Zealand is a signatory, sets out the following:

“Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty shall not be used as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental degradation.”

Of particular interest is its application under the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety 2000. The protocol regulates the transboundary movements of modified organisms that are live, and thus capable of reproduction. It came into effect on September 11 2003. New Zealand is a signatory to the protocol but has yet to ratify. Article 1 of the protocol builds directly on the Rio Declaration definition and interprets the precautionary principle in Article 11.8:

“Lack of scientific certainty due to insufficient relevant scientific information and knowledge regarding the extent of the potential adverse effects of a living modified organism on the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity in the Party of import, taking also into account risks to human health, shall not prevent that Party from taking a decision, as appropriate, with regard to the import of that living modified organism intended for direct use as food or feed, or for processing, in order to avoid or minimize such potential adverse effects.”

However, HSNO does not embrace the precautionary principle, nor does it mandate that ERMA be precautionary. Instead, section 7 of the act specifies simply the following:

“All persons exercising functions, powers, and duties under this Act, ... shall take into account the need for caution in managing adverse effects where there is scientific and technical uncertainty about those effects. ”  [Emphasis added]

instances of damage resulting from the introduction of new organisms through importation that led to new organisms in general being viewed as a special category of risk. “There were recent examples of new organism releases which had the potential for damaging consequences, and which pointed to deficiencies in the current controls on new organism imports. Examples which prompted such concerns were the introduction of chinchilla, Channel catfish brought in quarantine as part of an economic development scheme with Maori interests and then destroyed, and marron crayfish for which commercial breeding operations were established and then permission withdrawn requiring the destruction of the stock and a substantial compensation payment.”  Ministry for the Environment submission, p. 18.

New Zealand signed on 24 May 2000. MFAT is currently leading a review as to whether New Zealand should ratify.
In *Bleakley v Environmental Risk Management Authority*, the High Court considered whether the Act and the ERMA Methodology provide any requirement on the part of ERMA to observe the precautionary principle. The Court did not accept submissions of the appellants that section 7 embraced the precautionary principle, partly as a result of the Court’s reading of the parliamentary debates prior to HSNO’s enactment.\(^{42}\)

As the regulator responsible for interpreting and implementing HSNO, ERMA itself has stated that:

> “The wording in the Act is very permissive, such that the Authority would be acting lawfully in deciding that caution was not warranted provided it explained why. In practice, the Authority has generally exercised caution.” \(^{43}\) [Emphasis added]

The important point of distinction here is not that ERMA is precluded from implementing the precautionary principle. HSNO grants ERMA relatively wide powers under section 381(b) to decline an application such that it is within the scope of the act for ERMA to deliver precautionary outcomes, were it of a mind to do so. The key point is that rather than precaution being mandatory, HSNO makes it a matter for ERMA’s discretion – something simply to be “taken into account”. Precaution is an option, not a requirement.

When considering the RMA, the courts have ruled that a precautionary approach is inherent in the act. An extensive review of the requirements of the act with respect to precaution is provided in *Shirley Primary School v Telecom Mobile* and the following is stated by the Environment Court.\(^{44}\)

- “The Resource Management Act was precautionary and thus justified a precautionary approach. Such an approach was inherent in the Act – in particular in s 3(f).”
- Section 3(f) is considered to be “precisely what the precautionary approach is about”. Section 3(f) states that the term “effect” includes: “Any potential effect of low probability which has a high potential impact.”
- The precautionary principle “should be recognised as a restatement of s 3(f) and the precautionary approach”. It is not considered separately in making rulings for this reason.
- “We consider the effect of s 3, especially 3(f), is that the court is required to evaluate beyond the balance of probabilities (ie 50-50) where the risk (even if low) is of high potential impact.”\(^{45}\)

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\(^{42}\) *Bleakley v Environmental Risk Management Authority*, 2001 3 NZLR 213 (HC), p 250; paras 160 - 164, McGechan J.


\(^{44}\) *Shirley Primary School v Telecom Mobile Communications Ltd*, NZRMZ, 1999, paras 10, 221, 222 and 130 respectively. These interpretations were confirmed in *Clifford Bay Marine Farms Ltd v Marlborough District Council*.

\(^{45}\) By way of comparison, note that HSNO section 36 that sets minimum standards requires that an application not be “likely” to cause “significant” harm with respect to a range of environmental and human health concerns.
As Dr Somerville notes, in *Golden Bay Marine Farmers v Tasman District Council*, the Environment Court ruled that a precautionary approach may be applied:

(a) through the application of and analysis of the factual evidence under the provisions of s.3 RMA, particularly s.3(f) – that regard be had "to potential effects of low probability but high potential impact";  
(b) after findings of fact are made, a precautionary approach may be inbuilt into the various relative provisions of the plan – objectives, policies, rules, methods, etc;  

In summary, if a community undertakes investigations and analysis that leads it to conclude that a precautionary approach is warranted, it has the ability to deliver this outcome itself through use of the RMA. If the community instead depends on ERMA, there is no requirement for ERMA to be precautionary. Detailed submissions have been made to both the Government and ERMA, pointing out the changed circumstances since the passage of HSNO in 1996, especially the wider adoption of the precautionary principle (internationally and in New Zealand Government policy), and the need to revise HSNO accordingly. However, neither has recommended doing so. These positions also need to be taken into account when assessing the likelihood of ERMA adopting a precautionary approach and the degree to which it is likely to require precaution from applicants. A final factor is the inability to appeal an ERMA decision, other than on points of law. Parliament noted when first passing HSNO that public policy generally dictates there should be one right of appeal from the decision of a quasi-judicial body, but elected not to allow this on the grounds that this would not provide for "a better decision" second time around. Absence of the right to appeal HSNO decisions to the Environment Court (as is available for RMA decisions), significantly limits the ability to ensure a consistent approach with respect to the application of precaution. For local government, it underscores the inability to rely on the HSNO process to deliver outcomes set by the community.

### 3.4 Liability and Compensation

In August 2002, the Government recommitted to the following principles first adopted when New Zealand became a signatory to the Rio Declaration in 1992:

"13. States shall develop national laws regarding liability and compensation for the victims of pollution and other environmental damage. …"

"16. National authorities should endeavor to promote the internalisation of environmental cost and the use of economic instruments, taking into account the approach that the polluter should, in principle, bear the cost of pollution …"  

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47. *Departmental Report on New Organisms and Other Matters Bill*, 12 August 2003, p182 to 185
48. Hon Simon Upton, Hansard, 16 April 1996, at pp 11901-11902
In other words, the polluter should pay, and be compelled to do so through effective liability laws. This however is not the case with respect to activities regulated under HSNO.

Those who make or use GMOs are not liable under HSNO for any damage arising as a result of an activity carried out in accordance with an ERMA approval. That is, there is no strict liability – no obligation to pay for damage that is shown to be a direct result of the GM release.

Those suffering damage to property have the option of pursuing a civil action via tort law. However, this involves relying on law ill-suited for this purpose, and which makes daunting demands in terms of evidence, time and financial resources. Only if an operator releases without a permit or breaks conditions of an ERMA approval is it strictly liable for damages.

When Government consulted the Law Commission on the question of how to apportion liability, it referred the matter back to ministers on the basis that this was a policy decision, not a legal question. After observing that GM organisms have the potential to cause “catastrophic” levels of harm and irreversible damage, it concluded that: “Government will have to decide how responsibility for any risks of new technology is to be apportioned among the industry, individuals and the state”. Government has yet to properly address this question.

An effective liability regime relies not only on clearly apportioning liability, but also on there being measures to ensure that liable parties have the means to pay. However, HSNO similarly sets no requirement for financial fitness on the part of the applicant. No demands are made on ERMA to conduct any form of scrutiny as to the ability of the applicant to meet claims for damages arising from the activity.

HSNO instead places a heavy reliance on controls and penalties for breaching these. The problem with this approach is that the regulator must accurately foresee all the circumstances in which something could go wrong, and be able to prescribe for these in advance. However, an important source of risk now recognised in respect of GMOs is unexpected adverse effects. A liability regime based on “perfect” foresight is therefore not suited to these risks.

Local governments may well take the view that for GM release, a liability regime is required that makes those responsible for any release strictly liable for any damage and also ensures they are financially fit. In the first instance, this would be to protect the community in a general sense - by putting in place financial incentives for GM

50 Official commentary to date surrounding government decisions has focussed only on the perceived problems of allocating liability to those responsible for the activities. Government has rejected this approach on the grounds that “opportunities” would be lost. A cabinet paper of February 2003 stated: “Imposing the more stringent standard of strict (or absolute) liability may deter activities that are socially beneficial and, consequently, stifle innovation and economic growth contrary to government policy.” Such thinking miscasts what is truly “socially beneficial”. If an economic activity can not itself sustain the full costs which it imposes on society, including the risk that it will impose damages, then it will have a negative impact overall.
developers to be precautionary. Such a regime would also be designed to protect a Council itself from exposures that directly affect it.

Crown Law considers that local government is unlikely to be exposed to liability claims arising from the circumstances that have already resulted in large damages suits overseas – those relating to GM contamination of non-GM produce. It states “If the crop was ERMA approved and the person complied with all the conditions imposed by ERMA then it is unlikely that a claim in negligence would succeed”. However losses arising from legal actions against a local authority (legal liability) are just one form of exposure. The wider issue is loss arising from an inability to obtain compensation from those causing damage (financial liability).

A clear source of risk for local government in this regard is environmental damage. Local government is exposed to the absence of a requirement for GM developers to be financially fit. As the Royal Commission noted, “The defendant may be a shell company without substantial assets, or may be insolvent.” The key risk here is that if the operator has inadequate financial resources to cover environmental damage resulting from its activities, the burden tends to fall on local government.

Local government has already encountered examples of operators leaving clean up costs in their wake for which no party can be held fully liable. A well known example is so called “Orphan Contaminated Sites”. Abandoned sites contaminated with hazardous chemicals are all too frequent in New Zealand. The total cost for clean up of these sites has yet to be fully estimated. In certain cases, government has contributed funds towards studies examining how clean up would be undertaken. However, to date it is local government that has been left with the responsibility in most cases. Significant Crown contributions to the clean up of the Mapuia site have been the exception in recent years.

Environmental damage clearly represents a cost to a local authority’s territory, whether or not any financial loss is recorded in the Council’s accounts. This cost may take the form of reduced future potentials or direct financial costs involving clean up or mitigation.

As discussed above, a GM developer or operator is not liable for harm caused as long as it obtains and abides by an ERMA consent. Nor does HSNO require ERMA to ensure that an applicant has the means to pay compensation. If an application is made under HSNO section 34 for unconditional release, ERMA has no legal means of imposing a bond or any other financial assurance requirement. Only if the application is made under HSNO section 38(A) for conditional release can ERMA impose financial assurance requirements (under section 38(D)).

54 And this is approved under section 38(1).
Ideally, such financial assurance requirements would include a bond, topped up by insurance cover. However, Government accepted officials’ recommendations that ERMA not be required to consider whether to take a bond from an applicant.

“Requiring the Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA) to consider imposing insurance or bond requirements, as a condition of approving release of a new organism to address liability concerns is not supported. Assessing when and how to use such discretion and the amount of any insurance or bond would, generally, be a highly speculative exercise. It would involve consideration of a range of difficult issues that ERMA may not be well placed to undertake. There is a risk that socially beneficial activities might be deterred and capital would be tied up when it could be put to more productive uses.”

When ERMA was asked by Environment Bay of Plenty whether it would be likely to require bonds of applicants, EMRA commented that:

It is understood that ERMA New Zealand may be able to require a bond as a condition on approval, however this is not explicitly stated in the legislation and to date exercise of such a power has not been tested.

Given the stance taken by Government, ERMA’s outlook, and the absence of any requirement for an applicant to declare its financial fitness, there is little basis for expecting that ERMA will set meaningful financial assurance requirements.

Local government does however have the means to establish such requirements under the RMA. Section 108A affords wide powers in this respect and provides in particular that a bond may:

- Be set to cover any “conditions the consent authority considers appropriate” (108A(1))
- “continue after the expiry of the resource consent to secure the ongoing performance of conditions relating to long-term effects” (108A(1))
- “provide that the liability of the holder of the resource consent be not limited to the amount of the bond” (108A(2)(c))
- “require the holder of the resource consent to provide such security as the consent authority thinks fit for the performance of any condition of the bond” (108A(2)(e))
- “require the holder of the resource consent to provide a guarantor” (108A(2)(f))

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55 For further discussion, see Who Bears the Risk, Chen Palmer & Partners and Simon Terry Associates, October 2001.
57 Letter from ERMA to Environment Bay of Plenty, 26 January 2004, p2.
Section 108A(3) also recognises that environmental effects may only become apparent long after the activity has ceased.

If a consent authority considers that an adverse effect may continue or arise at any time after the expiration of a resource consent granted by it, the consent authority may require that a bond continue for a specified period that the consent authority thinks fit.

These powers address well the long timeframes and wide range of conditions that would be required to provision against potential harm resulting from GM release. On their own, they could be used to provide a significant level of protection. Section 4.3.2 identifies examples of other mechanisms that could also be used to set liability and financial assurance rules.

Thus if a community believes a liability regime should be in place to require those engaging in a GM release to pay compensation for harm caused by an approved release, then acting independently of ERMA can provide for this when it is not provided for under HSNO. Local government can also provide surety that the agent has the means to compensate in line with financial assurance requirements it sets.

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59 The Royal Commission notes that: “The effects of genetic modification are expected to be likely to manifest only in the long term” (p.311).
4. Response Options Under Existing Statutes

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter detailed why HSNO does not provide surety in respect of key concerns local authorities are likely to focus on should they adopt policies on the outdoor use of GM organisms. If communities seek surety of outcome, there are two broad response options.

The first is for local authorities to seek the amendment of HSNO. Submissions to date by local bodies have not resulted in Government support for such a change. This nonetheless remains an important course of action and is explored in the following section 5.

In absence of a commitment by Government to such an amendment of HSNO, communities have other options to advance policies on the outdoor use of GM organisms. This section examines those options, and how they could be utilised.

4.2 Assessment of Other Existing Statutes

Should a community seek to utilise other existing statutes to advance its policy objectives, rather than rely on the HSNO process, the following are the central options:

a) Enact a bylaw under section 145(b) of the LGA;

b) Vary a long-term council community plan (LTCCP) set under section 93(1) of the LGA;

(c) Vary the district plan pursuant to section 74 of the RMA.

An important selection criterion is the durability of any reform. Dr Somerville confirms that a bylaw is a tool available for the purposes discussed in this report, but concludes that it would be exposed to legal challenge.

I am of the opinion that because the purpose of the HSNO Act is to “protect the environment and the health and safety of people and communities, by preventing or managing the adverse effects of hazardous substances and new organisms” (s4), a bylaw purporting to have an identical purpose, means it would be open to the High Court to declare it unreasonable if it is promulgated without an in-depth risk assessment of the sort undertaken by ERMA.60

60 Opinion on Land Use Controls and GMOs, Dr R J Somerville QC, February 2004, p 35. Crown Law is of a similar opinion stating that “As bylaws have to be made in accordance with the primary Act it is likely that they would be ultra vires.” P 4.
In contrast, Dr Somerville believes the other two options have the capacity to be durable.

A preliminary report by Kaipara District Council suggested further investigation of the bylaw option in preference to use of the RMA, primarily due to concerns about the ability of the RMA to cover all GM applications of interest. However it noted that a prerequisite for such action would be confirmation that such a bylaw would be reasonable under the act. 61

While it is conceivable that enactment of a bylaw would be attractive in circumstances where very little time was available to respond to a proposed GM release, concern about the ability of the instrument to remain in place for long enough to achieve its purpose would tend to exclude use of bylaws in most circumstances.

When comparing the remaining options of regulating via a long-term community plan under the LGA versus a district plan under the RMA, the following distinctions are important.

• While a district plan is binding, as Dr Somerville notes, a long-term community plan is not binding:

As a statement of intention only, the plan is non-binding in the sense that once it is adopted a local authority may … make decisions inconsistent with its plan under section 96(3). No person is entitled to require a local authority to implement a plan’s provisions under section 96(4). 62

• The ability to set precisely targeted rules under a district plan allows specific concerns to be addressed in a manner that better ensures the outcomes sought without compromising other activities that are not intended to be regulated through such an initiative.

• If the focus of concern with respect to GM organisms is their outdoor use, then this is a land use question and a district plan is the principal statutory instrument designed to regulate land use.

The RMA thus emerges as the best of the three options, prima facie, for making use of existing statutory provisions to manage the outdoor use of GM organisms. While a LTCCP will also be useful in setting strategic direction, and can be used to specify a council’s stance on precaution, the RMA provides the key tools required.

An important consideration at this point is whether HSNO, having been passed subsequent to the RMA and focused directly on GM organisms, does not extinguish the RMA provisions and that these remain open for local authorities to use. Dr

61 “If the basis of the bylaw legislation can be confirmed as appropriate in this instance then it would allow the use of a bylaw under the Local Government Act. However, it would need to be demonstrated that the bylaw would be ‘reasonable’ under the law.” Genetic Engineering - Issues and Options of Limiting the Release of Genetically Engineered Organisms, Kaipara District Council, 20 August 2003, p 7.

62 Opinion on Land Use Controls and GMOs, Dr R J Somerville QC, February 2004, p 15.
Somerville considers this question in detail in his opinion and argues that the two statutes are not in conflict and that they can operate side by side.

The functions of each authority need not produce inconsistent controls and as such it should be presumed that the HSNO Act was not intended to limit the general provisions of the RMA . . . . A contextual interpretation of the HSNO Act and the RMA suggests that the application of the decision-making process by ERMA under the HSNO Act and the WDC under the RMA need not be incompatible with the legislative regimes in each statute.

[...]

I am of the opinion that the provisions of the HSNO Act do not preclude the WDC from exercising its jurisdiction to control GMO-related land uses within its district plan pursuant to the RMA.63

A remaining issue is how the actions of an individual territorial local authority (TLA) advanced under the RMA would relate to the relevant regional council.64 In particular, if the TLAs’ concerns are shared by the regional council, is it best that action is taken at the regional level?

Under any scheme for local authority involvement, regional councils are likely to play an important role through the issuing of policy statements and plans. However, a number of important issues remain to be clarified before it is known to what extent a regional council could manage the outdoor use of GMOs. These include whether a GMO would be a “contaminant” in terms of section 2 of the act. Crown Law considers that whether it meets the definition would be case dependent.65

Dr Somerville has indicated that a separate opinion would be needed to research the extent to which regional councils have authority to act. However, he notes that “whether or not a regional response could be achieved, for there to be efficient and effective regulatory land use controls, the territorial authority would need to be involved”.66 In particular, unless controls were put in place at the regional level that provided for a region-wide prohibition and covered all GMO activities of concern, then TLAs would still need to implement land use controls to issue permits under a managed regime.

4.3 Approaching a District Plan Change

Establishing controls on GM organisms under the RMA will ultimately require a district plan change. Pursuant to section 31 (a), this requires the “the establishment,
implementation, and review of objectives, policies, and methods to achieve integrated management of the effects of the use” to be regulated.

While the process of developing a district plan change will necessarily flow from the setting of objectives, to establishing policies and then methods and rules, the complexity of questions surrounding the use of GMOs suggests that this will be an iterative process. There are also a series of variables to be considered in framing rules including: the degree of caution to be applied, the resources required of councils to implement and administer rules, and their expected robustness to challenge. Some of these factors will be tradeoffs.

The following provides an overview of the issues and explores potential paths through.

4.3.1 Objectives and Policies

Objectives that are both outcome-oriented and process-oriented will be relevant. Setting outcome-oriented objectives will involve defining the scope of GMOs to be controlled. As noted in section 1, we have limited consideration in this report to those applications involving the outdoor use of GMOs, and in particular field trials and releases. Food crops, trees, animals, and pharma crops that have been genetically modified are the focus. GM activities that are not considered in this report are research within contained laboratories involving GMOs, medical applications involving the manufacture and use of non-viable GM products, and food containing GM products that are not viable.\(^{67}\)

Those considered here are land uses, and so may be subject controls under a district plan. These categories also embrace the GMOs we consider likely to pose risks of a form that TLAs will wish to ensure are addressed.\(^{68}\)

We are not aware of any Northland TLA having identified a scope of GMO categories it would wish to consider. Kaipara District Council has however set the following policy which is covered by the scope of this report.

> “That Council adopt the direction of a precautionary approach and limit the release of genetically engineered organisms by District Plan Change, bylaw, requiring notification or a combination of these.”\(^ {69}\)

Process-oriented objectives will overlap with more general policies, particularly those focusing on taking a precautionary approach to land use. As discussed by Dr Somerville, the RMA provides a firm foundation for TLAs to adopt precautionary policies and practices.

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\(^{67}\) The focus is on living modified organisms (LMOs) that are capable of reproducing themselves, and are thus “viable”.

\(^{68}\) Illustrative of potential exceptions that will need to be considered, GM fish present a special case insofar as their commercial breeding involves both a land use and a potential discharge to water, or a release to the open sea.

Section 31 (b) sets a base for this by providing for “the control of any actual or potential effects of the use, development, or protection of land” [emphasis added]. Sections 3(e) and (f) further contribute to the ability to regulate for potential harm, with the definition of effects including:

(e) Any potential effect of high probability; and
(f) Any potential effect of low probability which has a high potential impact.

Section 32 4(b) provides a key additional precautionary element by specifying that an evaluation of any proposed change of plan must take into account the following:

(b) the risk of acting or not acting if there is uncertain or insufficient information about the subject matter of the policies, rules, or other methods.

As Dr Somerville notes:

The reference to “risk” in section 32(4)(b) in the context of uncertain or insufficient information would suggest a need to consider management steps which anticipate future adverse effects which cannot be quantified by a probabilistic risk analysis. A precautionary risk management approach involves taking anticipatory measures and considering alternatives in light of potential significant or irreversible harm that could result from proceeding on the basis of uncertain and/or inadequate information.

He states that a precautionary approach may be used as the root rationale for acting to regulate GM activities within a TLA’s district and recommends that any decision to apply a precautionary approach be included in the objectives and policies of the district plan.

Kaipara District Council has decided to adopt a precautionary approach specifically in respect of GM release (see above resolution). We are not aware of other similar specific policies although other Northland councils have adopted a precautionary approach with respect to other matters.

### 4.3.2 Rules and Standards

A key issue when designing rules and standards for regulating GMOs will be whether the analysis supports rules that result in prohibition or some form of management of the risks. Dr Somerville notes:

A strong precautionary risk management approach available to the WDC is to implement a policy of establishing GMO-exclusion areas within which GMO-related land uses are prohibited.

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70 Section 32(4)(b) is wider than the wording in section 7 of the HSNO Act which refers to scientific matters when taking a precautionary approach.
72 *Opinion on Land Use Controls and GMOs*, Dr R J Somerville QC, February 2004, p 27.
73 The Northland Regional Council’s regional policy statement refers to a precautionary approach to resource management. See also Whangarei District Council’s proposed district plan in respect of sea level rise, which provides for a “precautionary approach”, p 156.
An alternative precautionary risk management approach which involves a policy of establishing a GMO-management area or areas within which GMO-related land uses are controlled by risk management methods including rules, while GMO-related land uses outside the management areas are prohibited, is also available to the WDC.\footnote{Opinion on Land Use Controls and GMOs, Dr R J Somerville QC, February 2004, p 27.}

An important point to note in this respect is that not all categories of GMO use need be regulated with the same degree of precaution. Indeed, the analysis may well show different levels of precaution being warranted across the spectrum of categories under consideration. This may result in two or more different sets of rules in order to group and match similar categories of risk with the appropriate controls (as depicted below). By way of illustration, field trials may be subject to liability requirements while commercial production of GM food crops may be prohibited.

![Diagram showing increasing strength of controls vs increasing GMO risks]

There is a clear ascending order of controls TLAs may use under district plans, and this is tabulated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Control</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prohibited</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-complying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discretionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restricted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discretionary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Controlled</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A similar hierarchy of GMO categories is much harder to construct as the risk profile of a particular GMO within a category can vary widely. Such an ordering also depends on the relative importance ascribed to different types of risk (environmental, economic, social, etc). It may also depend on whether the application was for: a field trial, conditional release, or unconditional release. However, for the purposes of illustration, a further table below also shows GMO categories in an ascending order of risk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GMO Category</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pharma crop production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food crop production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock farming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field trials of all forms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Determining whether each category of GM organism should be prohibited or managed (and the controls to apply if managed), is a substantial task and beyond the scope of this report. Ideally, the analysis would be undertaken on at least a region-wide basis so that parallel provisions were in place across proximate districts. Should the analysis determine that certain categories be prohibited, then clearly no controls are required. Should the analysis determine that certain categories be controlled, then the following provides examples of types of controls that would be important to consider.

**Financial Assurance Requirements:**
Even the lowest risk applications for the outdoor use of GMOs could impose costs on other parties. The following mechanisms are among those that can be used to assist injured parties obtain compensation:
- requirement to report on net financial assets available to meet claims, and/or to hold certain minimum assets;
- requirement to pay a bond;
- requirement to hold insurance cover.

**Liability Provisions:**
GM developers are not strictly liable for damage arising from a GM release that is conducted in line with an ERMA approval. While a civil action may be taken using tort law, this is an inappropriate and onerous means of seeking compensation. An alternative is that a district plan can itself set a liability regime, providing far more specific obligations. This would be expected to greatly reduce the burden of proof required to obtain compensation as well as the time and costs involved.

**Geographic Area and Time Limits:**
As with many other activities, controls may take the form of restrictions on the areas in which the GMOs may be utilised, and/or the time of year and the total

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Examples of factors that can significantly alter risks within a category include: whether a plant pollinates, whether an animal is easily contained and recaptured, and whether a pharma variety is a modified food crop.
duration of use. ERMA is very likely to consider such restrictions so this is an example of controls that TLAs may use to set to a higher standard than that ERMA prescribes.

**Containment Specifications:**
A significant concern for conventional farmers is dispersal of GM material, particularly pollen or seed, such that trace GM contamination is detected in their crops. One means of addressing this concern is to limit the area in which GM materials may be used such that dispersal beyond that area is a breach of the rule.

Finding an optimal mix of controls will depend on integrated analysis of such factors as:

- The scale of the risk associated with the activity;
- The degree of uncertainty surrounding the scale and probability of the risk;
- The effectiveness of the measure in addressing the risk, as compared to alternatives;
- The expected cost of implementing and administering the rule;
- The expected robustness of the rule to legal challenge

### 4.4 Section 32 Evaluation

Section 32 of the RMA makes the answering of many of the above questions a formal requirement when a TLA is considering a district plan change. It prescribes that:

(3) An evaluation must examine-
(a) the extent to which each objective is the most appropriate way to achieve the purpose of this Act; and
(b) whether, having regard to their efficiency and effectiveness, the policies, rules, or other methods are the most appropriate for achieving the objectives.

(4) For the purposes of this examination, an evaluation must take into account-
(a) the benefits and costs of policies, rules, or other methods; and
(b) the risk of acting or not acting if there is uncertain or insufficient information about the subject matter of the policies, rules, or other methods.

This test of the reasonableness of any regulations focuses on both the objectives that are set and the methods (or rules) being the “most appropriate”. The analysis must therefore be thorough in scoping the issues of concern and the available means of addressing the identified concerns in order to ensure that the resulting regulations are durable. As noted previously, this analysis is obliged under 32 4(b) to take into account the risk of acting or not acting if there is uncertain or insufficient information, which provides a firm precautionary basis for the conduct of this analysis.

Much of the doubt that has been cast on the ability of any TLA to provide a robust section 32 evaluation has been on the basis that ERMA (acting under HSNO) provides a better means to address any reasonable concern. However, these contentions are not well founded as the analysis has not been advanced sufficiently.
An information sheet produced by the Ministry for the Environment in June 2002 offered the following comment:

A council would also have to demonstrate in what way there were any environmental risks from use of GMOs in the region or district outstanding, i.e., which had not already been dealt with through the ERMA process and which needed to be addressed through plan provisions under the RMA. It may be difficult for councils to establish this given that ERMA is the specialist body established by Parliament to deal specifically with risk assessment and the approval of genetic modification applications.  

This statement relies on its use of the word “may”. It casts doubt without providing substantiating analysis.

A year later, the issue became a focal point for discussion by the Education and Science Select Committee when it heard submissions in respect of proposed changes to HSNO. A number of members of the committee echoed the concerns local authorities had submitted and requested departmental advisors “help clarify” issues related to the HSNO/RMA interface. The Ministry for the Environment in turn sought a Crown Law opinion that stated:

The real difficulty [with a section 32 evaluation] will be showing that it is efficient and effective to prohibit GMOs when ERMA, under the HSNO legislation, has agreed to their field testing or release. Given that the Government has set up a specialised body under the HSNO Act it is likely to be difficult to show that there is a real risk of adverse effects as opposed to a perceived risk or fear.

Having opened up a legitimate legal distinction between risks for which there is evidence and risks which are perceived, Crown Law devotes the remainder of the discussion to dealing only with perceived risk. The Environment Court has been clear in its requirement for “evidence of adverse effects or risk to the environment, rather than mere suspicion or innuendo”. However, Crown Law leaves completely uninvestigated two prospects that are central to the question of whether it would be “effective and efficient” for TLAs to regulate GMOs.

1. That ERMA can not be relied upon to provision against certain areas of risk for which there is evidence; and
2. That TLAs may reasonably wish to set higher standards for controls than ERMA has or could be expected to.

The first of these was extensively discussed in sections 3.3 and 3.4 which concluded that:

78 See in particular Shirley Primary School v Telecom Mobile Communications Ltd, NZRMZ, 1999.
79 See Land Air Water Association v Waikato Regional Council, as cited by Dr Somerville, p 27.
• If a community undertakes investigations and analysis that leads it to conclude that a precautionary approach is warranted, it has the ability to deliver this outcome itself through use of the RMA. If it instead depends on ERMA, there is no requirement for ERMA to exercise caution.

• If a community believes a liability regime should be in place to require those engaging in a GM release to pay compensation for harm caused by an approved release, then acting independently of ERMA can provide for this when it is not provided for under HSNO. Local government can also provide surety that the agent has the means to compensate in line with financial assurance requirements it sets. The Government determined not to require ERMA to consider financial assurance requirements as a condition of application approval.

Further, a community is entitled to take a precautionary approach under section 32 4(b) if the information required to make an assessment is uncertain or insufficient.

The second prospect is that TLAs may reasonably wish to set higher standards for controls than ERMA has or could be expected to. As discussed in section 2.2, it was government’s thinking at the outset that HSNO would be a means of setting a floor on national standards, rather than a ceiling, and this was explicitly provided for in HSNO with respect to hazardous substances. Dr Somerville observes that:

There is nothing in the HSNO Act to preclude [a TLA] imposing greater levels of control in its district plan for RMA purposes than those imposed by ERMA under the HSNO Act even though the controls relate to GMO-related land uses.80

Crown Law’s failure to investigate either of these rationales undermines its conclusion that TLAs would be likely to face difficulties meeting the section 32 test. In turn, it undermines the Ministry for the Environment view:

The Ministry considers that the thrust if Crown Law’s advice, is that although local authorities may attempt to control GMOs through the RMA or the LGA, it is most unlikely that their actions will withstand scrutiny by the Environment Court.81

Government has consistently worded its statements to give the impression that HSNO and the ERMA process are extremely stringent – a "gold-standard" of regulation.82 However, at the same time, it has explicitly declined to set enforceable principles and standards that would provide surety that stringency would be the outcome of the regulatory regime. The result is a significant gap between expectations and the law as delivered.

Thus there are “real” risks beyond those it can be assured ERMA will provision against. The setting of rules under the RMA such that certain outcomes are assured can be both an efficient and effective response.

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80 Opinion on Land Use Controls and GMOs, Dr R J Somerville QC, February 2004, p 21.
81 Ministry for the Environment letter of 26 August 2003 from Dave Brash to the Education and Science Select Committee, p 1 and 2.
82 Middle Ground on Biotechnology Satisfies No One, NZ Herald, 26.05.2003
5. Proposed HSNO Reform

5.1 Introduction

The previous section described how TLAs could change their district plans in order to regulate GMOs under the RMA. The broad alternative is to amend HSNO to provide for local government to also regulate under that act.

The rational for this is to provide a simpler means for local government to achieve the same regulatory effect as is currently available to it under the RMA. Such a change would provide a more direct means of achieving the desired outcomes set by a community, while also giving an explicit statutory route and greater certainty to ERMA applicants.

Reform would be needed at two levels:

1. The ability for local authorities to issue policy statements on GM activities under an amended HSNO, such that ERMA would be required to accommodate these policy statements in its decisions;

2. The option to examine individual applications in tandem with ERMA assessments and, if required, set stricter controls to apply within a TLA district.

The following examines each of these components.

5.2 Two Levels of Reform

5.2.1 Policy Statements – Exclusion Zones and Managed Zones

Under the RMA, a policy statement on GM use would be the basis for developing and incorporating new rules under a district plan to regulate GMOs. If a community determines to regulate at least certain categories of GMOs, then rather than changing the district plan, the alternative is to have the policy take effect through HSNO.

A district plan change is a significant undertaking for a TLA. Were a community to determine by processes similar to those required by the RMA83 that at least certain categories of GMOs would be prohibited or managed, it would be simpler to implement this through HSNO. The act could be amended so that ERMA would be required to observe the TLA determinations when setting conditions on any relevant approval.

Should a community determine to prohibit at least certain categories of GMOs, the effect is that local authorities would have the right to establish exclusion zones for particular areas, including the entire territory. Local authorities that made use of the

83 Those used for setting an LT CCP are also relevant.
right to set exclusion zones could also advertise this status for regional brand positioning.

Were a community to instead decide that at least certain categories of GMOs should be managed, this could be achieved in two ways. The simplest would be to set all controls of a form that are predefined and can be incorporated in any ERMA decision, just as an exclusion zone could be. If the controls require case by case consenting (to set particular levels of a control), these could be set as a part of the ERMA consenting process, as discussed in the following subsection.

5.2.2 Assessment of Local Effects in Tandem with ERMA

Under an integrated approach, ERMA would continue to set the national minimum standards. However, each TLA would have the opportunity to set stricter conditions for their district through the ERMA approval process. This is likely to be more efficient for both individual TLAs and applicants to ERMA.

It is important to clarify that the proposal is for local authorities to have the opportunity, but not the obligation, to work in tandem with ERMA. A local authority need not participate if:

- It had already set a policy statement recognised by ERMA that prohibited the relevant application before ERMA;
- It had already set a policy statement recognised by ERMA that predefined minimum conditions for the relevant type of application before ERMA;
- No policy statement had been issued and there were no special local effects of sufficient concern to warrant the local authority being involved in assessing the application.

Only in two cases would a local authority need to devote resources to particular applications to ERMA:

1. It had already issued a policy statement containing minimum conditions that needed to be interpreted on a case by case basis; and

2. There were specific issues of local concern that it had not previously provided for in a policy statement but considered sufficiently important in the case at hand to devote resources to the process.

Integrated assessment should only result in a minor extension in the time required by ERMA to process an application and this is likely to be far less than if an applicant had to separately apply to a local authority. The key steps in the process would be as follows:
Step 1: Local authority notification
Once an application for an outdoor GM activity was received by ERMA, local authorities of the areas where the activity was proposed would be notified of the application.

Step 2: Draft national assessment and recommendations
A period of national assessment, conducted by ERMA, would follow. In line with its current statutory responsibilities, ERMA would assess the proposed GM activity for its environmental, economic and other effects. If ERMA approved the activity, it would issue a draft decision including the national level controls and conditions it would apply. At this point, the draft decision would be circulated to local authorities that expressed an interest.

Step 3: Local Authorities respond
Local authorities would have a defined period to examine the draft decision and determine whether any more stringent conditions would be required for the applicant to be able to operate within that council’s territory.

Step 4: Single permit issued by ERMA
The result of this process would be a single permit issued by ERMA. It would combine the ERMA conditions with those set by local government to produce a single set of conditions, defined by territories where applicable.

In summary, while centralising specialist assessment skills is efficient, local authorities may seek reports focusing particularly on local impacts, or simply from a different perspective to that ERMA adopts. Local government is arguably at least as well placed to assess influences such as the local economic impact. In principle, a community should have the ability to set conditions for an activity in its area based on local effects, rather than national effects, providing these are more stringent. A central agency can remove the burden of investigation to the benefit of all concerned without stripping local government of its autonomy.

5.2.3 Operating on Two Tiers at Once
The reforms proposed above are complementary and together offer a means of minimising the effort required of local authorities to regulate. At the same time, it provides a more efficient and certain process for ERMA applicants.

Local authorities could use the first instrument - the policy statement - to undertake their own assessments of the effects that need to be provided for and then set general conditions in respect of these. These may take the form of exclusion zones for certain categories of GMO use through to predefined minimum conditions for use. Regulations that need to be interpreted on a case by case basis would then be actioned as a part of the ERMA process.

This framing provides flexibility for local government. Neither reform predetermines or restricts the position a local body could take on GMO activities. Each is simply a...
mechanism councils could use to respond to two different levels of consideration, so as to minimise the burdens placed on communities.

As discussed in section 4.3, the instruments can be used to tailor responses to different categories of GMOs and different levels of use to deliver the outcomes communities seek without capturing activities not intended to be covered. Illustratively, it would allow a local authority to establish an exclusion zone with respect to the release of any GMO that is a food, while setting just liability and bond requirements for certain field trials.

Would these reforms set any greater level of implied duty for local government and demand resources not otherwise expected to be committed? Given the analysis presented in the previous section, the duty would not be any greater than under current law. Dr Somerville’s view is that local government already has the ability to deliver the same regulatory outcomes that are proposed here.

Further, the pressures on local government to be involved in GMO regulation are growing rather than receding. The inability to rely on ERMA to impose appropriate liability and financial assurance requirements is a key example of one set of drivers. The other source of pressure is the change in the level of GM activities likely to come before ERMA. Since the early 1990s, the outdoor use of GMOs in New Zealand has been limited to a handful of field trials. However, future applications to ERMA are expected to move beyond contained experimentation. These influences can be expected to further stimulate strong levels of community interest in Northland. Providing clear routes for community involvement under HSNO is an effective response that minimises demands on local government.

5.3 Local Economic Effects

5.3.1 Economic Assessments and Exclusion Zones

HSNO requires the consideration of a wide range of factors, including ecological, public health, social and economic effects. While there is a good case for national level assessment of each of these, local economic impacts are likely to be of particular interest to local government.

One reason for this is the high degree of sensitivity to GM content exhibited by many of New Zealand’s major agricultural export markets. Evidence of trace GM contamination has proved sufficient grounds for the canceling of exports. In absence of any demonstrated procedures for effectively segregating GM crops from conventional production, local authorities will wish to ensure this issue is addressed.

Economic impact assessments can readily be prepared by local government through the use of council staff and/or consulting economists. These can also be prepared to a standard comparable to that ERMA or government would produce.

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84 See HSNO s5, 6, 7 and 8 as well as s38, 38C, 40 and 45.
85 Sunrise Coast suffered a loss estimated at over $400,000 when an export order to Japan was cancelled in August 2003 as a result of trace contamination.
As the RMA takes account of economic effects arising from a land use, it is quite conceivable that a TLA would prohibit the growing of all GM food varieties within its district. This would represent a precautionary approach to expected and potential economic effects of GM contamination.

For some communities, almost irrespective of the economic consequences, there is a desire to have the region recognised as a GM free producer and branded accordingly. This raises the question of whether policy statements to be recognised under HSNO should explicitly provide for communities to set exclusion zones based solely on economic and marketing considerations. An important precedent for this concept is the Australian model.

5.3.2 The Australian Model

Australian legislators have developed a model of joint decision-making by federal and state governments with respect to GM release that defines distinct roles for the two levels of government in assessing GMO release applications.

Section 21 of the Australian Gene Technology Act 2000 (GTA) requires the federal Gene Technology Regulator (the equivalent of ERMA) to assess applications for GMO release in terms of their effects on human health and the environment. Its duties are broadly science-based assessment. States, on the other hand, are provided with a right to decline the release of GMOs in their territories on the basis of economic considerations.

“This provision has already been invoked by five of the eight states. New South Wales, Western Australia and Tasmania have introduced or are in the process of finalising legislation that would prevent all commercial growing of GM foods in their territories for multi-year periods. Victoria and South Australia invoked s21 to introduce temporary measures to prevent the commercial release of a single GM food variety."

86 http://scaletext.law.gov.au/html/pasteact/3/3428/top.htm. Note also that 21(3) states “Regulations for the purposes of paragraph (1)(b) may relate to matters other than the health and safety of people or the environment, but must not derogate from the health and safety of people or the environment.”

At the time, the Australian federal regulator was considering an application for the commercial cultivation of two GM canola varieties, which it subsequently approved. The two states introduced a single-year prohibition on the commercial release of GM canola while market and regional brand implications were considered. Both state legislatures are now considering legislation to complement the federal regulations.

The extent to which Australian states have taken up the option to establish state-wide exclusion zones suggests that establishing a parallel mechanism for New Zealand would be a useful and workable reform.

### 5.4 Implementation

The viability of this alternative route naturally depends on the willingness of Government to support reform of HSNO. The frame in which amendments were discussed when HSNO was last before Parliament was that of a lack of clarity in the interactions between HSNO and the RMA in particular. Analysis presented in this report concludes that local government has the ability to regulate GM activities under the RMA and that HSNO reform could make the process more efficient.

A further bill to amend HSNO is already in preparation and is expected to come before Parliament later this year. Although its focus is to amend the hazardous substances side of the act, there is no barrier to it also carrying amendments covering new organisms.

Interestingly, one of its purposes is to provide for local government to play a stronger role in monitoring and enforcement of HSNO responsibilities. In short, it has been recognised that ERMA is not equipped to undertake the level of monitoring and enforcement required. Local authorities are seen as potential agents for achieving this on ERMA’s behalf. Environment Minister Marian Hobbs announced in June 2003 that:

> The government has agreed to amend HSNO to:

- Include regional councils in enforcement agencies in recognition of their environmental expertise and to complement their current role under the Resource Management Act (RMA); and
- Clarify and expand the role of territorial authorities under HSNO, for example in the area of emergency response, emergency planning and Hazardous Substances Technical Liaison Committees (HSTLCs).

The above underlines the inevitable close ties between HSNO and the responsibilities of local government. The same need for local government expertise could equally arise with respect to new organisms, further drawing councils into GM regulation.

LGNZ is already involved in consulting with local government on reforms proposed in respect of hazardous substances. As the reforms proposed here would similarly affect all local authorities, LGNZ should be approached to investigate these and advance a case for reform to Government.

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6. Key Findings and Recommendations

6.1 Key Findings

This report, in conjunction with Dr Somerville’s interim opinion, has focussed on researching the issues relevant to how the district councils of Northland can respond to concerns over the outdoor use of GM organisms. Key findings are:

a) Of the existing statutes available to local government, the RMA offers the most durable, binding and well targeted instrument for regulating the outdoor use of GMOs. The relevant RMA provisions are not in conflict with those of HSNO and the two statutes can operate side by side.

b) The RMA provides a firm foundation for local authorities to apply a precautionary approach in regulating the outdoor use of GMOs. LTCCPs also provide a mechanism for setting out a precautionary approach.

c) The appropriate scope of activities for evaluation under the RMA is the outdoor use of GMOs, and in particular field trials and releases. This expressly includes food crops, trees, animals, and pharma crops that have been genetically modified.

d) Should a TLA determine to regulate, not all categories of GMO use would need to be regulated with the same degree of precaution. This may result in two or more different sets of rules in order to group and match similar categories of risk with the appropriate controls.

e) Such rules can be argued to be efficient and effective in terms of RMA section 32 on at least two grounds:

1. ERMA can not be relied on to provision against certain risks. There is no requirement for ERMA to adopt a precautionary approach when assessing applications. There is also no requirement for ERMA to require a bond or otherwise ensure an applicant has the financial resources to pay compensation should a GMO cause harm.

2. TLAs may reasonably wish to set higher standards for controls than ERMA sets. HSNO sets a floor on national standards, rather than a ceiling, and there is no legal barrier to TLAs setting higher standards than those specified by ERMA under HSNO.

f) Another possible course of action is amendment of HSNO to provide for local government to more efficiently regulate the standards to apply to GM activities in their areas. This would allow local authority conditions to be incorporated as part of the ERMA consent process.
In principle, there is a clear way forward for Northland district councils to regulate the outdoor use of GMOs under existing law. Councils have jurisdiction and a reasonable basis for acting separately to ERMA. At the same time, there is the possibility that Government will amend HSNO to allow local authorities to ensure the outcomes they seek are delivered through the ERMA process. There is no need to choose between these paths at this time as the next stage of work is much the same under either option.

6.2 Staged Response

Stage 1

A first stage of work will involve local authorities studying the risks to the region and at the same time drafting control options if the analysis suggests these are required. This process does not commit a council to implement such controls but it is the next step towards such an outcome. It would bring before a council information on the scope and severity of the risks at the same time as detailing the options for their control and the factors relevant in deciding between the options.

While such analysis is fundamental to developing a proposed district plan change, it is also required should government amend HSNO and thus allow local government to set conditions under the ERMA assessment process. It would require Northland local authorities to:

- Identify the risks GMOs raise at the district level, their form and potential magnitude;
- Develop appropriate objectives and policies;
- Assess whether particular categories of GMOs should be prohibited, managed or left to ERMA; and if controlled locally, what controls would be appropriate.

It should be emphasised that a key part of this process would involve examining the outcomes a council wishes to see and determining which can be expected to be delivered by ERMA and which it wishes to ensure are delivered through its own initiatives. It may well transpire that councils need to address only a few sources of risk. Certainly, a number of the more likely areas of concern can be regulated by comparatively simple controls.

The expected outcome is a partnership between local authorities and central government. Rather than either having exclusive responsibility, management of GMOs will be a shared – as envisaged at the time HSNO was enacted – with local government retaining the right to set standards stricter than the national minimum.

Ideally, these investigations would be carried out as part of a joint project between interested TLAs, especially those with contiguous boundaries in the Northland region. While there is an obvious economy in sharing this work, perhaps the more important motivation is to provide a common resource base for councils to work from and assist the evolution of a uniform region-wide approach.
If there were a region-wide zone that set the same level(s) of precaution with respect to GMOs, this would have distinct advantages. It would eliminate the need to monitor for transboundary movements of GMOs when different districts held different standards. It would also allow the councils to collectively devise solutions to any implementation issues or challenges that arose.

Another step to be taken at this time is to approach LGNZ asking that it investigate amending HSNO to provide a more efficient means for local government to set controls on GM activities should they wish to. The basis for such a proposal has been outlined in section 5.

Stage 2

A further stage of consideration will be required once the analysis outlined in the Stage 1 has been completed. Up until this point, a council will only be investigating options for a district plan change. Stage 2 would involve a decision whether or not to initiate a plan change, including the circulation of a section 32 analysis and community consultation. The decision whether or not to initiate this would then take into account the extent to which progress had been made in obtaining a commitment from Government to amend HSNO.

6.3 Recommendations

1. That Northland local authorities jointly prepare and/or commission analysis of the risks GM activities could pose for the Northland region and recommend the controls that would be appropriate. This work would:

   • Identify the risks GMOs raise at the district and regional level, their form and potential magnitude;

   • Develop appropriate objectives and policies in response;

   • Assess whether particular categories of GMOs should be prohibited, managed or left to ERMA alone to regulate;

   • If categories of GMOs should be controlled locally, identify the options for setting controls and which of those would be most appropriate, taking into account the council resources required to implement and administer them, and the expected robustness of different options.

   • Prepare a draft section 32 analysis to show how the proposed controls would meet the tests it sets.

2. That Northland local authorities approach LGNZ requesting that it investigate amending HSNO to provide a more efficient means for local government to set controls on GM activities should they wish to. (The basis for such amendments has been outlined in section 5.)
Community Management of GMOs II

Risks and Response Options
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Executive Summary

1. This report provides analysis of the options available under the Resource Management Act (RMA) for responding to risks arising from the outdoor use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs). It was commissioned by the District Councils of the Far North, Kaipara, Rodney, Waitakere and Whangarei (the Northland Peninsula Councils) and builds on a March 2004 scoping report.

2. The communities of these districts have evidenced significant concern with respect to GMO activities. As a result, the Northland Peninsula Councils have formed an Inter-Council Working Party to investigate the use of RMA instruments acting in addition to national level controls on GMOs.

3. The Northland peninsula is an important agricultural production area with extensive dairy, forestry, and horticultural land use. It also contains ecological areas of significance and is geographically distinct. A wide range of GM products are being researched, including ones applicable to each of the area’s major agricultural sectors.

4. While the GMOs commercialised to date are in general directed at reducing harvest losses by combating pests and viruses, research into future varieties is attempting to widen considerably the scope of applications. This includes improved growth in plants and improved tolerance to environmental conditions. As the types of potential benefits available from these new GMOs are also generally available by alternative mechanisms, gains available from GM products need to be measured in terms of their net benefit over those alternative means.

Sources of Risk

5. Such net gains must then be compared with the risks specific to the outdoor use of GMOs. Those who make or use GMOs have the potential to generate economic effects that extend well beyond their own operations. A major source of risk is that cultivation of GM crops will cause economic damage through trace GM contamination appearing in non-GM crops. Trace contamination is sufficient to trigger food product rejection as a matter of course for Japanese and northern European wholesale buyers, irrespective of regulatory approvals. The significant scale of resulting costs has been demonstrated in these and other jurisdictions.

6. A series of environmental risks also attend GMOs. Some are serious and long lasting or irreversible, and few have been researched sufficiently. The scope of risks includes: adverse effects on non-target species (e.g., birds and insects), GM plants becoming invasive and disrupting ecosystems, and altered genes transferring to other organisms. The more complex GMOs pose additional risks simply because past experience provides little basis for predicting their effects.

7. With respect to cultural effects, the concerns of Maori include: preserving the integrity of nature, potential ecological effects, and which parts of the community stand to the benefit from the technology. A view widely held by Maori is that the mixing of genes from unrelated species is a breach of the integrity of species and an offence to whakapapa.
Deficiencies in National Regulatory Regime

8. There are important deficiencies in the national level regulation of GMOs. A key gap is the absence of adequate liability provisions. There is no liability under the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act (HSNO) for damage arising as a result of an activity carried out in accordance with an approval from ERMA (the Environmental Risk Management Authority). While a common law action could be taken, the Ministry for the Environment (MfE) notes that these remedies are often inappropriate. Innocent parties will therefore tend to bear any losses arising from unexpected events and ineffective regulation of GMOs.

9. A recent Crown Law opinion on GMO matters considered only one of six types of financial risk that GMO activities present to communities – that of a council’s legal liability for environmental damage. Among the risks not considered was the risk of councils facing environmental cleanup costs and constituents facing losses from GM contamination – matters the Far North District Council had sought to have included in Crown Law’s terms of reference when consulted on this. Inadequate provisions for allocation of liability and the setting of bonds mean councils are exposed to costs arising from environmental damage. While economic damage resulting from GM contamination will in the first instance fall on individual constituents, such damage can occur across wide groupings of producers and thus become a community concern.

10. A further important deficiency is that HSNO makes the exercise of precaution a matter for ERMA’s discretion. Precaution is an option, not a requirement. ERMA states that it would be acting legally if it did not exercise caution. At the same time, a number of Northland Peninsula Councils have developed policies requiring precaution with respect to the management of GMO risks.

11. This results in a lack of surety of outcome for local government on two levels:
   • Whether ERMA will agree with and act at all on specific concerns that may be held by a council and its community; and
   • Whether, for the risks ERMA concurs need addressing, it will exercise the same degree of caution as would a council and its community.

12. Descriptions of the above deficiencies have previously been put before the Government in its dual role as both the ultimate regulator and the nation’s largest investor in outdoor GMO research and it has elected not to remedy them.

Community Management Under the RMA

13. The RMA provides communities with the ability to set rules that embody community determined outcomes, including the level of risk it is willing to accept with respect to activities such as the management of GMOs. District councils have jurisdiction under the RMA to set rules for GMOs that act in addition to those that may be set under HSNO or by ERMA. A council has a general duty of care with respect to its constituents along with a specific duty to monitor and can respond to gaps in the national regulatory regime by placing additional controls on any ERMA approved application.
14. A very high level of financial accountability for ecological damage could be achieved through the use of well framed RMA consent conditions and bond provisions. Additional conditions can also be set to protect against adverse economic effects. What is unclear at this stage is the RMA’s ability to provide for the recovery of economic losses. Given a district council’s general duties of care for its financial position and that of its constituents, there is a ready justification for mandatory conditions to provide for both financial accountability and avoidance of economic damage.

15. If additional conditions would be insufficient to address the risks a GMO activity presents, the RMA also provides the basis for communities to prohibit classes of activity. A strong precautionary risk management approach may be used to regulate GMOs in these cases, provided the risks can be shown to justify this response.

**Classes of GMOs and Response Options**

16. At what time applications will come forward for GMO activities is very difficult to forecast. While local research has to date been confined to field trials designed to prevent altered genes from escaping test areas, the next stage envisaged by New Zealand GM plant developers involves pre-commercial projects. Applications based on GMOs commercialised overseas is the other main stream of prospective activity.

17. Different GMOs and their uses pose different levels of risk. GMOs can be grouped into classes of activities that have similar types and/or levels of risk. Five groupings of GMOs are examined in detail: GM plant varieties (food and non-food), GM animals (food and non-food), and GM microorganisms. Rules can be set under a district plan to address potential applications according to such groupings and classes of GMOs. The key high level decision councils and their communities need to make is which classes of GMOs should be unregulated, which should be made discretionary activities, and which prohibited - based on their tolerance for, or aversion to, risk.

18. The following four options provide a basis for making a decision in principle on the best approach to active management of GMOs (vs non-intervention).

**Option A. All GMO Activities Discretionary**
- All GMO activities are discretionary activities with each assessed on a case by case basis. Each requires a consent and is publicly notified;
- Consent conditions would be set to manage foreseeable adverse effects;
- Accountability provisions designed to ensure damage is remedied or compensated for, to the extent possible, would be mandatory.

**Option B. Food Plant and Food Animal Releases Prohibited**
- All releases involving food plants or food animals are prohibited;
- Other activities are in general discretionary activities, as in Option A.
**Option C. Plant Releases Largely Prohibited, Food Animals Prohibited**
- All releases involving food plants, food animals, and production of fibre and biopharmaceuticals are prohibited;
- Other activities are in general discretionary activities, as in Option A.

**Option D. All GMO Release Activities Prohibited**
- All release activities would be prohibited. Field trials could be subject to additional controls or also prohibited.

**Option Evaluation**

19. Key measures for evaluation of the four options are: the degree of precaution provided, the effectiveness of financial accountability measures, and the costs of administering the new rules and risks of court action.

- **Degree of precaution provided:** There is a progressive increase in the level of precaution applied in moving from Options A to D. **Option A** provides for a community to determine the level of precaution it seeks on a case by case basis, while **Options B and C** prohibit particular classes of activity and **Option D** prohibits all GMO releases. For any class of GMO made a discretionary activity, if the Minister for the Environment calls in an application, the Minister would then decide the application, rather than the council. Prohibited activities are not subject to call in provisions.

- **Effectiveness of financial accountability measures:** Prohibiting an activity removes the need for consent-related financial accountability measures. Alternatively, if an activity is consented, the effectiveness of RMA instruments will depend on the scope of accountability provided for in the RMA and on successful implementation.

- **Costs of administering the new rules and risks of court action:** Implementation of each option is likely to involve much the same level of expenditure. While ongoing administration costs are uncertain, the RMA provides for full cost recovery from the applicant. Crown Law considers it unlikely that a council would be held liable for consequences resulting from it failing to uphold a rule it had made to regulate GMOs. A plan change would only go ahead following extensive legal checks but it could still attract a legal challenge. Councils should therefore investigate committing to a joint defence of any such challenges. In principle, there may well be no greater risk of any one of options A to D being overturned than another given the evidence to date. Thus, making all GMO releases prohibited activities may be as robust to challenge as making all GMO releases discretionary. Were the court to find fault with a plan change, it seems probable that the rules would be modified rather than deleted.

20. Also important is the extent to which an option would foreclose opportunities. Any decision to prohibit a class of activity is reversible. Thus, if it were later to become evident that a particular GMO activity would be of net benefit to a district, a subsequent plan change could expressly permit that particular class of activity or GMO variety.
21. Option foreclosure is also an issue if GMO activities are allowed to proceed. This could remove the opportunity to build price premiums or new sales through a district marketing itself as excluding the production of specified GM products. If the Northland Peninsula Councils adopted parallel stances to GMOs, there is the wider potential to establish a Northland peninsula exclusion zone with respect to particular GMOs. Five Australian states have legislated for zones effectively excluding GM food production and many other sub-national jurisdictions in other countries have sought to similarly prohibit GMO cultivation.

**Decision Points and Next Steps**

22. A first decision point is whether to intervene under any option. This turns on whether the benefits of taking action outweigh the costs. Implementation costs are modest when shared between councils and the risk of a legal challenge would be reduced by thorough legal vetting prior to any plan change and agreements between councils to share any costs should a challenge take place. A key potential cost of not intervening is economic damage arising from release of a GMO within a council’s district. This alone could in general be expected to exceed the costs of intervening. Depending on the nature of the release and its effects, other environmental, cultural, and legal costs could arise and further tip the balance in favour of intervention. Thus, non-intervention is not considered a useful response option to put forward for further consideration at this stage. A Section 32 analysis is the point at which to further evaluate the costs and benefits of intervention.

23. The analysis suggests that a decision in principle should be made between the four options for intervention described above. A minimum level of joint council response would therefore be for all outdoor GMO activities to be made subject to mandatory provisions designed to ensure funds are available to remedy or compensate for damage, to the extent the RMA will allow. This report also sets out analysis that could be used as the reliable basis for a policy of prohibiting classes of GMOs, were a community to seek this.

24. The extent of the uncertainties surrounding GMO risks, and the potential scale of damage that could result, limits the ability to identify a preferred option through analysis alone. When large parts of the assessment are characterised by indeterminacy (and thus beyond the reaches of conventional risk analysis) and the potential effects are significant, a community’s tolerance for risk becomes a critical input to policy formation. In particular, communities should be able to set a floor on the extent of precaution to be specified for their district, as they are the ultimate risk bearers. Thus while this report provides the baseline information required to select between options for GMO management, community consultation forms a further vital component.

25. At the point a response option has been selected in principle, the following steps will then need to be addressed:

- Precise framing of objectives, policies and rules that would support and give expression to the option selected in principle;
- Preparation of RMA s32 analyses to ensure each proposed plan change meets the tests this section sets.
- Individual council and inter-council evaluation of the full proposed plan change.
1. Context and Background

1.1 Introduction

Whangarei District Council (WDC) and the District Councils of the Far North, Kaipara, Rodney and Waitakere (the Northland Peninsula Councils) wish to better understand the nature of potential risks arising from the use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and their options for responding to these under the RMA if such activities are carried out in their districts.

On behalf of these councils, WDC asked Mitchell Partnerships and Simon Terry Associates Ltd to prepare a report investigating the risks and response options. The overall objective set for this project is to provide a report that advances research to the point that a favoured response option can be selected in principle.

This report’s investigation of the risks and response options builds on the structure established in the earlier scoping report prepared to address these matters and while key descriptions are carried over, additional background information is to be found in that document. In this further stage of reporting, the scope of consideration is similarly limited to the outdoor use of living GMOs and in particular field trials and releases.

1.2 Background and Council Policies

In June 2003, a number of local bodies sought to obtain a clear statutory right to manage GMO activities within their districts, should they choose to exercise such powers. They submitted to the Parliamentary select committee considering amendments to the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act (HSNO) that such a right should be specified in this act.

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1 While the area north of the Auckland isthmus is not conventionally labeled a peninsula, it fulfills well this definition and in particular the Latin derivation – paeninsula, a conjunction of the words for “almost” and “island”.
2 The sponsors of this research are: Whangarei District Council, Far North District Council, Kaipara District Council, Rodney District Council, and Waitakere City Council. Each council is represented on the Inter-Council Working Group on GMO Risk Evaluation and Management Options.
4 This scope of inquiry is specified by the terms of reference for the report, which in turn reflects the identified scope of community concern.
5 The submission by Local Government New Zealand on behalf of a number of local authorities noted that “Government should provide a clear role for local government in the process of considering applications for general or conditional release of GMOs.” LGNZ (June 2003) Submission to the Education & Science Select Committee. Further, Marlborough District Council submitted to Ministry for the Environment: “There needs to be a clear opportunity under the HSNO regime for the consideration of local aspirations to remain GMO free. Like many other areas of New Zealand, Marlborough is a brand in terms of its produce, notably from viticulture and aquaculture. No doubt over time other products will emerge with a Marlborough brand. Where such products rely on a GMO free status, there needs to be provisions for that to be protected at the district level if not appropriate at the national level.”
Although Parliament declined to grant an explicit statutory right, subsequent legal opinions from Crown Law and Dr Royden Somerville QC concurred that, in principle, district councils at least have the ability under the Resource Management Act (RMA) to manage the outdoor use of GMOs independently of the national regulator, ERMA. Dr Somerville’s opinion, commissioned by WDC on behalf of Northland district councils, further identified that councils had open to them the option of precautionary controls (that allowed for individual determination of proposed GMO activities) as well as the option of a strongly precautionary stance that would prohibit use.

Soon after this opinion and the accompanying scoping report were received by Northland councils, they began hearing submissions with respect to the preparation of Long Term Council Community Plans (LTCCP). The LTCCP process brought forward strong evidence of community concern with respect to GMO activities. Submissions to the Northland Regional Council (NRC), WDC, and Far North District Council (FNDC) in particular evidenced large numbers of submitters (in relative terms) focusing on the GMO issue and these almost universally advocated a precautionary stance (as opposed to submissions supportive of GMO development).

The weight of such submissions led a number of councils to frame policy on GMOs and to form the Inter-Council Working Group on GMO Risk Evaluation and Management Options. NRC adopted the following stance as a part of the LTCCP process:

The Regional Council is a member of a Northland inter-council working group to discuss a common approach to the management of genetically modified organisms in Northland. Until this group has completed its work, the Council has decided to support a precautionary approach. This means that there should be no further development and field-testing of transgenic organisms envisaged for agriculture, horticulture, and forestry in Northland until the risk potential has been adequately identified and evaluated and a strict liability regime put in place.6

Whangarei District Council’s LTCCP identified a GM Free district as one of the five Community Outcomes sought.7 In the plan, the Council commits to a precautionary approach to GMO:

Council will adopt a precautionary approach to the management of biotechnology in general and to GMO land uses in particular. It will continue to investigate ways to maintain the district’s environment free of GMOs until outstanding issues such as liability, economic costs and benefits, environmental risks, and cultural effects are resolved.8

Kaipara District Council had adopted in June 2003 the following policy:


Whangarei District Council Long Term Council Community Plan, p. 8.

Ibid, p. 64. The LTCCP also notes that key projects include furthering discussions on Council options for regulating GMOs (p. 62).
“That Council adopt the direction of a precautionary approach and limit the release of genetically engineered organisms by District Plan Change, bylaw, requiring notification or a combination of these.”  

Its LTCCP process reaffirmed “support for a precautionary approach” as one of the “Community Outcomes” in the first schedule to the plan. A precautionary approach to GM was also identified as a method for delivering the vision of the future in which “Kaipara District is proud of and renowned for its beautiful environment and sound management of natural resources, where residents enjoy a clean, healthy environment.”

Rodney District Council to date has not adopted polices specific to GMO activities although it noted in a summary of the LTCCP consultation that “During the next two years the Council will formulate policy and plans on: … environmental health, such as genetic engineering, biosecurity and contaminated sites”. Rodney has however a GM related provision in its draft Trade Waste Bylaw 2004 which prohibits discharges involving GM material from facilities engaging in genetic modification and also declares itself “organics friendly”.

In the Far North, we understand 200 submissions were made to the District Plan, most of which requesting that the district become a GM Free zone. The Proposed District Plan is currently subject to an appeal where the remedy sought is that the plan be revised to include “Genetic Engineering as either a prohibited or a notifiable activity and address issues of trespass and liability.”

The Council reports that “genetic modification and the implications for the Far North also featured strongly in submissions received” on the first draft of the LTCCP. Of the 32 submissions to the district’s LTCCP that related to GM, 29 requested that no GMOs be released into the environment, that the district become a GM Free zone and/or that FNDC be part of a wider regional exclusion zone.

In 2001, Waitakere City Council passed a resolution declaring the district “GE Free in food and field”. The Council further resolved “to identify the most effective ways of advancing Council’s aspirations for Waitakere City to be “GE-Free”, without compromising medical research or currently permitted activities but discouraging in every way possible any form of field trials”. The resolutions followed a range of petitions and presentations to the Council requesting that the district remain GM Free.

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13 RMA 0691/03 MT Robinson v. FNDC: “Matters under appeal that affect more than one text provision”.
2. GMOs and Sources of Risk

2.1 GMOs and Scope of Benefits

Techniques for modifying genes (see box below) were first commercialised in the 1980s in medical applications. However, it was not until the mid 90s that applications involving the outdoor use of GMOs reached the market. To date, the commercialised applications are overwhelmingly directed at reducing plant harvest losses by modifying genes to combat pests and viruses. These so-called “first generation” applications are however very limited with respect to the range of crops provided for and their geographical spread. Four GM crops account for 99% of all plantings: soybean (46%), cotton (20%), canola/oilseed rape (11%), and maize (7%).

Similarly, four countries, the US, Argentina, Canada and China account for 99% of the area under GM cultivation globally.

While the main potential benefits available from these first generation crops are forms of farm productivity enhancement, the convenience of reduced levels of spraying in some cases, or fewer types of sprays, is often cited as a driver for their adoption.

<table>
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| Genetic modification (GM) refers to a set of techniques that alter genetic makeup by adding, deleting or moving genes (within or between species) to produce new and different organisms. Genetically modified organisms (GMOs) are products of genetic modification. Another term often used to refer to the same technique is genetic engineering (GE).

Genetic modification is quite different from the conventional breeding of plants – hybridisation. The techniques used by GM result in different end products and different risks, even if two plants of the same species are drawn on.

Biotechnology is the term used to describe a vast range of techniques that make use of biological processes developed over the centuries. Examples of biotechnology include penicillin and bacteria for cheese making. Gene technologies encompass a recent branch of biotechnology activities. This new set of applications draws upon recent discoveries in genetics and molecular biology to make a host of products, from bio-screens in sewage plants, through to genetic identification systems, and screening plants for commercially useful traits.

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17 MAF (May 2002) *Border Control for Genetically Modified (GM) Seeds*, Discussion Paper 31. The warrant for the Royal Commission defined GM as:
- the deletion, change or moving of genes within an organism, or
- the transfer of genes from one organism to another, or
- the modification of existing genes or the construction of new genes and their incorporation into any organism.” Royal Commission Report, p. 5.

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These ‘convenience’ effects can include reduced machine movements from fewer 
herbicide applications, greater flexibility in the timing of herbicide applications, and 
earlier adoption of no-till or conservation tillage.\(^{19}\)

Environmental benefits can also be obtained through reduced pesticide loadings, with 
GM cotton showing the strongest decreases\(^{20}\) through to GM soy that showed small 
increases in one study.\(^{21}\) However, it has also been reported that the migration of 
genes to weedy relatives results in additional and stronger pesticide use to tame plants 
acquiring pesticide resistance in this way\(^{22}\) and this was one of the issues the Royal 
Commission on Genetic Modification noted when recommending against the adoption 
of herbicide resistant crops until there was a better understanding of the 
environmental risks.\(^{23}\)

While some farms have achieved yield advantages, review studies completed to date 
show variability across different seed types (mostly small gains and smaller losses), 
geographic locations and farm size. Only GM cotton has shown significant yield 
gains. The Productivity Commission of Australia summarised its review of GM crop 
benefits with respect to food varieties as follows:

- increases in yields for insect-resistant corn average about 6 per cent, but no 
significant cost savings are reported;
- lower yields, averaging about 5 percent, and costs falling about 10 per cent, imply 
net gains of about 5 per cent for herbicide-tolerant soybeans; ... and
- small yield results for herbicide-tolerant canola, averaging only about 1 per cent, 
and little evidence of cost reductions.\(^{24}\)

The long view position on yield is perhaps best summarised by the US Department of 
Agriculture which concludes that “the application of biotechnology at present is most 
likely to reduce yield variability but not increase maximum yields. More fundamental 
scientific breakthroughs are necessary if yields are to increase.”\(^{25}\)

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23 “Having regard to the evidence on the use of herbicide resistance genes, including the 
resulting dependency on herbicides for weed control and the possibility of an increase in 
herbicide resistance in weed plants, we do not consider that these limited uses justify the 
environmental risk to New Zealand, until more is known about the size and management of 
that risk. We acknowledge production of pure unmodified seed might provide an economic 
opportunity. While this is a matter for ERMA the Commission considers crops using 
herbicide resistance genes should not be approved for release (conditionally or otherwise) 
until (a) it is clear there is no trend indicating either increased use or increased toxicity of 
herbicides, and (b) research indicates there is no increase in the weedy outcrossing involving 
The extensive effort underway globally to research GMOs for outdoor use is targeting a much broader range of desired effects. These future applications are generally quite a few years away from potential commercialisation as they have yet to be proven both scientifically and commercially – and most research projects do not get to market. Nevertheless, the scope of this work is an important consideration in examining options for community management of GMOs. The research programme includes:

- Improving yields by developing techniques to make a plant more resistant to climatic and other environmental conditions.
- Improving yields by learning how to improve rates of growth or product yield in plants and animals;
- Altering plants and animals to deliver to the consumer by way of foods improved amounts of a targeted substance (e.g., a mineral),
- Modifying plants and animals to act as an alternative means of producing substances (e.g., pharmaceuticals and plastics);

The above is a high level description of different forms of benefits that new GMOs under development could ultimately make available. Appendix 1 of this report examines particular prospects in detail and describes the objectives of their development.

The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment notes that GM is "just one field of knowledge creation amongst many that could advance the sustainability of food production systems". Sustainability with reference to agricultural production has been defined by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries as:

"the use of farming practices which maintain or improve the natural resource base of agriculture, and any parts of the environment influenced by agriculture. Sustainability also requires that agriculture is profitable; that the quality and safety of the food, fibre and other agricultural products are maintained; and that people and communities are able to provide for their social and cultural wellbeing".

As the types of benefits available from outdoor GMOs being researched are almost invariably available by alternative mechanisms, the relevant measure of the gains available from these new techniques will be any net benefit over alternative means available at the time an application for release is made. This would then be compared against the risks particular to the GM means of production to obtain an overall measure of benefits or disbenefits to society as a whole. Given that projected benefits for new GMOs are necessarily speculative, and the range of alternative means of production available in the future is similarly open to conjecture, meaningful evaluation of the net benefits of a particular new GMO will in general need to await the time an application for outdoor use is made.

While some risks are relatively well defined, others are similarly speculative. The potential risks of GMO use are however addressed in detail in this report as the nature of the benefits does not influence the design of mechanisms to manage GMOs to nearly the degree that the nature and extent of risk does and it is options for local

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management of GMOs that are the focus of our brief for the preparation of this document.

The following subsections first outline the types of GMOs that could potentially come before the Northland Peninsula Councils and then examine sources of risk – economic, environmental and cultural.

2.2 GMOs Potentially at Issue

Pastoral farming, horticulture and forestry constitute the predominant land uses in the Northland region and are major contributors to the local economy. This section reviews the types of GMO use that developers/adopters may wish to introduce to the districts of the Northland peninsula.

As noted in section 1.1, this report limits its consideration to the outdoor use of living GMOs and in particular field trials and releases. Genetically modified food crops, trees, animals, and pharma crops are expressly included. Research within contained laboratories involving GMOs, medical applications involving the manufacture and use of non-viable GM products, and food containing GM products that are not viable are excluded.

Some of the GMOs identified below have already been approved for commercial production in other jurisdictions (such as North America), and would require only approval by ERMA to enter the New Zealand market. Others are still in the developmental phase, and are undergoing field trials in New Zealand or abroad. Most of the GMOs in commercial production in other countries have been developed to target agronomic performance of the crops, and in particular, to provide alternative means of managing weeds and pests. Overall, there are a considerable number of GMOs that could feasibly be proposed for use within the districts, and for which a regulatory response would be required in light of current policy stances.

2.2.1 Livestock

Pastoral agriculture accounts for over half of land use in Northland, ranking the region as the country’s fourth largest dairy producer. Potential uses of live GMOs in pastoral farming include GM feed and pasture grasses and GM livestock.

Maize silage is a significant animal feed source. GM maize (including corn) is the second most widely cultivated GMO in countries that have adopted GM agriculture. The main traits that are commercially available are (1) herbicide resistance, (2) insect resistant, or (3) a combination of the two.

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28 Not all GM crops in R+D phase will make it to market; factors that will determine their commercialisation include scientific viability and market demand. With respect to the later, market resistance to GM varieties is already narrowing the range of GMOs that have received market approval. GM Wheat is nearing final R+D phases, yet consumer resistance in key wheat markets has led North American growers to oppose its market approval.


30 http://www.maf.govt.nz/mafnet/rural-nz/overview/nzoverview007.htm
GM clover and ryegrasses have been the subject of research by AgResearch, a Crown Research Institute (CRI). AgResearch’s experimental programmes include white clover engineered with a resistance to porina moth (now abandoned), and so-called high energy perennial ryegrass, that aim better conversion of energy. Across the Tasman, a GM white clover with built-in resistance to alfalfa mosaic virus has recently received a permit by the federal regulator to undergo field trials.

GM research to develop dairy cattle that express valuable proteins in their milk is being conducted by AgResearch and field-trialled at the Ruakura research station. Further CRI experimentation includes GM sheep with increased muscle growth to boost meat yield, and with potential medical applications have been hypothesized. Approval was granted to conduct field trials of the GM sheep in 2000, yet to date no trials have taken place.

2.2.2 Horticulture

Nearly all of the principal fruit and vegetable crops grown in the Northland peninsula - avocado, citrus, kiwifruit, squash – are the subject of GM research and development. Of these, virus resistant GM squash varieties have been commercialised and are being grown on a very limited commercial scale in North America.

GM tamarillo fruits developed by HortResearch (a CRI) to resist black spot virus have already been field-trialled in the Far North. These are one of a wide range of fruits that are currently the focus of GM experimentation, including apple, kiwifruit, cherry and walnut. With the exception of GM papaya grown in North America, none appear to have yet been commercially grown anywhere in the world.

GM varieties of vegetables that are not major crops in the Northland peninsula but which could be grown on a small scale in market gardens include GM potatoes, peas, brassica, all of which are in the research and development phase at CRIs.

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31 In New Zealand, GM pasture and forage grass R + D has been led by Crown Research Institutes, as the private sector have abandoned GM pasture grass projects.
33 In 2003, the research scientists reported that the GM dairy cows had up to 20% the levels of casein (beta-casein and kappa casein) in their milk. Nature Biotechnology, 21, 157 - 162 (2003) and in the New Scientist, “GM cows to please cheese-makers”, January 26 2003.
34 Details of the research are provided in ERMA Application GMF98009, http://www.ermanz.govt.nz/news-events/focus/gm-cattle-field.asp.
36 http://www.nrc.govt.nz/special/soe.2002/regional/profile/2-3-index.shtml. Kumara is an exception. It is understood that there is no GM experimentation on this crop.
2.2.3 Forestry

Plantation forestry accounts for 10% of Northland’s land and this is expected to increase significantly over the next twenty years. Forestry earnings for the Northland region are projected to rise from the current $71 million per annum to $381 million per annum.\(^{37}\)

Within that timeframe, a number of GM plantation varieties may be ready for market. This includes GM varieties of forest plantation species that are grown widely in Northland, such as *pinus radiata*. The Forest Research Institute (a CRI) is currently conducting field trials of GM pine and spruce trees in Rotorua. These varieties have been modified to be herbicide resistant.

Other current research in forest plantation species includes work on poplar and eucalyptus.\(^{38}\) Like GM food crops, the GM traits being introduced to tree varieties mostly target herbicide resistance. New traits currently being explored include hardiness to extreme environmental conditions (salt-tolerance and disease resistance) and GM properties that assist product processing (such as reduced lignin). It appears that GM commercial forestry varieties will not be marketed during the next decade, although pre-commercial trialling can be expected to increase over that time.

2.2.4 Aquaculture

Aquaculture currently earns the Northland region $20 million per annum. The industry’s contribution is projected to increase to $50 million per annum by 2008.\(^{39}\) For the time being, shellfish (dominated by Pacific Oyster) are the major focus of aquaculture. However, a report commissioned by Enterprise Northland identifies the potential for the industry to expand to include a much wider range of shell and finfish.\(^{40}\) While regulation of any marine farming is clearly a regional council responsibility, and freshwater farming would tend to similarly come under its ambit, to the extent that a wider Northland peninsula response to the outdoor use of GMOs is being sought, GM aquaculture is a relevant activity to consider.

A recent review conducted in the US has identified that GM research is being conducted internationally on at least 14 different finfish and shellfish species.\(^{41}\) This includes research on Atlantic salmon, rainbow trout, carp, goldfish, catfish, shellfish and prawn. The chief GM traits under trial include increased growth rates as well as temperature and disease resistance. In the US, regulators are now reviewing the first application for commercial breeding of a GM fish breed. Atlantic salmon have been

\(^{39}\) Enterprise Northland (2004) “Northland: State of the Economy, November 2004”. Note that Rodney District Council is investigating whether it should position to attract land-based aquaculture, with a view to becoming a preferred location.
\(^{40}\) NIWA (2003) *Assessment of the Potential for Aquaculture Development in Northland*.
engineered with the growth hormone from the Chinook salmon to increase growth rate and food conversion efficiency.\textsuperscript{42}

\subsection*{2.2.5 Biopharming}

In addition to those GMOs identified above, ‘new generations’ of GM applications will increase the range of potential GMOs that developers may wish to cultivate in the districts of the Northland peninsula. These include genetically modified organisms that produce pharmaceutical proteins (often termed pharma crops) and GMOs that provide the raw feedstock for industrial uses (such as biofuels and plastics).\textsuperscript{43} Cultivation of such GMOs would effectively introduce new land uses. An example of such an application in the outdoor developmental stage is corn that produces proteins for a vaccine to combat porcine transmissible gastroenteritis (in field trial phase in the US).

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{43} See NRC 2002.
2.3 Economic Risks

2.3.1 Trace Contamination

Those who make or use GMOs have the potential to generate economic risks that extend well beyond their own operations. While they are the only ones bearing losses arising from failure of the end product to sell or if it carries a defect, GMOs have a well demonstrated ability to cause economic harm far beyond the entities that undertake the original land use. Such impacts on third parties are termed “spillover” effects.44

A major source of risk in this regard is that cultivation of GM crops will cause economic damage through trace GM contamination appearing in non-GM crops. The Royal Commission on Genetic Modification recommended that Government “proceed with caution” on the basis that GM and non-GM crops could be successfully kept apart – and in this way “co-exist”. However, the Commission did not identify exactly how this would be achieved and methods for preventing GM crops from contaminating other like crops in conventional commercial production have yet to be demonstrated.

A series of more recent studies have revealed that harvesting, transport and processing pose much greater contamination problems than expected. Investigations by the European Commission resulted in the conclusion that even the ability to keep below a 1% level of contamination of other foods could not be assured in conventional production – a level that would trigger EU labeling requirements.45 The European Commission was advised by its Scientific Committee on Plants that “A zero level of adventitious presence is unobtainable in practice.”46

An inquiry by the Western Australian Parliament produced a similarly definitive conclusion and stated: “Contamination of non-GM crops by GM crops is inevitable, segregation is not practical and ... identity preservation can be achieved, but at significant cost.” 47

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44 Damage to human health is a further potential effect of contamination if the product is destined for human consumption. This is a particular concern with respect to biopharming – a class of GMO discussed in section 2.4.4. Damage to human health from intentional ingestion does not however form a part of this report as this is a separate activity to growing the GMO and can take place independent of any production in the district or region. The food product can be imported from overseas for example. General coverage of risks to human health from contamination is beyond the capacity of this report to examine and will need to be picked up in subsequent work if examination of this risk is considered necessary for policy formation and decision-making.

45 “Co-existence with thresholds in the region of 0.1% is virtually impossible in any of the scenarios considered.” A 1% level “might technically be possible but economically difficult because of the costs and complexities.” Scenarios for co-existence of genetically modified, conventional and organic crops in European agriculture, EC Joint Research Centre, May 2002, p. vi.

46 European Commission Scientific Committee on Plants, as reported by the Commissioner for Agriculture, March 2003.

Most recently, the Federal Drug Administration, which oversees GM plants approvals in the United States, signaled its concern that even experimental GM plants under field testing could cause contamination in non-GM commercial food crops. That is, the contamination could occur before the safety of the new GMO had been assessed. The FDA’s response suggests that, like the European Commission, it could not identify a workable mechanism for preventing such contamination. The new procedures make such contamination legal so long as the FDA has undertaken a form of prior provisional analysis and approval.  

How far GM contamination could be expected to spread under New Zealand conditions is one of the issues being studied under a government funded Crop and Food Institute project that has yet to report.

Given the high levels of consumer resistance to eating GM foods in Europe and the wealthier Asian nations in particular, trace contamination has become a significant issue. Resistance is demonstrated most clearly through examples of rejection by major buyers of product that is found to contain trace levels of GM contamination.

### 2.3.2 Patterns of Market Rejection

Market rejection due to concerns about trace GMO content can have many causes but three broad categories can be usefully defined with respect to crops:

- a) Contamination of a similar variety of crop that is non-GM
- b) Contamination of a different crop variety
- c) Perceived contamination of a non-GM crop

Before discussing each of these, it is worth noting that the instances cited draw from a narrow range of GM products and countries as the opportunities for extensive contamination are narrow. As discussed above, just four crops account for 99% of all GMOs under cultivation globally and four countries account for 99% of the area under GM cultivation globally. It is also important to note that a majority of current GM production is destined for animal feed and much of the remainder reaches the consumer only in the form of processed foods.

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48 “As the number and diversity of field tests for bioengineered plants increase, the likelihood that cross-pollination due to pollen drift from field tests to commercial fields and commingling of seeds produced during field tests with commercial seeds or grain may also increase. This could result in low-level presence in the food supply of material from new plant varieties that have not been evaluated through FDA’s voluntary consultation process …” “FDA Proposes Draft Guidance for Industry for New Plant Varieties Intended for Food Use”, FDA, November 19, 2004.

a) Contamination of a like variety of crop

This form of contamination can take place on many different levels. At its simplest example, it can be contamination of a single crop or a single company’s production. In New Zealand, the Gisborne-based company Sunrise Coast experienced this in August 2003 when corn it grew for processing into a product for the Japanese market was rejected. Routine testing by the Japanese pizza maker that was to purchase the product showed trace contamination of 0.05%. This resulted in rejection of the entire line and the company estimates its losses were close to $500,000.\(^{50}\) This incident is likely to have arisen from trace contamination of imported seed stock.

However, the spread of pollen is the principal cause of GM contamination in Canadian canola and this in turn has caused particular problems for all Canadian exporters of non-GM canola. The Canadian Department of Agriculture and Agri-Food stated in 2003 that: “The production of GE canola is currently adversely affecting the value of non-GE canola in some markets. The EU is effectively closed to all Canadian commodity canola” \(^{51}\) Since 1998, Canada’s annual sales of canola to Europe have dwindled to about $1.9 million a year from $230 million, the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade calculates.\(^{52}\)

US corn exports to Europe have similarly suffered. Although less than half the corn grown in the US is GM, US corn exports to Europe have plummeted to less than 5% of the previous level. The National Corn Growers Association, which represents the majority of US corn growers, estimated that loss of this market had cost around $1 billion in exports by 2001 (or some $300 million a year).\(^{53}\) This has been due to an absence of, or lack of confidence in, systems to segregate the GM and non-GM products.

A similar but much more widespread effect was expected to result for North American farmers if GM wheat had progressed to the point of commercial release. Proposals for this to be given approval in the US and Canada were resisted by a wide coalition of farming interests in Canada in particular after surveys of traditional export markets showed extraordinarily high levels of market resistance to not only the GM product, but to taking non-GM wheat from a country that grew GM wheat.\(^{54}\)

\(^{50}\) Personal communication with Sunrise Coast, November 2003.

\(^{51}\) Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada (March 5 2003) “Adapting to Emerging Concerns in the Introduction of Genetically Engineered Products”.

\(^{52}\) The canola experience has prompted other Canadian commodity/production sectors to block the introduction and cultivation of GM varieties. In 2000, GM flax was poised for commercial production. However, it was withdrawn from the market, after concerted pressure from the Canadian Flax Council. The council cited consumer resistance to GM foods in Europe, which accounts for 60% of all Canadian flax sales.


\(^{54}\) Survey by US Wheat Associates, as reported by Reuters: Asian opposition to biotech spring wheat steadfast, Wednesday October 9.
The scale of potential damages resulting from trace contamination can be very large. The most costly food product recall in US history resulted from a GM corn variety, StarLink, getting into non-GM corn intended for human consumption. This incident in 2000 was particularly expensive as StarLink corn was only approved as an animal feed, and was thus not a legal ingredient in human food supplies. While it was originally picked up as simply a contaminant in a brand of taco chip that was supposed to be free of GM material, the investigation spiraled into a product recall that has already cost biotech company Aventis hundreds of millions of US dollars.\(^{55}\) The exposure to such events is underlined by the fact that Starlink accounted for only 0.5% of US corn production at the time,\(^{56}\) and it was a $500 test by a third party in a finished product that triggered these claims.

\subsection*{b) Contamination of a different crop variety}

Cropping practices (rotation) or shared handling and processing facilities may establish the conditions for one type of crop to contaminate another (biologically unrelated) crop.

The Australian Wheat Board does not support the farming of GM canola in Australia on the grounds that at least 50% of its sales would be lost if GM content of any form and at any level was present in its shipments.\(^{57}\) It put forward this conclusion to the South Australian Parliament Select Committee on Genetically Modified Organisms after surveying its customers. The Australian Barley Board objected to GM canola being released on similar grounds.

The concern in both cases is that even though the canola would not cross-pollinate with either wheat or barley, the inability to reliably segregate the various grains through harvesting, transport, storage and shipment processes would result in contamination. Rank Hovis, the largest miller in the United Kingdom, “has repeatedly found evidence of genetically modified soybeans and corn particles mixed in with wheat supplies”\(^{58}\). Contamination through impure seedstock and pollination are thus just one part of the broader scope of pathways by which contamination can manifest.

\(^{58}\) Rank Hovis wheat director Peter Jones, to Carey Gillam, June 3, 2003.
c) Perceived contamination of a non-GM crop

Perceptions of contamination can be as damaging as contamination itself. This form of market rejection need not be based on doubt about the adequacy of segregation systems. It may be made by market gatekeepers (wholesale buyers) who simply perceive damage to a country image (Brand New Zealand), a regional brand (Naturally Northland), or a particular exporter’s brand. It may equally be as a result of end use consumers making such a judgement. This risk is much more difficult to quantify but the following describe the scope and seriousness with which this risk is viewed.

- The report of an inquiry by the Western Australian Parliament into potential GM crop production noted that: “The commercialisation of a single GM grain crop may tarnish WA’s overall reputation of being a ‘clean and green’ non-GM producer and thus have implications for the marketability of other WA agricultural products.”  

- The largest miller in Italy, Grand Molini, told US Wheat Associates: "The European milling industry will simply not buy one more kilo of any U.S. wheat at all if GM wheat is commercialised".  

- In New Zealand, Zespri chief executive Tim Goodacre told the company’s annual meeting in 2003 "We don't sell into a scientific market; we rely on the consumer perception which is totally different. In Europe [one of Zespri's key markets] the gap between science and consumer acceptance has widened because of the food scares with beef and chicken. This has made the consumer suspicious." Mr Goodacre also said "It puts pressure on when [GE] doesn't even apply to kiwifruit. We don't know what impact GE will have on sales, but do we have to go down that route?"  

- One of New Zealand’s largest food processors submitted to the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MAF): “The implications for any GM contamination, real or perceived, anywhere in our supply chain, or even just anywhere in NZ, are potentially damaging for all of our business, such is the level of sensitivity of many of our customers to this issue.”  

Market research undertaken for the New Zealand Government by the National Research Bureau attempted to measure the extent to which GM products could tarnish conventional foods merely by association and surveyed consumers in the UK, US and Australia. Asked whether they would buy New Zealand fruit and dairy products that were not themselves GM, between 20% and 30% said they would cease to purchase, irrespective of price, if New Zealand was at that

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60 Survey by US Wheat Associates, as reported by Reuters: Asian opposition to biotech spring wheat steadfast, Wednesday October 9.

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time growing related GM products.\textsuperscript{63} Even a 1% drop in food export earnings would incur losses of about $140 million a year. The same survey also produced the result that 47% of respondents would be “more inclined” to purchase New Zealand products if no GMOs were released in New Zealand compared to just 2% that would be “less inclined” to purchase.

Canada is a country with direct experience of negative impacts from GM agriculture. The Canadian Government has expressed strong concerns about the impact of GM production on export markets and damage to “Brand Canada”. While the commercial plantings of GM crops have not been as extensive as in the US, it has significant GM production. A declassified paper prepared in March 2003 by the Department of Agriculture and Agri-Food states:\textsuperscript{64}

Consumers are becoming more worried that they can't distinguish between GE and non-GE products.

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These concerns could precipitate a loss of confidence in the integrity of the Canadian food system, which could be very disruptive to the domestic system as well as Canada's ability to export to demanding markets.

Research and Marketing Manager for Research Solutions, Jonathan Dodd, extends this further and believes the effects in New Zealand’s case would move beyond the agriculture sector:

Most New Zealand exporters stand to be negatively affected if New Zealand becomes known as a GM-using country, and this includes many of New Zealand's fastest-growing 'glamour' brands such as Orca, Icebreaker, and Karen Walker, as well as established stalwarts such as Canterbury, MacPac, Air NZ and the All Blacks.

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If New Zealand becomes a recognized user of GM technology, then the brand equity of "New Zealand" will be degraded, creating problems of varying degrees for a wide variety of local brands and exporters.\textsuperscript{65}

Further survey work noted in the BERL report also indicated an impact on tourism. While opposition to GMOs was not as strong for tourism as for food products, 6% of those surveyed in the US, Australia and England indicated that they would not purchase travel to New Zealand at any price if New Zealand were to release GMOs, and 24% were less inclined to purchase.\textsuperscript{66}

\textsuperscript{64} Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada (March 5 2003) “Adapting to Emerging Concerns in the Introduction of Genetically Engineered Products”.
\textsuperscript{65} Jonathan Dodd, (October 2003) “GM allowance to hurt the 'New Zealand' brand?” National Business Review.
2.3.3 Option Foreclosure – Branding and Marketing

Another dimension of economic risk is opportunity costs that could result from GMO activities proceeding or not proceeding. The risks involved in GMO activities being deterred or prohibited are addressed separately in Sections 4.4 and 6.1 as this is linked to discussions on changes to district plans.

A key form of opportunity cost associated with GMO activities proceeding is the potential to inhibit branding and marketing options for the Northland peninsula. While the following explores this issue at the level of the district and Northland peninsula economy, these considerations similarly apply at the level of the individual firm.

Attributes that attest to the natural providence of food have been shown capable of generating price premiums of hundreds of percent. These are characteristics sought by affluent consumers who are wary from food contamination scandals, or seek out natural foods for lifestyle, health and other reasons. “GM Free” has demonstrated a capacity to act as one gateway to price premiums as well as expanded sales.

A regional branding strategy for food products, tucking in under Brand New Zealand, would be assisted by the area’s geography. The Northland Peninsula Councils cover virtually all the agricultural land north of the Auckland isthmus. With the city providing the southern boundary and the remaining area forming a peninsula into the sea, it is unusually well protected from inadvertent contamination through pollen drift. This would be of both a practical and symbolic benefit. It would also be less likely than other conjoined districts to provide pathways for trace contamination as harvesting and transport activities are more likely, in general, to be contained within the peninsula.

The idea that districts would be established as areas free of certain categories of GM organisms was supported by the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification. Recommendation 13.1 (which was not actioned by the Government) states:

That the methodology for implementing section 6(e) of the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act 1996 be made more specific to … allow for specified categories of genetically modified crops to be excluded from districts where their presence would be a significant threat to an established non-genetically modified crop use.

There are a number of precedents for areas seeking to brand separately on particular issues and also on their GMO status. In Europe, ten regions are jointly pressing for the right to set zones that exclude GMOs. Theses are Tuscany Aquitaine, Upper Austria, Basque Country, Limousin, Marche, Salzburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Thrace-Rodopi, and Wales. Brand image was clearly a major factor in the decisions of the Australian states that have legislated to effectively prohibit the commercial cultivation

68 See for example Northland’s branding initiative, led by Enterprise Northland: “Northland Naturally”, “rich in natural beauty and resource”. Marlborough, for example, identifies strongly with its winemaking industry.
69 On November 4 2003, they declared themselves 'the network of GMO free regions' under a document signed by the agriculture ministers of each region.
of GM foods for varying periods - Western Australia, New South Wales and Tasmania being the earliest.\textsuperscript{70}

Australia is a major New Zealand competitor in the global sale of agricultural products and it is very significant that at least five of its states (including South Australia and Victoria) have effectively prevented the growing of GM foods. This encompasses the bulk of the agriculturally productive land and has resulted in no commercial cultivation of GM foods having taken place in Australia to date. (The law under which these zones have been created is discussed in Appendix 2.)

Of particular interest to the Northland Peninsula Councils is the South Australian Government’s decision to legislate for a peninsula to be provided separate and stronger powers to exclude GM cultivation from an area in which quite strong restrictions already apply.

Eyre Peninsula must be provided the opportunity to establish the Peninsula as a GM crop free area for marketing purposes.

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Through the legislation and/or other mechanisms the South Australian Government should facilitate, assist and/or empower the communities of Kangaroo Island and the Eyre Peninsula to address the issues associated with establishment, implementation and management of GM crop free areas for marketing purposes, \ldots \textsuperscript{71}

The report of the South Australia Parliament further stated that:

The development of exclusion zones does provide a powerful tool in ensuring the compliance and the regional branding of those zones. This system would provide the greatest protection for the purchaser of the goods from the region. EP is an example of the possible region for an exclusion zone due to the geographical and isolated nature of the region and the existence of separate port facilities.\textsuperscript{72}

In other words, it was envisaged that there could well be marketing value in creating sub-zones of strict control, even in a state that had no history of GM production and was in the process of setting significant restraints on any future production.

The degree of benefit available from such a sub-zone are not available to study in this case as in April 2004, South Australia invoked Section 5 of the Genetically Modified Crops Management Act 2004 and designated the entire state as an area in which the cultivation of GM crops is prohibited. The current designation remains in force until April 2007.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{70} The analysis that led the states to legislate for state-wide GM Free food production is detailed in the Western Australian Parliamentary Select Committee Report, July 2003; Parliament of South Australia, House of Assembly Select Committee on Genetically Modified Organisms, Final Report, 17 July 2003; and the Parliament of Tasmania, Joint Select Committee Report on Gene Technology, 2001.

\textsuperscript{71} Parliament of South Australia, House of Assembly Select Committee on Genetically Modified Organisms (2003) \textit{Final Report} p. 11.

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid, p. 54.

While the concept is relatively new, the notion of developing such sub-zones has gained extensive global appeal with a recent conference stating that “over 100 regional and 3,500 sub-regional areas now declare themselves GMO-free”.  

2.4 Environmental Risks

Some GMOs have been developed to improve crop management, and indirect environmental gains are claimed to result from the improved agronomic performance. GMOs subject to these claims include herbicide and pest resistant plants. Other GMOs are being developed to benefit the environment directly; however many of these are still at an early stage and their ability to deliver the projected benefits is yet to be rigorously documented. In the following subsections, the state of knowledge of the environmental effects of GMOs is outlined, and some of potentially ecological effects associated with GMOs identified.

2.4.1 Research to Date

Research into the potential and actual ecological effects of GMOs has to date been limited. This is due to:

(1) the relative newness of the technology (wide-scale GM plantings began in 1996);
(2) the limited range of GMOs that have gained commercial approval; and
(3) less emphasis on research and monitoring than could have been expected thus far.

The following summaries the current state of knowledge of the ecological effects of GMOs.

- Although GMOs have been grown extensively in the US, Canada and Argentina over the last decade, many of the ecological questions that have been raised about their ecological impact have yet to be researched in the field. The ability to draw conclusions about the effects of these crops on ecosystems (managed and wild) has therefore been limited, and is further hampered by a lack of baseline data that would enable monitoring for the ecological effects of GMOs.

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75 These issues are not the focus of this section. Potential benefits of GMOs are however discussed in sections 2.1 and Appendix 1.
76 Ecological Society of America, p. 6: “Because the commercialisation of GMOs is relatively recent and is limited to only a few types of crops, many of the ecological questions we raise have yet to be examined empirically”. The US National Research Council also concludes that there is inadequate baseline monitoring of agricultural and natural ecosystems to allow for the potential impacts of commercialised GM crops to be assessed. Environmental Effects of Transgenic Plants. The Scope and Adequacy of Regulation, p. 218.
77 An expert panel convened by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation notes: “Monitoring the long-term environmental impacts of GM crops, and adopting best agriculture practices are useful strategies to avert undesirable situations. However, the baseline data required for the purpose of monitoring is not yet available for the GM crops under cultivation.” Report of the Expert Consultation on Environmental Effects of Genetically Modified Crops, 16-18 June 2003, Rome, Italy, p. 4.
• The experimental phase of GM crop development – small scale trialling - is generally considered inadequate to identify the range and severity of potential environmental effects. In particular, field trials may not be able to detect small but important effects. These may only be discovered through large scale release. At this scale, however, irreversibility becomes a feature as containing GMOs becomes more difficult or impossible, and containment costs are likely to be high. As Wolfenbarger and Phifer note in a review of the state of knowledge of environmental effects:

Because some consequences, such as the probability of gene flow, are a function of the spatial scale of the introduction, limited field experiments do not always sufficiently mimic future reality prior to widespread planting. Ecological relationships include many cascading and higher order interactions that are intrinsically difficult to test and evaluate for significance at limited temporal and spatial scales. At larger spatial scales, there is greater possibility for contact with sensitive species or habitats or for landscape-level changes because at larger scales more ecosystems could be altered.

• The long-term effects of GMOs on an evolutionary scale remain an outstanding area of research. In particular, the ecological effects of GMOs in non-agricultural habitats and ecosystems remain largely unstudied.

• Some research has been conducted on the potential benefits of GMOs – such as a reduction in the use of pesticides and herbicides – yet these studies have tended to focus on a single measure (such as reduced pesticide or herbicide use), and thus provide only a partial view of the potential range of environmental impacts.

In reviewing the US regulatory system of GM crops, the US National Research Council concluded that there is insufficient detail provided by Government agencies to allow an independent assessment of the environmental impact of transgenic plants. US National Research Council (2002) Environmental Effects of Transgenic Plants. The Scope and Adequacy of Regulation, p. 201.

The Royal Society of Canada Expert Panel on the Future of Food Biotechnology notes in its extensive 2001 review, Elements of Precaution. Recommendations for the Regulation of Food Biotechnology in Canada, that “data from small field trials may not always provide a realistic picture of the situation that prevails under full commercial production” (p. 145, and p. 125). UN FAO Expert Panel, p. 4 and 7.

The US National Research Council advocates post-commercialisation monitoring, but notes that even here, “monitoring may detect some unexpected effects so that action may be taken to prevent or ameliorate those effects, in other cases monitoring may detect those effects so late that environmental damage may be irreversible (e.g., extinction).” Environmental Effects of Transgenic Plants. The Scope and Adequacy of Regulation, p. 216.


Wolfenbarger and Phifer conclude that the “ecological consequences in non-agricultural habitats and ecosystems largely remain unstudied”, p. 2088.

Ecological Society of America, Public Affairs Office (November 2003) “Genetically Engineered organisms and the environment: Current status and recommendations”, p. 21. The Ecological Society of America is a nationwide association of 9,000 scientists involved in ecological research and teaching. The ESA evaluation of knowledge and knowledge gaps regarding the ecological effects of GM releases was conducted by an expert panel and adopted by the governing board in 2004.
2.4.2 Potential Adverse Ecological Effects

The following provides general descriptions of the types of potential effects that can result from GMO release. It is important to note that each GMO will have a specific risk profile: the potential negative effects listed below will have varying probabilities and the consequences may vary in magnitude dependent on the organism, the GM trait and the receiving environment. Further, not all of the effects have been documented in the field as many of the GMOs identified have not yet reached commercial release. Given the limits of current research and understanding, the absence of field documentation of these effects may not be due to a demonstrated absence of harm, but may instead be due to a lack of research thus far.  

Unintended effects and predictability

The process of genetic modification may result in unintended effects, ones that may only manifest later, triggered by different environmental conditions. A key source of unintended effects arises from the location of the introduced gene construct (the assemblage of genes and markers that carries the desired trait, such as herbicide or pest resistance). The location of genes determines their function. Thus far, techniques for introducing the gene construct do not allow for site-specific insertion, only at random locations in the DNA sequence of the receiving organism. As noted by the Ecological Society of America, this randomness may lead to 'position effects': genes expressing unexpected effects due to their location:

A major cause of unintended phenotypes, known as position effects, stems from the fact that transgenes are inserted into haphazard chromosomal locations, often at multiple sites in the genome. The specific locations of transgenic insertions can influence the level and consistency of gene expression, and the magnitude of these position effects can range from minor to lethal. 

A further cause of unintended effects arises from the unforeseen interaction of the introduced gene construct with genes in the host organism. Obvious abnormalities that occur during the GM process will be weeded out during development, but others may remain undetected. Unintended effects arising from random insertion will persist as a risk until techniques that allow for site-specific insertion are available.

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84 The Royal Society of Canada is careful to distinguish absence of harm from absence of evidence: "[…] the claim that "there are no known adverse health or environmental effects" associated with a particular technology can mean very different things. It can mean that rigorous and intensive scientific investigation of the potential harms that might be induced by the technology has failed to show any of those harms (and, in the best case, provided a reliable explanation why the harmful effects do not or will not occur). At the other extreme, this claim might mean simply that no studies to determine if the harmful effects occur have been carried out, in which case the claim is simply an admission of ignorance. In the first instance the claim would be “evidence of absence” (of risk); in the later instance it would be simply a veiled admission of the “absence of any evidence” relevant to the question.” Elements of Precaution. Recommendations for the Regulation of Food Biotechnology in Canada, p. 198.

85 ESA, p. 9.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid, p. 9.
**Non-target effects**

Effects on organisms (plant, animal or microbial) that are not the target of the GM trait are known as 'non-target effects'. Such effects may be *direct*, harming or killing organisms that feed on the GMO, or *indirect*, causing disturbances that cascade through the food web, affecting organisms that are not directly exposed to the GMO. Examples of non-target effects include detrimental effects of GM pest-resistance on beneficial insects in addition to the pests that the GM trait seeks to control.\(^8\)

The insecticide most widely incorporated into GM plants thus far employs a soil microorganism, *Bacillus thuringiensis* or "Bt". In the US, where Bt-pest resistant plants are most widely grown, studies required by the regulatory bodies are short-term tests that focus on a standard group of soil organisms and beneficial insects. Most of the tests conducted are considered to be too small for meaningful statistical analysis.\(^8\)

In the UK, farm-scale evaluations (FSEs) of GM herbicide resistant crops were conducted over a three year period to assess whether GM herbicide resistant crops were more or less harmful to on-farm biodiversity than their conventional counterparts.\(^9\) It was reported that two out of three GM crops – beet and spring-sown oilseed rape – were more detrimental to wildlife than conventional varieties:

> There were more insects, such as butterflies and bees, in and around the conventional crops because there were more weeds to provide food and cover. There were also more weed seeds in conventional beet and spring rape crops than in their GM counterparts. Such seeds are important in the diets of some animals, particularly some birds.\(^9\)

Initially, the results relating to the third GM crop under evaluation – GM forage maize – indicated that the GM maize was less harmful to wildlife than conventional maize.\(^9\) However, a subsequent review of the trials by a Parliamentary audit committee deemed the GM maize trials irrelevant as the conventional maize benchmark was dosed largely by a broad spectrum herbicide (Atrazine) that is to be phased out in the EU by April 2005 due to concerns about its effects on biodiversity.

When the results of this work were reviewed by a UK Parliamentary select committee, it also drew attention to the basis on which the study was conducted:

> 24. While we applaud the steps that Government has taken to assess biodiversity in a rational way before permitting an agricultural innovation in the form of GM, we believe that even if some GM crops with some associated herbicide regimes are

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\(^8\) Ecological Society of America, (November 2004), *Genetically Engineered Organisms and the Environment: Current Status and Recommendations*.

\(^9\) ESA, p. 18.

\(^9\) The Farmscale Evaluations were set up by the UK Government to examine the effects of GM herbicide resistant crops on biodiversity at farm scale levels of cultivation. In effect, the trials investigated the *herbicide management regimes* of GM crops (beet, maize and oilseed rape) against herbicide practices for growing conventionally bred varieties of the same crops. Theoretically, it is possible that developing different herbicide regimes to accompany the GM beet and oilseed rape might reduce the effects that these crops and their herbicide management regimes had on farmland wildlife.


\(^9\) Ibid, p. 2.
eventually shown to be less harmful to biodiversity than their conventional counterparts, the Government and its advisory bodies are still guilty of setting too low the level of harm.

…

26. The scope of the trials was very narrow and the results cannot be regarded as adequate grounds for a decision to be taken in favour of commercialisation.

Among the ecological communities that may be inadvertently negatively affected by GMOs are soil microorganisms. To date, little research has been done on the effects of GMOs on soil biota to support risk assessment, although New Zealand scientists state that research in the laboratory and in small-scale trials has identified “some statistically significant changes in the structure and function of indigenous soil biota”, and that these results are “somewhat unexpected, given that research into this area has only recently begun.”

2.4.3 Weediness and Invasiveness

New Zealand agricultural production relies heavily on exotic species. At the same time, many exotic species introduced for agricultural purposes have devastated native ecosystems and are now a serious and ongoing expense to the economy. They are cautionary tales on the difficulty of identifying in advance species that might become invasive. Every year, around two more exotic species become weeds. The warm moist Northland environment is an ideal climate for many weed species which grow more vigorously there than in other parts of the country.

A central ecological issue arising from GM release is the potential for GMOs to spread beyond the site of intended release. GM plants, may migrate by:

- Shift of seed beyond the site of release (dispersal by wind, animals, humans or events such as floods); or
- Hybridisation with relatives of the GM plant (through pollination) or asexual means (such as horizontal gene transfer), allowing the GM trait to move beyond the original host plant.

Predicting which organisms or traits have the potential for invasiveness is not straightforward. The potential for invasiveness is understood to depend on a number of factors, including:

- the presence of wild relatives to the GMO;
- the ability of the GMO to outcross with wild relatives or to direct seed;
- the fitness advantage that the GM trait confers on the GMO or wild relatives.

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96 Ibid. p. 56.
97 The most basic definition of a weed is a plant or its parts in a site where it is not wanted.
Some GM traits – such as pest resistance – may confer an immediate advantage on GM plants; other traits such as herbicide resistance will not confer an immediate advantage unless they migrate to areas managed by herbicides. Of the two main GM traits currently under commercial cultivation, herbicide resistance has been a key focus of the debate on the potential weediness of GM plants to date. An FAO expert panel concluded that "there is incomplete scientific research or data-analysis on emergence of resistance, genetic makeup of resistant weeds, and weed shifts from GM crops. More targeted research [is] needed." 99

However, outcrossing (the emergence of herbicide resistant populations through spontaneous hybridisation of GM plants with cultivated or wild relatives) has been documented in Canada. Oilseed rape plants with resistance to three different herbicides were traced, and appear to have resulted from, the hybridising of three rape varieties planted near one another. To eradicate unwanted plants that have developed herbicide resistance, farmers may be forced to use alternative and often stronger herbicides.101

The outcrossing of GM crops with wild relatives (via pollen) has tended to dominate the scientific and policy debate. However, direct seeding of GMOs or their dispersal by humans (for example, in transporting seed stocks) may in some cases be more significant pathways to the emergence of weed populations. Direct seeding can occur within the field, with GM herbicide resistant plants appearing in subsequent seasons (such plants are also known as ‘volunteers’). In the case of herbicide resistant crops, this can lead to crop management problems, particularly if GM crops with resistance to the same herbicide are used in rotation, or if non-GM crops are grown in rotation.102 Crops such as oilseed rape are high seed producers, and seeds can remain viable in the soil for many years.

**Containing GMOs**

One strategy that is being considered to reduce the potential for weediness or invasiveness of GMOs involves genetic modification to introduce biological barriers to the spread of GM material. This is known as a biological confinement and compromises three approaches to confining GMOs: reducing the spread or persistence of GMOs, reducing the unintended flow from GMOs to related organisms, and limiting the expression of GM traits. In a 2004 review of biological confinement strategies for GMOs, the National Research Council notes that bioconfinement “is

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98 The spread of herbicide resistant plants into conservation areas could undermine weed management strategies, however. Roundup, one the herbicides most widely provided for in GM herbicide resistant crops, is the Department of Conservation's preferred herbicide. The presence of RoundUp resistant weeds in the conservation estate could compromise the use of this tool, and require the Department to employ more toxic herbicides to control weed populations.


100 Ibid.


still largely in the conceptual and experimental stages of development”. No single strategy is likely to be 100% effective, and mitigation (detection of non-sterile GM fish or insects and their retrieval) may not be feasible in all cases. This is a particularly significant concern where the release of large numbers of GMOs and/or over large areas is concerned.

The Royal Commission was supportive of GM sterility techniques as a form of bioconfinement and recommended that they be ‘one tool in the strategy to preserve opportunities, especially in the case of those genetically modified crops most likely to cross-pollinate with non-genetically modified crops in the New Zealand context (eg, brassicas, ryegrass, ornamentals).’

The Commission’s approval appears to have been based on their potential contribution, as the efficacy and commercial viability of new approaches to biological containment – particularly those that involve GM – has yet to be demonstrated. With respect to biological confinement methods for plants, the US National Research Council concludes that “although the efficacy of some is known, most are untested.” An outstanding area of fundamental knowledge is the potential of GM sterility mechanisms to have harmful effects on biodiversity.

**Horizontal gene transfer**

A further pathway through which genes may flow from one organism to another is horizontal gene transfer (HGT). This is the asexual transfer of genetic material between organisms. It is not limited to reproductively compatible species, and allows for transfers across taxonomic kingdoms. It is most widely documented between microorganisms, but is also documented between other kingdoms. Some of the scientific debate about the extent of the risk that HGT poses with respect to GMOs has focussed on the frequency and therefore the probability of serious harm occurring from this natural process. It is often claimed that HGT occurs at very low frequencies. Heinemann and Traavik note, however, that the rapid development in disease bacteria of resistance to since antibiotics were first used 50 years ago demonstrates that HGT does occur in frequencies high enough to create threats to human health and the environment. Indeed, they argue that the global spread of antibiotic resistance can be almost wholly explained by HGT. In a condensed version of the above paper, they state: ‘The question of gene transfer is not ‘will it happen’

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104 Royal Commission report, recommendation 13.4.
106 A further consideration for confinement systems, beyond their efficacy and environmental safety, is whether biologically confining GMOs will reduce or eliminate buyer concerns about the potential for GM contamination of New Zealand food products.
but ‘when and where will it happen’?"  

The current low levels of understanding about HGT are in part due to the limitations in techniques available to detect and monitor its occurrence. The same authors note that existing research data do not justify confidence in the statements that HGT happens at very low frequencies. Instead, they argue that it is likely to go undetected as most HGT events are not likely to "immediately change the characteristics of the recipient organism".  

A recent US review of the scientific and regulatory issues associated with GM insects notes that for GM insects that are required establish in an ecosystem to perform their intended function (such as biocontrol), scientists may use GM techniques that can heighten the chances of HGT.  

A particular area of interest in New Zealand is HGT in the soil. Little research has been done internationally on soil ecosystems and the Royal Commission noted the absence of research and understanding of the implications of GMO release for New Zealand soil ecosystems. It stated that “there is a need for research specific to the New Zealand environment”. Research into HGT in currently the subject of a research programme by Environmental Services Research, which notes that:

“It will be very difficult for regulators to develop a risk framework that takes account of HGT without data applicable to New Zealand conditions.”

2.4.4 Future GMOs: new challenges to ecological risk assessment

It is difficult to identify in advance the precise nature of ecological risks that new generations of GMOs pose. There is a developing view, however, that new generations will increase the levels of unpredictability associated with current GMOs. This is because they will differ so markedly from the properties of known crops that form the baseline for current risk assessment.

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111 One of the techniques that could be adopted involves the use of transposons, “pieces of DNA that have the ability to move from location to location within a genome and can carry other DNA with them.” The report notes that as a result: “Researchers know that transposons sometimes escape their hosts and move to new ones. If this happened with a GM insect, it could, in theory, transfer DNA from a GM insect to a non-GM organism which may or may not be related to the GM insect. In turn, if the transferred DNA functioned in the receiving organism, problems might occur. For example, if a GM insect designed with pesticide resistance genes passed those genes to a pest insect, the pest insect could become more difficult to control.” Pew Initiative on Food and Biotechnology (2004) Bugs in the System? Issues in the Science and Regulation of Genetically Modified Insects, Report Overview, p. 5.
112 Royal Commission Report, p. 133.
113 Horizontal Gene Transfer in the NZ Environment, Abstract for FRST programme C03X0202, 1 October 2002.
Such GMOs include those that incorporate more than one GM trait, are designed to produce pharmaceutical proteins (biopharma crops and animals) or to provide industrial feedstock (see Appendix 1 for further discussion of these applications). Risk assessment - which assumes that "all possible outcomes are known in advance and ... their relative likelihood can be adequately expressed as probabilities"\(^{115}\) - will not be possible for some new GMOs as they constitute truly novel organisms for which existing plants, animals and microorganisms provide little comparison. The US National Research Council notes:

> Our experience with the few herbicide-tolerant and insect- and disease-resistant varieties that have been commercialised to date provides a very limited basis for predicting questions that need to be asked when future plants with very different phenotypic traits are assessed for environmental risks.\(^{116}\)

Thus far, food crops such as corn and soy are those predominantly being used as the host for the production of pharmaceutical proteins. This has led the US food industry to advocate use of non-food crops, and for strict containment measures, which could reduce the potential for contamination of the human food chain. However, a shift to non-food crops would not address the broader ecological risks associated with broadcasting pharmaceutical proteins in ecosystems. As the NRC warns:

> “The introduction of such transgenes poses the potential for environmentally associated risks of a wholly different order than those associated with existing transgenic crops. If such a transgene moves into a wild relative, there could be widespread environmental dissemination of the pharmaceutical substance or other non-food substances that could have impacts on wildlife as well as microbial populations.”\(^{117}\)

### 2.5 Cultural Risks

When the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification considered cultural aspects, it defined culture as the framework of values, beliefs and practices within which a community of individuals operates.\(^{118}\) Cultural beliefs and attitudes are informed by and defined through knowledge systems (sciences, including ecology, agriculture and medicine, and technologies), spiritual beliefs and relationships (rights and responsibilities) to other human beings and cultures, and to the non-human world.

To that extent, the potential range of cultural impacts (whether positive or negative) arising from the outdoor use of GMOs encompasses a wide terrain, including environmental and public health, ethics and social justice and they may be far-reaching in their effects on a community, its practices, future opportunities and relationship with the world, human and non-human.

\(^{115}\) Paul Harremoes et al (eds) *The Precautionary Principle in the 20th Century. Late Lessons from Early Warnings*, p. 188.


\(^{117}\) Ibid, p. 246.

\(^{118}\) Royal Commission Report, Appendix 2, p. 263.
In New Zealand, the cultural effects that may follow from the outdoor use of GMOs have been most clearly and consistently addressed by Maori.\(^{119}\) This section provides an overview of the cultural effects identified by tangata whenua, in line with our brief for this work. Maori consider these to be predominantly negative in impact and wide-ranging. They include concerns about preserving the integrity of nature, the ecological effects of release of GMOs, and which parts of the community stand to the benefit from the technology.\(^{120}\) An application of GM that constitutes a possible exception to the largely negative appraisal of GM is the use of the technology for medicinal purposes. It should be noted that this more receptive attitude to GM medical applications is cautious, and does not extend to all GM projects.\(^{121}\)

A view widely held by Maori is that transgenics – the breaking down of species barriers and the mixing of genes from unrelated species – is a breach of the integrity of species and an offence to whakapapa. Reporting on the 11 hui held as part of the Royal Commission process, the Commission noted: “Upsetting whakapapa, mana, mauri and wairua by the mixing of genes between humans and other species was roundly condemned at every hui.”\(^{122}\)

This concern was also widely expressed in a survey of South Island Maori: “Many expressed an opinion that these new technologies (especially GMO’s) somehow transgress tikanga, and break the unwritten rules that govern relationships between things.”\(^{123}\)

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\(^{119}\) Other communities that have identified implications for their cultures include the Jewish Community (see the Royal Commission Report, p. 22 ff). Similarly, concerns expressed by Pakeha New Zealanders about the attitudes to nature perceived to drive GM (such as ‘playing God’) as well as negative effects on animal welfare can be understood as cultural concerns. They describe a concern that the technology (or some of its applications) establishes or reinforces inappropriate relationships between humans and the non-human world. Gene technologies themselves arise from a particular tradition of science, itself predominantly rooted in the Western European cultural perspective(s), rather than evolving independent of cultural beliefs and attendant relationships.

\(^{120}\) While there is no single Maori view on GM, just as there is no single pakeha view on the technology, the cultural concerns indicated below are consistently expressed by the majority of Maori in hui, surveys and in Maori institutional policy on GM. The Federation of Maori Authorities for example does not oppose GM per se, but contends that state of knowledge about GMOs requires a very cautious approach to their development and use. FOMA does not support the transfer of human genes into animals (or vice versa), except in exceptional circumstances (FOMA Submission to the Royal Commission, October 2000). A recent survey of the views of South Island Maori illustrates high levels of shared concern amongst Maori respondents regarding potential negative effects of GMOs on public health and the environment, and its potential negative effects on whakapapa, wairua and mauri.


\(^{122}\) Royal Commission Report, Appendix 3, p. 153. A national hui held by the Bioethics Council more recently reported a similarly strong level of concern about the breach of whakapapa: “A strong concern surrounded the potential impact of gene technology on whakapapa and human relationships if genes from other organisms are transferred into humans. Other concerns arose from a Maori worldview where all living things are seen as related and balanced. Some saw GM technology as creating the potential for imbalance. Participants felt that uncertainty of what the implications could be for future generations may outweigh the benefits to this generation”. Kawau Ltd, *The Transfer of Human Genes into other Organisms: A dialogue with Maori*, p. 7.

A potential consequence identified from the breach of whakapapa is harm to the environment or community health:

Almost every person expressed concerns about the potential for negative effects on humans and the environment especially in the longer term. GMOs were perceived as pollutants which if ingested or released would ‘contaminate’ people or the environment in some way.\(^\text{124}\)

*Kaitiakitanga* entails a set of responsibilities on tangata whenua to guard and protect the integrity of whakapapa of indigenous biodiversity, and to regulate the use of these natural resources.\(^\text{125}\) The outdoor use of GMOs may therefore result in local iwi feeling they have failed to fulfill their duties as kaitiaki. This is particularly the case with respect to potential effects on indigenous biodiversity. This concern forms a central plank of the Waitangi Tribunal claim that was filed in 1991 by three iwi in Te Tai Tokerau (Ngati Wai, Ngati Kuri and Te Rarawa, along with Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Porou and Ngati Koata). As the Wai 262 claimants explained to the Royal Commission:

as native flora and fauna are taonga, and each have their own whakapapa related to the whakapapa of all other living organisms, the process of tampering with whakapapa is inherently contrary to tikanga Maori and the Maori worldview. The consequences are great not only for the organisms themselves, who all have a *mauri* but for Maori, who by virtue of the role as tangata whenua and whakapapa links, are *kaitiaki* of those mauri.\(^\text{126}\)

In this regard, the agreement between the Crown and Maori established in the Treaty of Waitangi is seen as relevant to decisions about the outdoor use of GMOs and their potential effects on indigenous biodiversity, as outlined in the above Wai 262 claim. The Maori Congress further comments that: “The management of these taonga ought to be exercised by Maori according to specific cultural preferences. There is a Crown duty of active protection to the fullest extent practicable of Maori interests.”\(^\text{127}\)

Science-based risk assessments are not considered to provide for the rights and responsibilities of Maori. Instead, as outlined by South Island Maori participants in a recent survey of their perceptions of biotechnology, there is a “need for a proposed cultural risk assessment framework that was grounded in culturally appropriate tikanga, including spiritual beliefs and values as well as actual practices. A purely scientific risk/benefit framework is not sufficient for Maori.”\(^\text{128}\) The Maori Congress have also called for a Tikanga Maori Framework of Protection as a necessary element for providing for and protecting the interests of the Maori community.\(^\text{129}\)

Greater involvement by Maori in decisions about the use of GMOs is a clearly expressed priority in most consultation processes conducted thus far. By way of

\(^{124}\) Ibid.

\(^{125}\) Maori Congress (2000) Submission to the Royal Commission.


example, Maori participating in a consultation by the Bioethics Council with respect to the use of human genes in other organisms repeatedly stressed the greater role for community participation in decision making where GM technology has the potential to impact on the local community. This was considered a necessary component of an approach that would give cultural concerns greater weight in decisions:

Participants expressed a need to include local communities in decision making, reflecting a belief that key decisions on investment and research are being made in isolation from both the wider New Zealand community and from local communities in particular.

[...]

[It was] the view of most participants that decisions on development and implementation of GM technology should be based in the community rather than driven solely by government.

[...] Participants noted that community participation in ongoing dialogue and consultation on genetic modification will suffer if policies and legislation do not reflect community views and aspirations.130

Maori make up a considerably greater share of the population of Northland than is represented nationally. In the Far North District for example, the 2001 census recorded 47% of population as Maori and is predicted to exceed 50% by 2006.

Local iwi have been very active participants in the process of developing the GMO policies of Northland district councils and their stances generally reflect the concerns voiced at the national level. The Ngatiwai Trust Board for example supports adoption of a precautionary approach and locally determined controls on GMOs that take full account of Tikanga Maori based values:

Formulation of a policy on genetic engineering which commits supporting a precautionary approach towards GE.131

Genetic engineering is abhorrent to the values of Tangata Whenua and the risks associated with experimentation in the District are unacceptable. Choices are able to be made irrespective of the legislation [HSNO Act] as to how the WDC should regulate genetic engineering consequences within its jurisdiction. Tikanga Maori based values should play a significant part in determining planning responses.132

The relief sought by the Trust Board was that genetic engineering activities be prohibited throughout the district. Ngatiwai is also one of three iwi parties to an appeal which aims to secure local controls on GMO activities through amendment to the Far North District Plan, as described in Section 1.2.

130 Ibid, pp. 7-9. Also see Mere Roberts and John R Fairweather (2004) South Island Maori Perceptions of Biotechnology, p. 71. The 2003 Amendment Act to HSNO instated the existing Maori advisory committee to ERMA, Ngā Kahautū Tikanga Taiāo as a statutory body (Part 4A). The advice that Ngā Kahautū is not, however, binding on ERMA decision-making.
131 Ngatiwai Trust Board submission to the Whanagrei District Council’s LTCCP 2004 -2014.
132 Ngatiwai Trust Board submission to the Proposed Whangarei District Plan
3. **Deficiencies in National Assessment Framework**

The previous section identified a series of significant risks and potential concerns attendant to GMO release. Local government has overarching responsibilities that are relevant to any proposed outdoor release of GM organisms. These derive principally from the “Local Government Act 2002” (LGA) and RMA.

The LGA provides for local authorities “to promote the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of communities, in the present and for the future” (S10(b)). It also provides (in Section 14), “principles relating to local authorities”. These principles provide for a sustainable development approach to be taken by councils in performing their roles. This links with requirements for sustainable management under section 5(2) the RMA which relates more specifically to land uses such as the field trialling and release of GM organisms.

The relevant responsibilities of local government are outlined in detail in sections 3.1 to 3.3 of a recent opinion by Dr Royden Somerville. The focus of this section is an examination of the extent to which the national level regulation under HSNO covers matters of importance to local government.

### 3.1 Liability and Compensation

#### 3.1.1 Principles

GMOs for outdoor use are generally commercial ventures with the objective of finding new means to improve agricultural productivity. Thus, rather than new products, the goal is typically new ways of producing an existing food, fibre or protein.

Claims for damages resulting from use of GMOs form part of the full cost of selecting that technology to meet a particular objective. If those costs were to fall on third parties, this would not only be unfair, it would provide an undue incentive – a subsidy - for uptake as the full costs would not be carried by the developer or user. In order

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133 In this Act, “sustainable management” means managing the use, development, and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic, and cultural wellbeing and for their health and safety while –

(a) Sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources (excluding minerals) to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and

(b) Safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil, and ecosystems; and

(c) Avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment.


135 “Ensuring that prices reflect full environmental costs is essential if resource users are to factor in the full social costs of their resource use and consumption decisions. The reliance on market mechanisms is not likely otherwise to be adequate to manage the environment”. OECD Country Report on New Zealand, (1996), conclusions and recommendations, p.4.

that costs do not lie where they fall, clear law is required to allocate risk for liability and to provide for compensation. This is also required to provide for prudential management of a council’s financial position.

In August 2002, the Government recommitted to the following principles first adopted when New Zealand became a signatory to the Rio Declaration in 1992:

“13. States shall develop national laws regarding liability and compensation for the victims of pollution and other environmental damage. …”

“16. National authorities should endeavor to promote the internalisation of environmental cost and the use of economic instruments, taking into account the approach that the polluter should, in principle, bear the cost of pollution …” ¹³⁷

In other words, the polluter should pay, and be compelled to do so through effective liability laws. This however is not the case for activities regulated under HSNO.

Those who make or use GMOs are not liable under HSNO for any damage arising as a result of an activity carried out in accordance with an ERMA approval. That is, there is no requirement to pay for damage that is shown to be a direct result of the GM release. Only if an operator releases without a permit or breaks conditions of an ERMA approval is it strictly liable for damages. ¹³⁸ Even then, damages payable are capped at a value that such claims could readily exceed. Further, the scope and form of defences available suggest the operator is at very least likely to have the damage payable reduced, thus leaving a deficit to be picked up by the injured party. ¹³⁹

Parties who suffer damage to property have the option of pursuing a civil action via common law torts. However, this involves relying on law ill-suited for this purpose, and which makes daunting demands in terms of evidence, time and financial resources. ¹⁴⁰ An MFE discussion paper summarised the position as follows:

There are considerable drawbacks of cost, timeliness of resolution, and problems of standing which often make common law actions inappropriate. In addition problems of standing for parties to take an action, and the requirements for damage to have been reasonably foreseeable at the time it occurred, will often make common law actions inappropriate.

¹³⁸ See in particular HSNO s124G, Civil liability “(1)A person is liable in damages for any loss or damage caused by any act or omission of the person while: (a)developing, field testing, importing, or releasing a new organism in breach of this Act …” [emphasis added].
¹³⁹ See HSNO s124H - Defences to liability under section 124G.
¹⁴⁰ The Law Commission did not have confidence that the present liability regime (nor that subsequently modified) would result in due compensation for victims and it listed the following difficulties (p 16 of its report):

- Harm caused is unforeseeable
- Difficult to prove causation
- Person responsible for damage has inadequate funds
- Damage is widespread or diffuse
- Damage is catastrophic or irreversible

When Government consulted the Law Commission on the question of how to apportion liability, it referred the matter back to ministers on the basis that this was a policy decision, not a legal question. After observing that GM organisms have the potential to cause “catastrophic” levels of harm, it concluded that: “Government will have to decide how responsibility for any risks of new technology is to be apportioned among the industry, individuals and the state”. Government has yet to adequately respond to this question when, as previously noted, it is both the ultimate regulator and the nation’s largest investor in research targeting outdoor GMOs.

To date, government documents have focussed only on the perceived difficulties of adopting a policy that would allocate liability to those responsible for the activities. Government has rejected this approach on the grounds that “opportunities” would be lost. A cabinet paper of February 2003 stated: “Imposing the more stringent standard of strict (or absolute) liability may deter activities that are socially beneficial and, consequently, stifle innovation and economic growth contrary to government policy.” Such thinking miscasts what is truly “socially beneficial”. If an activity cannot itself sustain the full costs which it imposes on society, including the risk that it will impose damages, then it will have a negative impact overall – a social disbenefit.

An effective liability regime relies on clearly apportioning liability prior to the activity commencing, and also on there being measures to ensure that liable parties have the means to pay. However, HSNO sets no requirement for financial fitness on the part of the applicant. No demands are made on ERMA to conduct any form of scrutiny as to the ability of the applicant to meet claims for damages arising from the activity. Neither does ERMA undertake such scrutiny of its own volition, despite ministerial assurances that it would.

HSNO instead places a heavy reliance on controls and penalties for breaching these. The problem with this approach is that the regulator must accurately foresee all the circumstances in which something could go wrong, and be able to prescribe for these in advance. Yet an important source of risk now recognised in respect of GMOs is unexpected adverse effects. A liability regime based on “perfect” foresight is therefore not suited to these risks.

Even if such a conceptual approach were thought tenable, there remains the question of who would be the residual risk-bearer. That is, should those who cause any harm that may result still be liable? Or would the regulator or Government explicitly take on the liability as a Crown commitment? This question is not addressed by HSNO.

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143 ERMA CEO, Bas Walker, to a meeting of ERMA New Zealand’s Hazardous Substances Industry Consultative Group and Community and Environmental Group, 23 September, 2004.
144 “ERMA does establish the financial viability of the people doing it, they have to. Because the people have to be financial, first of all to meet some of the conditions – which are very expensive. And secondly, they have to be – like PPL in a sense – they have to be able to meet the conditions of winding down.” Environment Minister, Marian Hobbs, in interview with Linda Clark, RNZ, Nine to Noon, 29 September 2003.
3.1.2 Local Government Exposures

In August 2003, Crown Law gave the opinion that local government is itself unlikely to be exposed to liability claims arising from the circumstances that have already resulted in large damages suits overseas – those relating to GM contamination of non-GM produce. It stated “If the crop was ERMA approved and the person complied with all the conditions imposed by ERMA then it is unlikely that a claim in negligence would succeed”. However losses arising from legal actions against a local authority (legal liability) are just one form of exposure. The wider issue is loss arising from an inability to obtain compensation from those causing damage (financial liability). This opinion also did not consider the position of a council’s constituents.

The Far North District Council (FNDC) was interested to explore these outstanding issues and entered into correspondence with MFE when the ministry suggested that a further Crown Law opinion could be sought. We have obtained from the Council copies of its correspondence with MFE and this documents the exchange MFE undertook with FNDC prior to Crown Law being instructed. Disappointingly, the terms of reference eventually set by MFE for the opinion were very narrow. They did not address critical questions that have emerged following release of Crown Law’s previous opinion and addressed only a small proportion of the concerns FNDC raised with MFE.

FNDC proposed to MFE on July 22nd 2004 the following as a part of any terms of reference for Crown Law:

Would a district council, and/or its constituents, be reasonably assured of obtaining financial recompense were an activity involving the outdoor use of GMOs, that had been approved by ERMA, nonetheless cause:

a) damage to individual trading activities;

b) damage to the environment;

c) damage to human health.

MFE instructed Crown Law to examine only whether liability for environmental damage was possible if a council did or did not include rules in a district plan to control GMOs. The key differences between the two framings are as follows:

- MFE requested advice with respect to environmental damage alone, apparently ignoring economic loss and damage to human health. Economic loss is a category of risk that has been amply demonstrated both overseas and in New Zealand;

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146 MFE’s instructions to Crown Law were to provide advice on the following questions:

“1. If a district council does not include rules in the district plan to control GMOs, what, if any, is the potential for liability for the council in respect of any environmental damage within the district arising from any GMOs that have been approved under HSNO by ERMA?

2. If a district council does include rules in the district plan to control GMOs, what, if any, is the potential for liability for the council in respect of any environmental damage within the district arising from any GMOs that have been approved under HSNO by ERMA?”

147 While it is conceivable that Crown Law means the term “environment” to also be inclusive of damage to human health and financial damage, no indication of a wider meaning is contained in the opinion, such as mention of the ACC Act in respect of human health, and we take it that this was not intended.
• The terms of reference are limited to the liability of councils alone. The risks to the council’s constituents are not explored;

• The terms of reference are limited to legal liability and the key issue of financial liability is not explored. That is, the question of who pays for any cleanup that may be required. This issue can overlap with legal liability but is often separate as it can arise quite independently.

By circumscribing the terms of reference to exclude many of the most important sources of financial risk, MFE obtained an opinion that may at first sight be interpreted as indicating that there are no serious risks for a council when it indicates instead simply a poverty of scope of analysis.

The following table illustrates the six types of financial exposures communities face with respect to a GMO release in absence of any local controls. Crown Law was asked to address the only one of the six for which there is unlikely to be an exposure. This is indicated by the green shading, while red indicates exposures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental Damage</th>
<th>Council held legally liable</th>
<th>Council suffers losses</th>
<th>Individuals and Businesses suffer Losses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Council suffers losses</td>
<td>Pays clean up costs</td>
<td>Pays clean up costs voluntarily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Damage</td>
<td>Council trading activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is also worth noting that when FNDC attempted to resolve matters by simply seeking an indemnity from the Crown that would cover any damages suffered, MFE made clear this would not be given.

As a result of the exposures presented by the current law, LGNZ has stated that:

Even if councils are consulted for a local perspective, local government is not a decision-maker in the approvals process and should not be held liable. A strict liability regime is supported for any physical harm, damage or loss caused by a genetically modified organism. This must be irrespective of whether the harm was caused under an ERMA approval (intended use) or otherwise.

148 Crown Law (3 November 2004) *Advice on potential for council liability arising from rules controlling GMOs.*

149 There are also partial exposures to financial costs arising from any damage to human health to the extent these are not covered by ACC and that the scope of such coverage is uncertain. Note that the table does not consider non-financial damage, such as loss of biodiversity.

150 Personal communication, Pete Nuttall, FNDC, 16 November 2004.

### Liability Scenarios

In order to clarify the extent to which liability is allocated (or not allocated) for harm resulting from GMO activities, the following identifies a series of scenario events, any parties that are strictly liable, and the ultimate risk bearers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario Event</th>
<th>Parties Strictly Liable</th>
<th>Ultimate Risk Bearer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Unauthorised release</em> – not ERMA approved (eg through imported seed contamination)</td>
<td>If unintended release, MAF tends to pick up most costs under Biosecurity Act, though the agent responsible also incurs costs. (If a deliberate release, agent faces all costs if can be identified)</td>
<td>Crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Release conducted as Authorised by ERMA. Financial damage results (eg returns lost due to GMO contamination)</em></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Farmers and other affected parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Release conducted as Authorised by ERMA. Environmental damage results (eg superweeds needing to be controlled)</em></td>
<td>No liability under HSNO. Applicant may face RMA enforcement order for cleanup costs</td>
<td>Councils, farmers and other affected parties for financial losses beyond cleanup costs. If cleanup costs are not met (eg through the agent being unable to pay) affected parties may also carry these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Release conducted as Authorised by ERMA Damage to human health results (eg contamination of food crop by pharma crop)</em></td>
<td>No liability under HSNO</td>
<td>Farmers, food purchasers and other affected parties, including the Crown to the extent claims are accepted by ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Conditional Release not conducted as Authorised by ERMA and breach of controls causes damage</em></td>
<td>Applicant liable under HSNO to extent harm caused by breach</td>
<td>Applicant liable for the greater of: - up to $10m, - 10% of turnover, or - three times value of the commercial gain, to the extent funds are available. Affected parties must meet costs thereafter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Unconditional Release, or Field Trial not conducted as Authorised by ERMA, and causes damage</em></td>
<td>No liability under HSNO</td>
<td>Councils, farmers and/or other affected parties for financial losses beyond cleanup costs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.3 Identifying the Gaps

Economic Effects

The absence of any remedy for financial harm suffered by a constituent or a council trading activity when no ERMA condition has been breached is a serious gap in the HSNO regulatory framework. Conventional farmers who incur financial losses as a result of GMO contamination could launch a common law action but the ministry acknowledges these mechanisms are generally “inappropriate” and “have failed to manage pollution”. Crown Law states that “If the crop was ERMA approved and the person complied with all the conditions imposed by ERMA then it is unlikely that a claim in negligence would succeed”. While the RMA could potentially be used to halt a GMO activity causing harm if a breach of s17 were judged to have taken place, there appears to be very little prospect of redress for financial damage under the RMA if a council has not set in place its own regulatory framework for GMO activities.

As described in section 2.3, claims for trace contamination can be very sizable. This is a prime concern in a number of other jurisdictions. In the United Kingdom, substantial scrutiny was given to the issue of whether or not to allow the release of GMOs during 2003. A Parliamentary select committee inquiry into one of a series of official reports generated that year offered the following conclusion with respect to liability issues:

We are very concerned about possible contamination by gene-flow and pollen spread of non-GM crops and insist that the issue of liability be settled before any GM crops are allowed to be commercially grown in the UK. The Government should ensure, through primary legislation, if necessary, that it puts into place, before any GM crops may be grown commercially in this country, a clear and comprehensive liability regime to underpin any future regulations dealing with co-existence issues. Moreover, liability should lie with the industry and not with farmers. It would be wrong for the Government to allow farmers to be used as a firewall for the industry.

While the UK Government has still to resolve this aspect of the regulatory regime, during December 2004 Germany advanced liability law reforms through the Bundestag. Confirmation of the law changes currently await a further level of approvals but its key features include:

- It makes farmers using GM plants legally responsible for the contamination of non-GM crops;

152 See previous reference to “inappropriate” and Pollution and Hazardous Substances Management, Final report of the Inter-agency Co-ordination Committee, Ministry for the Environment, November 1988, p. 94.
154 The use of RMA instruments to achieve financial accountability is discussed in section 4.3.
• If the source of contamination of a conventional harvest cannot be pinpointed with sufficient certainty to a particular source, then joint and several liability will apply to the relevant GMO farmers;
• It limits the areas in which genetically modified plants can be grown in Germany;
• Requires a public register to be kept of GMO plantings; and
• Requires minimum distances be kept from non-GM fields and other measures to prevent the spread of pollen from GM plants.

In Australia, the need for reform of federal liability law has been advocated by Western Australia Agriculture Minister, Kim Chance.

“[The Commonwealth Government is] saying you can rely, for most of the issues, on common law. It's currently hopeless … .”

... "Until we have assurances that we have an adequate legal framework, no state jurisdiction is ever going to lift their moratorium," he said. ... Queensland is the only state that does not have a moratorium in place on commercial GM food crops, with the other states and territories maintaining bans until at least next year.\(^{157}\)

**Health Effects**

As noted above, regulating the production of GMOs in the outdoors is separate from assessing the safety of their consumption. However, trace contamination raises the issue of human health impacts through inadvertent consumption. Any claim for compensation would first need to negotiate the Accident Insurance Act 1998. Once a claim is accepted by ACC, section 394 of this act prohibits a private action being brought for damages in respect of personal injuries or death. Thus any provisions set for financial accountability by a local authority could provide only for claims not covered by ACC. However, the potential for local government to set provisions for health effects from trace contamination for food GMOs merits examination.

**Environmental Effects**

With respect to claims for environmental harm, these may or may not have financial consequences. Environmental damage nonetheless represents a cost to a local authority’s territory, whether or not any financial loss is recorded in the council’s or others’ accounts. This cost may take the form of reduced future potentials or direct financial costs involving clean up or mitigation.

In principle, RMA section 314 provides strong powers to order cleanups for environmental damage caused. However, the effectiveness of these provisions is crucially dependent on the availability of funding. Section 314 enforcement orders will not provide the discipline intended unless the GMO operator has sufficient funds at risk that can be drawn on. Local government is thus also exposed to the absence of a HSNO requirement for GM developers to be financially fit.

\(^{157}\) Melbourne Age (15 9 2005), *GM crop contamination may spark review.*
As the Royal Commission noted, “The defendant may be a shell company without substantial assets, or may be insolvent.” The key risk here is that if the operator has inadequate financial resources to cover environmental damage resulting from its activities, the burden tends to fall on local government.

Local government has already encountered examples of operators leaving clean up costs in their wake for which no party can be held fully liable. It is particularly exposed with respect to contaminated sites. Sites contaminated with hazardous substances for which liability for cleanup has yet to be allocated are all too frequent in New Zealand. The total bill for clean up of these sites is unclear but in August 2004, MFE stated that the cost “is estimated to be in the order of a billion dollars”. In certain cases, government has contributed funds towards studies examining how clean up would be undertaken. However, to date it is local government that has been left with the responsibility in most cases. Significant Crown contributions to the clean up of the Mapua site have tended to be the exception in recent years and there Tasman District Council still “assumed” $2 million of the costs as a part of an agreement with the Government.

With respect to ratepayer costs of managing conventional organisms that have negative effects, a recent Biosecurity New Zealand report noted that:

“… ratepayers contribute between $50 million and $60 million [a year] in funding towards regional pest management strategies, and private individuals and organisations spend further significant sums on biosecurity (reliable estimates are not available, but a previous study has estimated $180 million a year).”

Only if a GMO is present in the outdoors illegally (without an ERMA approval) is MAF compelled under HSNO to undertake a cleanup – as in the case of contaminated maize seed that resulted in GMOs being released inadvertently.

3.1.4 Bonds

As discussed above, a GM developer or operator is not liable for harm caused as long as it obtains and abides by an ERMA consent. Nor does HSNO require ERMA to ensure that an applicant has the means to pay compensation. If an application is made under HSNO section 34 for unconditional release (that is, release without controls), or for a field trial, ERMA has no legal means of imposing a bond or any other financial assurance requirement. Only if the application is made under HSNO section 38(A) for conditional release can ERMA impose financial assurance requirements (under section 38(D)).

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161 Personal communication: the term used by Dave Brash, Ministry for the Environment, 1 December 2004.
162 Biosecurity New Zealand (December 2004), Future Funding of Biosecurity Services, Discussion Paper No: 04/01, p. 5.
163 And this is approved under section 38(1).
Ideally, financial assurance requirements would provide for a range of instruments that could be drawn upon to set requirements appropriate to the risk of the activity and the financial status of the operator – including bonds and various forms of self-insurance and third party cover. The Australian Gene Technology Act for example provides the regulator with the ability to require that an applicant has insurance in place. Bonds at least were advocated by MfE as a condition of an ERMA approval at the time the HSNO Bill was being considered by a Parliamentary select committee in 1996. ERMA itself also advocated the use of bonds to the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification.

However, Government accepted officials’ poorly reasoned recommendation that ERMA not be required to consider whether to take even a bond from an applicant.

“Requiring the Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA) to consider imposing insurance or bond requirements, as a condition of approving release of a new organism to address liability concerns is not supported. Assessing when and how to use such discretion and the amount of any insurance or bond would, generally, be a highly speculative exercise. It would involve consideration of a range of difficult issues that ERMA may not be well placed to undertake. There is a risk that socially beneficial activities might be deterred and capital would be tied up when it could be put to more productive uses.”

When ERMA was asked by Environment Bay of Plenty whether it would be likely to require bonds of applicants, ERMA commented in a letter dated 26 January 2004 that:

It is understood that ERMA New Zealand may be able to require a bond as a condition on approval, however this is not explicitly stated in the legislation and to date exercise of such a power has not been tested.

Given the stance taken by Government, ERMA’s outlook, and the absence of any requirement for an applicant to declare its financial fitness, there is little basis for expecting that ERMA will set meaningful financial assurance requirements.

Potential solutions to this issue of financial fitness and the others identified above are discussed in Section 4.3.

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164 For further discussion, see Chen Palmer & Partners and Simon Terry Associates (2001) Who Bears the Risk.
165 S62 of the Gene Technology Act
166 MfE’s submission to the Royal Commission notes in para 104 that: “the departmental report recommended that eight changes be made. They are concerned: … that a power to require bonds as a condition of new organisms containment approval be created”.
167 In its submission to the Royal Commission ERMA noted on page 31 that “using the precedent of the RMA it would be feasible to require operators to post a bond against the costs caused if adverse consequences arise from the improper application of controls”.
3.2 Precaution

Policy set by a number of Northland Peninsula Councils places emphasis on a precautionary approach being taken with respect to the management of GMOs.

3.2.1 The Precautionary Principle

Traditional risk assessment seeks to estimate the probability that certain defined risk events will come to pass and then make an assessment of the harm that is likely to result. This framework is heavily dependent on two factors.

1. That the scope of important risk events can be defined in advance.

2. That enough is known about the identified risk events to reliably predict the nature of adverse affects and the probability of these occurring.

Risk assessment is a powerful tool when there are known impacts and known probabilities. It is not suitable however for use in circumstances characterised by important unknowns. As many of the targets of environmental regulation have become more complex and less well understood, the limitations of this approach have increased. The precautionary principle is in essence the evolutionary answer to the need for an approach that better allows for the limitations of knowledge that regulators are increasingly confronted with.

The precautionary principle was devised essentially as a response to analysis of the long-run effects of certain substances and organisms that had demonstrated alarming adverse effects that were unforeseen when first approved. Past surprises have included the effects from asbestos, X-rays, DDT and chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs). A seminal work by the European Environment Agency (EEA) reviewed 14 of these unpleasant surprises. The Precautionary Principle in the 20th Century draws lessons for regulators from these case studies in support of adoption of the precautionary approach. It describes the principle in the following terms.

“The precautionary principle is an overarching framework of thinking that governs the use of foresight in situations characterised by uncertainty and ignorance and where there are potentially large costs to both regulatory action and inaction”.

170 Further discussion see: Simon Terry, Precaution, Liability and the Regulation of GMOs, Paper to the Biotechnology & Law Conference, 12 March 2004, which this subsection is based on.


172 The latter is a class of propellant formerly used in aerosol cans that came into widespread use in the 1950s with no recognition that these chemicals might cause damage to the ozone layer. This was in spite of a relatively good understanding at the time of the ozone layer and its function in shielding the earth from excessive UV radiation. Only in the 1970s did research first clearly show the link between the use of CFCs and the destruction of ozone in the upper atmosphere.

“A central lesson … concerns the importance of recognising and fully understanding the nature and limitations of our knowledge. What is often referred to as ‘uncertainty’ actually hides important technical distinctions.”

A key distinction the EEA offers is between risk, uncertainty and ignorance:

- **Risk**: Known impacts, known probabilities
- **Uncertainty**: Known impacts, unknown probability
- **Ignorance**: Unknown impacts and therefore unknown probabilities.

HSNO governs only substances deemed to be potentially hazardous or which are new organisms - where new organisms as a class have shown the potential to be hazardous. These classes of risk were specifically removed from coverage of more general environmental regulation under the RMA and set under special purpose legislation that makes use forbidden until individual assessment is completed and approval is forthcoming.

The nature of these classes of risk also means that assessments will more often involve areas characterised by uncertainty or ignorance. Thus, prima facie, one would expect precaution to be a fundamental guiding principle of HSNO.

The wording that has been the basis for most of the international agreements incorporating the precautionary principle in law is that established at the Rio Earth Summit in June 1992. Principle 15 of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, to which New Zealand is a signatory, sets out the following:

> “Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty shall not be used as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental degradation.”

### 3.2.2 Precaution and HSNO

However, HSNO does not embrace the precautionary principle, nor does it mandate that ERMA be precautionary. Instead, section 7 of the act specifies simply the following:

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175 The Ministry for the Environment’s extensive submission to the Royal Commission on genetic Modification documented the long gestation of the HSNO Act and the numerous practical instances of damage resulting from the introduction of new organisms through importation that led to new organisms in general being viewed as a special category of risk. “There were recent examples of new organism releases which had the potential for damaging consequences, and which pointed to deficiencies in the current controls on new organism imports. Examples which prompted such concerns were the introduction of chinchilla, Channel catfish brought in quarantine as part of an economic development scheme with Maori interests and then destroyed, and marron crayfish for which commercial breeding operations were established and then permission withdrawn requiring the destruction of the stock and a substantial compensation payment.” Ministry for the Environment submission, p. 18.
“All persons exercising functions, powers, and duties under this Act, ... shall take into account the need for caution in managing adverse effects where there is scientific and technical uncertainty about those effects.” [Emphasis added]

In *Bleakley v Environmental Risk Management Authority*, the High Court considered whether the Act and the ERMA Methodology provide any requirement on the part of ERMA to observe the precautionary principle. The Court did not accept submissions of the appellants that section 7 embraced the precautionary principle, partly as a result of the Court’s reading of the parliamentary debates prior to HSNO’s enactment.

As the regulator responsible for implementing HSNO, ERMA itself has stated that:

“The wording in the Act is very permissive, such that the Authority would be acting lawfully in deciding that caution was not warranted, provided it explained why. In practice, the Authority has generally exercised caution.” [Emphasis added]

The important point of distinction here is not that ERMA is precluded from implementing the precautionary principle. HSNO grants ERMA relatively wide powers under section 38 1(b) to decline an application such that it is well within the scope of the act for ERMA to deliver precautionary outcomes, were it of a mind to do so. The key point is that rather than precaution being mandatory, HSNO makes it a matter for ERMA’s discretion – something to be “taken into account”. Precaution is an option, not a requirement.

Detailed submissions have been made to both the Government and ERMA, pointing out the changed circumstances since the passage of HSNO in 1996, especially the wider adoption of the precautionary principle (internationally and in New Zealand Government policy), and the need to revise HSNO accordingly. However, neither has recommended doing so. Nor has the Government’s ratification of the UN Cartagena Protocol prompted any review of HSNO with respect to the act’s stance on precaution, despite the international protocol’s precautionary intent.

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176 *Bleakley v Environmental Risk Management Authority*, 2001 3 NZLR 213 (HC), p.250; paras 160 - 164, McGechan J.


178 The extent to which ERMA has the means to deliver precautionary outcomes is usefully explored in *Approaches to Risk*, ERMA, December 2002.


180 The Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety 2000 regulates the transboundary movements of modified organisms that are live, and thus capable of reproduction. New Zealand is a signatory to the protocol and Government ratified its commitment in February 2005. Article 1 of the protocol builds directly on the Rio Declaration definition and interprets the precautionary principle in Article 11.8 as follows: “Lack of scientific certainty due to insufficient relevant scientific information and knowledge regarding the extent of the potential adverse effects of a living modified organism on the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity in the Party of import, taking also into account risks to human health, shall not prevent that Party from taking a decision, as appropriate, with regard to the import of that living modified organism intended for direct use as food or feed, or for processing, in order to avoid or minimize such potential adverse effects.” A discussion paper on the question of whether New Zealand should ratify stated that: “New Zealand’s regulatory system meets the current requirements of the Protocol for import of LMOs, so ratification would not be likely to lead to a need for any major changes, subject to future decisions made under the Protocol”.

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Further, it has been observed that the section of HSNO that would provide for the act to be used to support a precautionary approach, s7, appears not have been utilised:

While it is still in its infancy, there is little evidence to date that decision makers have used this part of the Act.\textsuperscript{181}

Finally, ERMA CEO Bas Walker has provided the following summary:

The Act stops well short of adopting [the precautionary principle], instead talking about “taking account of the need for caution …”. I believe Parliament had reason to stop at that point and the Authority has had considerable reservations about going further as well, in part because the “precautionary principle” is so open to varying interpretations. Parliament has had multiple opportunities to tighten the wording, the latest being in October 2003, but has chosen not to do so. That is surely significant.\textsuperscript{182}

These positions also need to be taken into account when assessing the likelihood of ERMA adopting precaution in its assessments and the degree to which it is likely to require precaution from applicants when making use of GMOs.

\subsection*{3.3 Accountability and the Role of Local Government}

\subsubsection*{3.3.1 Accountability}

A key issue in assessing the risk to a council of an ERMA decision overriding locally determined policy is the nature of the ERMA decision-making process and the limited extent to which a decision can be subsequently challenged.

HSNO provides wide scope for ERMA to assess applications for release such that the outcomes it delivers depend a great deal on the individuals making the assessments. There is the potential to manage more cautiously or less cautiously within the legal framework of the Act. While the act is highly prescriptive in respect of procedural matters, there are remarkably few constraints with respect to how assessments are to be conducted.

The act and the ERMA methodology that derives from it make many important features discretionary. The methodology does not actually set up any precise method or process by which analysis must take place. It has more the form of a checklist of considerations. Those sections that focus on the actual evaluation generally demand of ERMA only that it “take into account” and “consider” a variety of matters.\textsuperscript{183}


\textsuperscript{182} Bas Walker in a letter to the Sustainability Council, 21 May 2004, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{183} The notable exception is section 36. This requires that if a release would be “likely” to cause “significant” harm to the environment or human health, it may not be made. As it is difficult to imagine responsible decision-makers approving a release which they thought at the time was likely to cause significant harm, it is also difficult to view this as a strong bottom line.
There are thus remarkably few limitations on the outcomes ERMA can deliver.\(^{184}\) This wide discretion given to ERMA results in an absence of meaningful accountability at the time an application is being considered.

At the point ERMA issues a decision, there is no ability to appeal an ERMA decision, other than on points of law. Such judicial review can focus only on the process used to make the decision, not the quality of the information relied on or decisions made, nor the weightings accorded particular considerations. As the HSNO Act and the Methodology in general demands of ERMA only that matters are “taken into account”, the scope for effective scrutiny is very limited.

Parliament noted when first passing HSNO that public policy generally dictates there should be one right of appeal from the decision of a quasi-judicial body, but elected not to allow this on the grounds that this would not provide for “a better decision” second time around.\(^{185}\) Absence of the right to appeal HSNO decisions to the Environment Court (as is available for RMA decisions), significantly limits the ability to ensure a consistent approach with respect to the application of precaution. For local government, it underscores the inability to rely on the HSNO process to deliver outcomes set by the community.

### 3.3.2 GMOs and the Role of Local Government

Local Government New Zealand offered the following comments with respect to the ability of the current HSNO legislation to provide for councils to exercise their statutory responsibilities on behalf of their communities.

Local authorities are to work with local communities towards achieving sustainable development. This means councils will be facilitating the development of Long Term Council Community Plans, in which outcomes for an area are described and the role of council in delivering or enabling the achievement of those outcomes are identified. **We do not believe that the responsibilities given to local government under the LGA have been fully recognised in [HSNO].** [Emphasis added]

Local authorities have been clear about their desire to have a strong “voice” in the making of decisions about the release/non release of GMOs … .\(^ {186}\)

Dr Somerville noted in this respect that:

The people of the district may perceive that to sustain the principal uses of rural land in the district depends on avoiding or managing environmental risks associated with GMO-related activities. This may be considered in order to promote a number of values within the purpose provisions of the statutes, ranging from socio-economic, cultural, health and safety values to concerns about the biophysical environment, for example, biological diversity.\(^ {187}\)

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184 See Sustainability Council (October 2003) *Submission in Respect of Revisions to the ERMA Methodology*.
185 Hon Simon Upton, Hansard, 16 April 1996, at pp. 11901-11902
LGNZ further comments that:

It is not apparent how the management framework outlined within [HSNO] will allow communities to preserve the opportunities they have identified, and agreed to pursue, as part of their own strategic goals. For example, a district (or a grower association) may wish to brand and market its grapes, wine, oranges, apples, lamb, milk, cut flowers or other crop or produce as GE Free.\(^\text{188}\)

HSNO provides for ERMA to notify local government of applications for GM activities that it considers are likely to be of interest.\(^\text{189}\) However, ERMA is under no greater duty to take into account submissions of district and regional councils in its decision-making than those of any other submitter.

The absence of provisions that would compel ERMA to accommodate the positions of communities thus leaves local government unable to give surety to their communities that HSNO decisions will not override outcomes they have determined they wish to see. Further, there are at least two matters – liability and precaution - on which local government would tend to seek outcomes that it is far from clear ERMA would deliver under current policy settings.

At the highest level, the key problem for local government can be viewed as a lack of surety of outcome. The uncertainty is on two levels:

a) Whether ERMA will agree with and act at all on specific concerns that may be held by local governments;

b) Whether, for the risks ERMA concurs need addressing, it will exercises the same degree of caution as would local governments.

\(^{189}\) Section 53(4) provides only that: 53 (4) The Authority shall, upon receipt of the application, notify …  
(c) If the application is an application for approval of a new organism,—  
(ii) any local authority (within the meaning of the Local Government Act 2002) if, in the opinion of the Authority, the local authority is likely to have an interest in the application.
4. The RMA as a Response Framework

4.1 Macro Response Options

In broad terms, there are three macro level policy options councils could adopt in response to the risks posed by outdoor GMO activities and deficiencies in the regulations set at the national level:

a) District councils attempt to foster a change in national law;
b) District councils set local management regimes that act in addition to national level regulation; and
c) No intervention by district councils.

4.1.1 Amendment of HSNO

Amendment of the HSNO Act to remedy its deficiencies would be the most efficient response. However, this would require Government support and proposals to amend HSNO to put comprehensive remedies in place have consistently not been accepted.190

A more limited reform proposal would involve amendments to remedy the deficiencies simply from a local government perspective. In particular, amendments to HSNO could be made so as to provide councils with the ability to ensure that their policies in relation to GMO activities are binding on ERMA decision-making. This would provide a simpler means for local government to achieve the same regulatory outcomes as are currently able to be put in place under the RMA. Reform to HSNO would need to be made on two levels and provide for:

- The ability for local authorities to issue policy statements on GM activities such that ERMA would be required to accommodate these policy statements in its decisions;
- The option to examine individual applications in tandem with ERMA assessments and, if required, to set stricter controls to apply within a local authority’s district.

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190 MfE’s report on the submissions to the select committee which considered the extensive amendments to HSNO enacted in 2003 concluded for example that no changes were required to address liability for an ERMA approved activity. It stated on p 144 that: “[…] imposing strict liability for all GM activities, including those that comply with HSNO, is not supported as to do so would be inconsistent with the conclusion that there is no principled basis for special liability rules for GM activities.” Further, the ERMA Review undertaken for Government in early 2003 explicitly considered reforms to the ERMA Methodology with respect to accountability and received submissions in support of reforms designed to enhance this. Proposals for enhanced accountability were not accepted. See also the report of the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification and the Government’s responses to this in respect of scientific uncertainty and the precautionary principle.
Local authorities would thus have the opportunity, but not the obligation, to work in tandem with ERMA. The reforms would provide a more direct means of achieving the desired outcomes set by a community, while also giving an explicit statutory route and greater certainty to ERMA applicants.

Proposals for such reform were detailed in a report to Northland district councils in March 2004. Responses from the Minister for the Environment, Marian Hobbs, to this report provided no indication that government saw grounds for such a change to HSNO. When commenting on the report, the minister instead emphasised the robustness she perceived in the existing processes. However, she fully contemplated the independent emergence of local government regulation targeting GMOs and stated that, “council’s controls will have to be science-based and effects-based, just like those of the Environmental Risk Management Authority …”

An amendment to HSNO that would address key local government concerns thus remains an unlikely prospect and an unreliable response option. When assessing the likelihood of a change in this position, it is important to consider that Government has a dual role as not only the agent responsible for setting policy on the means to be used to mitigate risk attendant to GMOs, but is also the nation’s largest investor in R&D involving genetic modification intended for commercial development.

4.1.2 Local Management or No Intervention?

If significant deficiencies exist in the national regulatory structure and Government has consistently determined not to remedy these, what then is the fall back position for local government? Is it then optimal for local government to intervene? This is essentially a test of whether, given the nature and scale of the potential exposures, the cost of intervention is justified by the benefits gained through avoidance of identified risks.

The balance of this report focuses on the options for intervention that could be exercised so as to build on the existing national level regulation and check gaps that impact at the local level, rather than attempting to replace the ERMA assessment process. Following discussion of these options, Section 6.2 specifically addresses the question of whether to intervene at all.

The schematic on the following page shows where this stage of work sits with respect to the investigations to date and the steps required before a decision could be taken to approve a plan change.


192 Statement to Parliament by Marian Hobbs in response to a question for oral answer on 24 March 2004, and Government doubts councils' right to control GMOs, Northern Advocate, 26.03.2004.
Decision Making Steps and Stages

(Current step highlighted in bold)

Identification of adverse effects at district level

Identification of gaps in HSNO regime

Preliminary analysis of response options

Confirmation of availability of RMA to manage GMOs

Stage 1

Identification of changes to HSNO as first best route

Are changes supported by Government?

Stage 2

No

Analysis of RMA Response Options

Decision in principle on best RMA option - community consultation

Section 32 assessment of plan change(s)

Development of proposed plan change(s)

Legal review of final proposal

Individual council and inter-council decision making on whether to change plan

Stage 3

4.2 Availability of the RMA for GMO Management

Given the nature of the gaps identified in the national regulatory regime, the GMO activities of concern, and the statutory powers available to local government, the RMA emerges as the best statutory framework within which to address these deficiencies. It allows precisely targeted rules to be set under a district plan so that specific concerns can be addressed without compromising other activities. Further, a
district plan is the principal statutory instrument designed to regulate land uses and thus encompasses the outdoor uses of GMOs under consideration.\textsuperscript{193} The availability of the RMA for use by councils to manage GMO activities was a matter considered in detail by Dr Somerville in March 2004 and his conclusion that district councils have jurisdiction in this regard has also been the interpretation offered by Crown Law opinions.\textsuperscript{194}

Although HSNO was passed subsequent to the RMA, and focuses directly on GMOs, it does not extinguish the RMA provisions and these remain open for local authorities to use. Dr Somerville states that:

\begin{quote}
I am of the opinion that the provisions of the HSNO Act do not preclude the WDC from exercising its jurisdiction to control GMO-related land uses within its district plan pursuant to the RMA.\textsuperscript{195}
\end{quote}

If a council wished to implement a framework for community management of GMOs under the RMA, this would ultimately involve a change to its district plan. This is the mechanism by which new rules would be added, following development of specific objectives and policies. It is imperative to ensure that any controls adopted should be firmly based on a robust identification of the issues and appropriately drafted objectives and policies. Much of this report is dedicated to providing clarity with respect to the issues associated with community management of GMO’s and the options for rule based control. It ultimately represents the basis for a section 32 justification for the adoption of a proactive approach to the management of GMO’s via a District Plan.

Section 75 of the RMA specifies the contents of District Plans. This section is prescriptive and requires that Plans state:

\begin{itemize}
  \item The significant resource management issues of the district;
  \item The resource management objectives sought to be achieved by the Plan;
  \item Policies in regard to the issues and objectives;
  \item The methods to be used to implement these policies, including any rules;
  \item The principal reasons for adopting all of the foregoing;
  \item Information required to be submitted as part of any resource consent application;
  \item The environmental results anticipated from the implementation of the foregoing; and
  \item Procedures necessary for reviewing and monitoring the effectiveness of the matters in question.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{193} For further discussion, see Simon Terry Associates (2004) \textit{Community Management of GMOs: Issues, Options and Partnership with Government}, section 4.2.

\textsuperscript{194} Ibid and Crown Law (3 November 2004) \textit{Advice on potential for council liability arising from rules controlling GMOs}. Crown Law does however question whether a s32 analysis would support the use of such powers and this position is critiqued in detail in the earlier report - \textit{Community Management of GMOs: Issues, Options and Partnership with Government}, p 30-32.

\textsuperscript{195} Dr R J Somerville QC (2004) \textit{Opinion on Land Use Controls and GMOs}, p. 20 and 22.
This section of the Act guides the structure and ultimate content of the approach necessary to include controls over GMO’s.

In moving forward, it is envisaged that the matters set out within this report would be distilled into a broad statement of the issues that are relevant and the reasons justifying District Plan based management of these issues. Under this scenario, we envisage that objectives and ensuing policies would be crafted to address issues of risk inherent in outdoor GMO activities in the district, and would specify the appropriate management framework for addressing the various levels of risk identified with different classes of GMOs. As outlined in the following sections, a range of options is available to councils for managing the risks and the preferred approach would need to be identified and addressed at the policy level within the respective District Plans. If it is ultimately accepted that there is a justification for District Plan control, based on economic risk, environmental risk, cultural risk and issues surrounding liability and compensation, then this would need to be incorporated within appropriate statements of policy.

Such policy would also foreshadow the methods that are proposed for implementation within the respective District Plans.\textsuperscript{196} Section 77B of the RMA sets out types of activities for which rules can be drafted within District Plans. In terms of this section of the Act, activities can be permitted, controlled, restricted discretionary, discretionary, non-complying or prohibited activity status.

Permitted activities are precisely that - activities for which a resource consent is not required if it complies with the standards, terms or conditions, (if any,) specified in the plan or proposed plan.

A controlled activity requires a resource consent but the consent authority has no power to decline consent. The consent authority is able however, to impose conditions on the consent, just so long as the conditions relate to matters over which the consent authority has retained control in the plan.

A resource consent is also required for a restricted discretionary and a discretionary activity. The consent authority may grant a resource consent with or without conditions, or decline the resource consent. If the plan restricts the matters over which the consent authority may exercise its discretion, any conditions imposed must be restricted to matters that have been specified within the plan. A council’s substantive decision whether to decline or grant a consent is also confined to these restricted matters.

A resource consent is also required for a non-complying activity. The consent authority may grant the resource consent with or without conditions, or decline it. Particular restrictions for non-complying activities are set out in Section 105D.

No application may be made for a prohibited activity and a resource consent cannot be granted for such activities.

\textsuperscript{196} Section 76 enables a territorial authority to include rules in a District Plan for achieving the objectives and policies of the Plan.
Before looking at the question of which of these methods will be most appropriate to manage particular GMO activities, the following subsections examine two high level considerations:
- The extent to which the RMA can provide for financial accountability; and
- The extent to which a precautionary approach is available under the RMA.

### 4.3 Instruments for Financial Accountability

#### 4.3.1 Duty of Care

An important gap identified in the HSNO regime is the absence of arrangements to ensure GMO users are financially accountable for their activities. As described in Section 3.1, there is no liability under HSNO for damage arising from an activity carried out in accordance with an ERMA approval.

As also noted above, MfE directed Crown Law to address just one of six types of financial exposure a community faces as a result of any GMO release. The opinion is correspondingly limited in its utility.

Councils have a duty of care that extends well beyond the question of its legal liability for environmental damage – the single issue Crown Law was directed to. They are accountable to their communities for the wise management of council funds more generally, and to provide due protection for constituents against threats to their financial resources. A council’s exposure to paying for clean-up costs and constituents’ exposure to financial losses arising from GM contamination are key foreseeable risks.

An example of the extent to which a council can legally be expected to take into account potential effects was provided by a judgement involving a case between the Ports of Auckland and Auckland City Council. The port company argued that in granting a consent for a residential development near the port, the council should have imposed noise insulation conditions so as to protect the port company from a court action by future residents. The court supported the port company’s argument and required the council to redraft the conditions of the consent.197

The RMA contains a series of provisions that can be used to put in place instruments to address adverse financial effects of GMO activities. When applied as part of a full set of controls, these can be used to address a significant portion of the forms of financial exposure GMO activities can generate.

#### 4.3.2 Setting Conditions

A GMO operator could become legally responsible in certain cases even if no specific conditions are set on the activity. This would be due to a breach of the general duty to avoid, remedy or mitigate any adverse effect on the environment that is imposed.

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197 Ports of Auckland v Auckland City Council, 1999, NZLR 600, Baragwanath J. See also Auckland Regional Council v Auckland City Council, 1997, NZRMA 205, Judge Shepard.
under s17 of the RMA. However, s17(2) makes clear that it will provide only limited financial accountability as “no person is liable to any other person for a breach of that duty”.

Partly for this reason, it will be desirable to set conditions that address the key sources of risk so that when adverse effects arise - ones that a council has determined need to be protected against - these will (as far as is foreseeable) be a breach of the conditions and an immediate trigger for actions that remedy and mitigate adverse effects. Section 108 provides wide discretion for a consent authority to set the conditions it deems necessary. Such conditions will tend to be similar within classes of GMOs, with variations to account for particular GMO varieties.

4.3.3 Bonds

If a condition is breached and damage occurs, the question then is how to ensure sufficient funds are available to meet the financial costs. A further instrument available under the RMA is the ability to require a bond from an applicant. Section 108A affords wide powers in this respect and provides in particular that a bond may:

- be set to cover any “conditions the consent authority considers appropriate” (108A(1))
- “continue after the expiry of the resource consent to secure the ongoing performance of conditions relating to long-term effects” (108A(1))
- “provide that the liability of the holder of the resource consent be not limited to the amount of the bond” (108A(2)(c))
- “require the holder of the resource consent to provide such security as the consent authority thinks fit for the performance of any condition of the bond” (108A(2)(e))
- “require the holder of the resource consent to provide a guarantor” (108A(2)(f))

Section 108A(3) also recognises that environmental effects may only become apparent long after the activity has ceased.

If a consent authority considers that an adverse effect may continue or arise at any time after the expiration of a resource consent granted by it, the consent authority may require that a bond continue for a specified period that the consent authority thinks fit.

It is clear that well framed consent conditions and bond provisions can provide for a very high level of financial accountability for ecological effects. The above powers.


RMA s17(2) provides that “The duty referred to in subsection (1) is not of itself enforceable against any person, and no person is liable to any other person for a breach of that duty”.

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address the long timeframes\textsuperscript{200} and wide range of conditions that could be required to guard against such potential effects resulting from a GMO release. Procedures can be devised and put in place at the time of any plan change to guide the proper assessment of the level of bond required and the period for which it is to be in place.

Bonds can cover both foreseeable and unforeseeable causes of damage. Thus they could be drawn on to pay for foreseeable damage such as the eradication and clean up costs of a GM crop cross-pollinating with a neighbouring farmer’s conventional crop. What is not clear is whether the bond provisions can also be framed to provide compensation to that farmer for financial losses suffered if the GM contaminated crop is rejected in the market, or the harvest value is lower.

\subsection{4.3.4 Enforcement Orders}

Consent conditions can nonetheless be set to guard against financial damage, and any breach of these can trigger a further important RMA instrument - an enforcement order under s314,\textsuperscript{201} Such an order can provide for payment of monies for “any actual and reasonable costs and expenses which that other person has incurred or is likely to incur in avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effect on the environment” as a result of a breach.\textsuperscript{202}

Whether an enforcement order can be used to recover financial damages is however also unclear. The RMA definition of "environment"\textsuperscript{203} is inclusive of economic conditions which affect not only natural and physical resources but also all people and communities, and this provides a good base for the proposition that the terms “remedy” and “mitigate” should cover financial losses as well as environmental damage. However, we are not aware of case law on this point and further investigation would be required to develop the proposition.

Any person can apply to the Environment Court for an enforcement order.\textsuperscript{204} If such an order were to cover adverse financial effects resulting from the breach of a condition, this would open the way for affected landowners to gain redress.\textsuperscript{205} For if the Environment Court supports an application, it then has wide powers to instruct

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{200} The Royal Commission notes that: “The effects of genetic modification are expected to be likely to manifest only in the long term”. Royal Commission report, p. 311.
  \item \textsuperscript{201} This is quite separate from an enforcement order under the Biosecurity Act that would be used to remedy a breach of border regulations, as opposed to the effects of an authorised release.
  \item \textsuperscript{202} RMA s314(1)(d).
  \item \textsuperscript{203} The term “Environment” is defined under s2 to include:
    \begin{itemize}
      \item (a) Ecosystems and their constituent parts, including people and communities; and
      \item (b) All natural and physical resources; and
      \item (c) Amenity values; and
      \item (d) The social, economic, aesthetic, and cultural conditions which affect the matters stated in paragraphs (a) to (c) of this definition or which are affected by those matters.
    \end{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{204} RMA s316.
  \item \textsuperscript{205} The extent to which costs incurred as a result of damage to human health can also be recovered would be influenced firstly by the extent to which ACC accepts a claim and then by this question of interpretation.
\end{itemize}
actions to be taken to “avoid, remedy or mitigate”, including the payment of monies to affected parties.\footnote{206}

A key question that arises if the financial damage were serious is whether the Court would order payment to be made from a bond taken to secure performance of conditions set to protect against ecological harm. In absence of such an order, or if it were to eventuate that neither bonds nor enforcement orders were able to be used to sufficiently protect against financial damages, there is a significant risk that damage of any serious scale will not be paid for by the consent holder. GMO operators would then have the incentive to use a commercial vehicle that was itself of little realisable value\footnote{207} and serious claims against it would leave a deficit. In this case, unless the council or the Government volunteered funds, the losses would lie where they fell - with innocent individuals and businesses.

4.3.5 Opportunity Costs

One type of loss it seems very unlikely RMA instruments would cover is costs that are not actually suffered, but involve the loss of anticipated future earnings. Such opportunity costs may take the form of a non-GM farmer who suffers GM contamination in one year, losing a premium contract for future years due to buyer concern that contamination will recur. At the district-wide level, such contamination incidents could take the form of a lost ability for non-GM farmers to access markets that require surety of the absence of trace contamination. The latter effect could also potentially be felt as a reduction in the brand value of the district/peninsula.

4.3.6 Financial Contributions and Monitoring

Where there is clearer scope for financial effects to be provided for alongside environmental effects is through financial contributions.\footnote{208} A traditional motivation for their use is if there are adverse effects that are fully anticipated and can not be avoided, remedied or completely mitigated and financial contributions are paid to a local authority as an offset to secure a consent. Such an approach would not however cover many of the potential effects of greatest concern as these are uncertain in their scope and scale, and thus not readily subject to pre-estimation. (Non-traditional uses of financial contributions may be able to be used to greater success but this would require further investigation.)

More clearly applicable however is the use of financial contributions to cover a council’s monitoring obligations under RMA.\footnote{209} Sections 35(2)(d) and (e) set an obligation to monitor as follows:

\footnotesize{
\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{206} As noted in Section 3.1, there is also the option of utilising common law tort actions. That section also notes the significant limitations on these.
\item \footnote{207} Not withstanding the bond requirements in respect of ecological effects.
\item \footnote{208} Provided for under RMA s108(1)(a).
\item \footnote{209} Provided for under RMA s108A(1)(c).
\end{itemize}
}
(2) Every local authority shall monitor—

…

(d) The exercise of the resource consents that have effect in its region or district, as the case may be,—

(e) and take appropriate action (having regard to the methods available to it under this Act) where this is shown to be necessary.

When preparing a specific chapter in a district plan to cover GMO-related land uses, it would be necessary to include in the objectives and polices, the purposes of any financial contributions. In the methods, it would be necessary not only to categorise the activity status of such land uses, but also to have rules in relation to adverse effects.

4.3.7 Conclusion

A very high level of financial accountability for ecological effects could be achieved through the use of well framed consent conditions and bond provisions. Conditions can also be set with a view to avoiding or mitigating adverse effects, including economic damage. What is unclear at this stage is the RMA’s ability to provide for the recovery of economic losses.

Given a district council’s general duties of care for its financial position and that of its constituents, the overt nature of the gaps in the national law, and the extent of harm that GMO activities could cause, there is a ready justification for setting mandatory conditions on any GMO activity such that there is financial accountability for adverse ecological effects. There is a clear legal pathway for this and the resources required by councils to collectively establish and administer such provisions appear quite reasonable when measured against the scale of potential damage. Similarly, there are good grounds to establish consent conditions to avoid or mitigate economic damage. The extent to which provisions would also be set to cover financial losses is a matter for further investigation.

A related consideration is the s35 duty to monitor. In light of the extent of community concern evidenced through relevant hearings in the Northland peninsula, an absence of monitoring would set up an exposure for the relevant councils with respect to their s35 duties. ERMA is not required to make monitoring a condition of any approval it may grant for a GMO activity and has to date very rarely set monitoring requirements. Further, even if ERMA were to require this of an applicant, monitoring may not take place within the district in question, or may not cover all the effects of interest to a particular TLA. Monitoring can be expensive and if a council wishes for this to be paid for by the GMO operator, it will need to make this a consent condition, which will in turn require a district plan change to bring GMO activities in under the plan.

The above represents a strong case for a minimum level of joint council intervention. (A preliminary comparison of the costs and benefits of this action is discussed in Section 6.2.) If this conclusion is accepted, then any outdoor GMO activity in the district would need to obtain a consent if it were not prohibited. All would be subject to at least: provisions for financial accountability in respect of ecological effects, consent conditions to avoid or mitigate economic damage, and a requirement for financial contributions for monitoring.
4.4 RMA and Precaution

4.41 If Additional Controls Are Insufficient

In addition to the issue of financial accountability, a second and deeper deficiency identified in the GMO regulatory regime is the absence of a requirement under HSNO for activities to be assessed in line with the precautionary principle. As discussed in Section 3.2, there is certainly scope under HSNO for ERMA to deliver outcomes fully consistent with the precautionary principle. However there is no requirement to do so. This gap opens up two general forms of concern:

a) That ERMA could demonstrate an approach with respect to certain aspects of risk assessment (or a particular application) that is distinctly less risk-averse than that held by a council and its community.

b) That ERMA could demonstrate an across-the-board approach to risk that is distinctly less risk-averse than that held by a council and its community.

With respect to the first, there may be certain aspects of risk assessment that a TLA wishes to set rules for to provide assurance that community-determined policies will not be breached through the absence of controls at the national level. The following are examples of controls councils could set that would be new and additional to ERMA controls, or which could enhance any ERMA had put in place:

- Research prior to undertaking the outdoor GM activity to characterise and test a GMO. Such research may be needed to rule out certain adverse effects and/or to allow controls to be devised to avoid, remedy or mitigate identified potential effects;
- Prior research into particular effects having been completed and having raised no significant causes for concern. (This may include prior research under New Zealand conditions, or research into the effects within a particular ecosystem or locality within New Zealand);
- Ongoing research and monitoring of effects when the activity is undertaken within the district. This would allow for adaptive management whereby controls to address previously unidentified effects could be specified as they appear;
- Areas within which the activity is to be confined, including minimum distances from other non-GM or GM plants or animals;
- Times of year the activity is restricted to;
- Consent/Agreement from neighbouring or potentially affected parties.

Minimum standards can be set for certain controls (including any of those above), with others subject to individual assessment and condition setting.

With respect to the second general case identified above (ERMA demonstrates an across-the-board approach to risk that is distinctly less risk-averse than a council and its community), this can also be addressed to an extent by adding new conditions. However it raises the question of whether a community will judge the risks associated with certain classes of GMOs to be sufficiently great that it would seek to prohibit classes of activities, and the extent to which the RMA can be used to support this.
4.4.2 Availability of a Precautionary Approach

When considering the RMA, the courts have ruled that a precautionary approach is inherent in the Act. An extensive review of the requirements of the act with respect to precaution is provided in Shirley Primary School v Telecom Mobile and the following is stated by the Environment Court.\(^{210}\)

- “The Resource Management Act was precautionary and thus justified a precautionary approach. Such an approach was inherent in the Act – in particular in s 3(f).”

- Section 3(f) is considered to be “precisely what the precautionary approach is about”. Section 3(f) states that the term “effect” includes: “Any potential effect of low probability which has a high potential impact.”

- The precautionary principle “should be recognised as a restatement of s 3(f) and the precautionary approach”. It is not considered separately in making rulings for this reason.

- “We consider the effect of s 3, especially 3(f), is that the court is required to evaluate beyond the balance of probabilities (i.e., 50-50) where the risk (even if low) is of high potential impact.”\(^{211}\)

As Dr Somerville notes, in Golden Bay Marine Farmers v Tasman District Council, the Environment Court ruled that a precautionary approach may be applied:

(a) through the application of and analysis of the factual evidence under the provisions of s.3 RMA, particularly s.3(f) – that regard be had “to potential effects of low probability but high potential impact”;

(b) after findings of fact are made, a precautionary approach may be inbuilt into the various relative provisions of the plan – objectives, policies, rules, methods, etc. \(^{212}\)

As discussed in Section 3.2, traditional risk assessment relies on an ability to identify the nature of risk events and their probability to adequately regulate for them. Some of the potential effects will be known to a reasonable degree. However, the extent to which the probability of the risk occurring is unknown, or both the nature and the probability of the risk are unknown, is quite significant in relation to GMO release. In other words, in many cases regulators are left at best with uncertainty as to what may be the effects (probabilities unknown), or simply ignorance (if neither the nature of

\(^{210}\) Shirley Primary School v Telecom Mobile Communications Ltd, NZRMZ, 1999, paras 10, 221, 222 and 130 respectively. These interpretations were confirmed in Clifford Bay Marine Farms Ltd v Marlborough District Council.

\(^{211}\) By way of comparison, note that HSNO section 36 that sets minimum standards requires that an application not be “likely” to cause “significant” harm with respect to a range of environmental and human health concerns.

the risk or the probability is known). Risks are indeterminate if they are one of these two types. At this point, other approaches are useful in guiding decision making. It is in this context that the precautionary principle has evolved and offers assistance. The greater the extent of uncertainty or ignorance, the more one aspect of precautionary thinking comes into play. This is the involvement of those parties that are most directly affected by potential outcomes that can not readily be predicted. Two New Zealand writers in this field state:

In many instances, it is argued, the existence of indeterminacy will mean that the expert should have no more privilege or standing than the lay person in the policy development process.

When faced with uncertainty and indeterminacy, science by itself can no longer guide policy makers.

The RMA also embodies this approach of accrediting those who ultimately bear risk with the ability to define the risk parameters they as a community are most comfortable to adopt. Section 31 (b) sets a base for this by providing for “the control of any actual or potential effects of the use, development, or protection of land” [emphasis added]. Sections 3(e) and (f) further contribute to the ability to regulate for potential harm, with the definition of effects including:

(e) Any potential effect of high probability; and
(f) Any potential effect of low probability which has a high potential impact.

Section 32 4(b) provides a key additional precautionary element by specifying that an evaluation of any proposed change of plan must take into account the following:

(b) the risk of acting or not acting if there is uncertain or insufficient information about the subject matter of the policies, rules, or other methods.

As Dr Somerville notes:

The reference to “risk” in section 32(4)(b) in the context of uncertain or insufficient information would suggest a need to consider management steps which anticipate future adverse effects which cannot be quantified by a probabilistic risk analysis. A precautionary risk management approach involves taking anticipatory measures and considering alternatives in light of potential significant or irreversible harm that could result from proceeding on the basis of uncertain and/or inadequate information.

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213 Another set of terminology adopted in this area is to subdivide uncertainty into three types: statistical, model and fundamental. The “model” term is broadly equivalent to the EEA use of the term uncertainty while “fundamental” maps to the EEA term ignorance.


215 Section 32(4)(b) is wider than the wording in section 7 of the HSNO Act which refers to scientific matters when taking a precautionary approach.

Dr Somerville further states that a precautionary approach may be used as the root rationale for regulating GM activities within a district.

A strong precautionary risk management approach available to the WDC is to implement a policy of establishing GMO-exclusion areas within which GMO-related land uses are prohibited.

An alternative precautionary risk management approach which involves a policy of establishing a GMO-management area or areas within which GMO-related land uses are controlled by risk management methods including rules, while GMO-related land uses outside the management areas are prohibited, is also available to the WDC.²¹⁷

A precedent for such embodiment of the precautionary principle into RMA plans has been established through variations to accommodate the aquaculture industry in Tasman and Golden Bays via the Tasman Coastal Plan, following an extensive Environment Court Inquiry.²¹⁸

In summary, if a community undertakes investigations and analysis that leads it to conclude that a precautionary approach is warranted, it has the ability to deliver this outcome itself through use of the RMA.

4.5 Discretionary and Prohibited Activities

The RMA provides councils with a range of potential response options. The first option entails leaving the respective District Plans in their current state. From our analysis it seems that all of the plans in question permit activities unless they are otherwise controlled (which is the general presumption adopted in the RMA). This would mean that GMO activities would be permitted activities within each of the districts. As noted above, such an approach would leave unchecked a series of risks that could be addressed through instruments requiring in particular a significant degree of financial accountability on the part of the applicant, including effects resulting from unforeseen outcomes.

The option at the other extreme would be to prohibit all GMO activities in the respective districts. This option would rely on such activities being assigned prohibited activity status in each district plan.

Prohibited activities are rules in the plan that expressly prohibit in the district or in a given part of a district the activity subject to the rule. No application may be made for such activities, and no resource consent can be granted.

While the option to prohibit is clearly available where it can be demonstrated that there is just cause based on soundly identified risk, there is a clear warning against using this power improperly. In New Zealand Mineral Industry Association and Chief Executive of the Ministry of Economic Development v the Thames Coromandel

²¹⁷ Ibid, p. 27.
District Council\textsuperscript{219} the Court reviewed the correct approach to a prohibited status under the Resource Management Act, and concluded that:

it should only be used when the activity in question should not be contemplated in the relevant place under any circumstances.

The Court also warned against a plan change to prohibit an activity when in reality the consenting authority was simply trying to indicate a higher hurdle rather than an outright ban:

Prohibiting an activity is a legitimate planning tool, but one to be used sparingly and in a precisely targeted way.....it is therefore a distinct exception to the permissive effects based philosophy of the Act as a whole. It is not, we think, legitimate to use the prohibited status as a de-facto but more complex version of a non complying status. In other words it is not legitimate to say that the term prohibited does not really mean forbidden, but rather that while the activity could not be undertaken as the plan stands, a plan change to permit it is, if not tacitly invited, certainly something that would be entertained.

Clearly adoption of prohibited activity status for any activity in a district needs to be soundly based. It could only be adopted for those GMO activities that entail inherent risk that is not tolerable for economic, environmental, social or cultural reasons. As is discussed further in Section 6, the degree to which this could be seen as appropriate will depend considerably on a communities’ degree of aversion to risk.

However, it should be noted that prohibiting an activity does not necessarily preclude such activities from occurring for all time. The proponent of such an activity is always entitled (subject to the plan having been operative for at least 2 years) to promote a privately initiated plan change to enable the activity in question. Moreover, the prohibition can be reviewed on an ongoing basis as a result of the necessity to review District Plans on a 10 yearly cycle.

In between these poles are a spread of options based on a “sliding scale” approach, whereby the plans would incorporate rules providing for prohibition for those GMO activities that are regarded as presenting unacceptable levels of risk and a discretionary rule framework for those GMO activities that have generally acceptable risk levels, but are not necessarily appropriate to occur in all circumstances; or for those GMO activities that can proceed based on current knowledge, but where there is a need to set in place mandatory requirements on project proponents, including appropriate controls for addressing damage which may result from the land use.

In formulating appropriate rules, generally accepted terms of reference necessarily apply. For example, a rule may be specific or general in its application (Section 76(4)) but it must not be uncertain or vague (as confirmed most recently in the Ngatiwai Trust Board case).\textsuperscript{220} Any rule in a District Plan must be for the purpose of carrying out a council’s function under the RMA and as stated above, must achieve the objectives and policies of the plan (Section 76).

\textsuperscript{219} Environment Court W50/2001, 30704 Thomson, EJ
\textsuperscript{220} Ngatiwai Trust Board v The Whangarei District Council, Environment Court A57/04, L J Newhook, 28-Apr-04.
Section 5.1 and Appendix 1 of this report document different levels of risk for different activities and this prima facie suggests a sliding scale approach to control of GMOs, based on degree of risk. As stated above, where a GMO activity is accepted as being able to occur in the district, but not in every instance or it is appropriate to set conditions, obligations or limitations on the activity that would result, we suggest that it is appropriate to provide for such activities as discretionary activities (or restricted discretionary activities).

A discretionary activity requires a resource consent to be obtained, and may be subject to a range of District Plan based standards. A particular advantage of this category of control is that it may be specifically tailored to restrict the Council’s discretion to certain relevant matters. The council ultimately holds the discretion to grant or withhold consent. If consent is granted, it may be granted subject to conditions. Applications would be notified to provide for an essential component of the process by enabling community input into the decision making process. Rules for discretionary activities would be tailored such that any activity can be specifically assessed against certain precursors in order to qualify for such status and/or activities that do qualify can be assessed against specific matters or performance standards.

The overall advantage in this approach is that those GMO activities where the risk is regarded to be highest or unacceptable can be prohibited. If information comes to light in the longer term, whereby this perceived risk proves to be unfounded, then a plan change can be adopted to reduce the degree of control. Minimum protections by way of instruments designed to address adverse financial effects would in our view be a bottom line inclusion. Other safeguards relating to economic, environmental, social and cultural risks could also be covered by discretionary rules, so long as they are additional to, and did not duplicate, those set by ERMA.

Such rules might also specify that information (in particular that derived from monitoring) will be made readily available to people in the community so that they can participate effectively in any further local government policy development relating to GMOs, and so that any cumulative effects and residual effects can be best understood by all with an interest in such matters.
5. Option Definition

5.1 Classes of GMO Activities

Different types of GMOs carry different risks. However similar GMOs can be brought together into classes of like organisms which could be expected to have similar types of effects that councils may be required to avoid, remedy or mitigate. In this way, response options can be framed to govern classes of GMOs.

The very wide scope of research into GMOs means a large number of types of potential activities have to be considered. However, classes often share similarities with respect to key potential effects so that very similar controls can be used to regulate not just classes of GMOs but groups of such classes.

Appendix 1 provides a detailed survey of the research prospects under investigation, their anticipated uses and the risks currently identified. Analysis of this spread of prospects makes clear that although the understanding of potential effects is far from complete, certain features about the type of GMO or its intended market of themselves have a large influence on the potential for risk. In particular, the following distinctions are central to assessing the scope of risk.

- Whether the GMO is one normally used for the production of food: The economic effects of these GMOs have the potential to be significantly greater than for non-food varieties.

- Whether the GM organism is a plant, an animal, or a microorganism: The nature of the risks and the ability to control the spread of a GMO differs greatly between plants and animals in particular.

Based on these distinctions, five high level groupings have been identified.

- GM (food) plants
- GM (non-food) plants
- GM (food) animals
- GM (non-food) animals
- GM microorganisms

These high level groupings can be subdivided into individual classes of activities based on the intended purpose of the GMO:

- Food production;
- Fibre production;
- Pharmaceutical production;
- Industrial substances production;
- Biocontrol or bioremediation;
- Ornamental purposes.
Our survey shows at least 21 classes of activities under the five high level groupings, as listed below. Only three of these classes have been commercialised to date – with GM plants used to produce food the overwhelmingly dominant one. The profiles in Appendix 1 are set out on the basis of these classes.

**Activities involving GM (food) plants**
- GM (food) plants to produce food
- GM (food) plants to produce pharmaceuticals
- GM (food) plants to produce industrial substances
- GM (food) plants to produce fibre
- GM (food) plants for biocontrol or bioremediation

**Activities involving GM (non-food) plants**
- GM (non-food) plants to produce fibre
- GM (non-food) plants to produce pharmaceuticals
- GM (non-food) plants to produce industrial substances
- GM (non-food) plants for biocontrol or bioremediation
- GM (non-food) plants for ornamental purposes

**Activities involving GM (food) animals**
- GM (food) animals to produce food
- GM (food) animals to produce fibre
- GM (food) animals to produce pharmaceuticals
- GM (food) animals to produce industrial substances
- GM (food) animals for biocontrol or bioremediation

**Activities involving GM (non-food) animals**
- GM (non-food) animals to produce fibre
- GM (non-food) animals to produce pharmaceuticals
- GM (non-food) animals to produce industrial substances
- GM (non-food) animals for biocontrol or bioremediation

**Activities involving GM microorganisms**
- GM (live) vaccines used in animals
- GM microorganisms for biocontrol or bioremediation

The above represent the classes of GMOs that district councils should consider in assessing options for community management of GMOs. Identification of these classes offers an effects-based means by which councils and their communities can focus on the key concerns when assessing options for community management of GMOs, and any subsequent framing of new rules.

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221 Other classes of GMOs is which one or more approvals have been made are GM (live) vaccines used in animals and GM animals to produce food (fish).

222 In this context, “animals” are assumed to include mammals, birds, aquatic organisms and insects.

223 Animal vaccines are a border-line case in this list as they involve the potential for indirect release of live organisms via excretion, rather than direct release on to the land.
5.2 Nature and Timing of GMO Activities

5.2.1 Modes of Outdoor Activity Under HSNO

In addition to considering the class of GMO activity that may be proposed, a council would also need to consider the extent and nature of the GM activity and the legal requirements that would be imposed irrespective of ERMA. The HSNO Act provides for three distinct modes of outdoor uses of GMOs. These are:

*Field trials:* This provides for experimental trials to be carried out under controls that have the objective of ensuring no altered genetic material leaves the test site during the trial and that all heritable material is removed upon its conclusion. Also provided for under HSNO s40 is the contained development of a GMO. This involves somewhat different statutory requirements but for the purposes of this report, the term “field trials” shall be used to include outdoor GMO development projects.

*Conditional release:* Release under case specific controls that can range from those only slightly less restrictive than a field trial or only slight more encumbering than an unrestricted release. Conditional release covers both more extensive experimental activities (e.g., allowing for some release of GM material from the test organisms) through to commercial activities (where the GMOs are cultivated or bred for market). The nature and strength of the conditions is at ERMA’s discretion. No applications for conditional release of a GMO have been made since it was introduced to HSNO in 2003.

*Release (unrestricted):* Release of a GMO without any conditions on the use of it, or restraint on the time for which approval is given. The new organism is accepted as a part of New Zealand’s biological stock. No unrestricted releases of a GMO have been authorised in New Zealand.

5.2.2 Expected Timing and Form of Activities

At what time GMO developers and end users will seek permission for activities and the precise form of those activities is sufficiently uncertain that ERMA finds it quite difficult to forecast this, even with its ongoing contact with many of the most likely applicants. As described in Appendix 1, there is a wide ranging frontier of research into GMOs internationally with hundreds of varieties under research and development. The question of when applications are likely to come forward in New Zealand is probably best approached in terms of broad trends.

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224 There are a number of other sections of the act devoted to modes of approvals for use within the laboratory which do not constitute outdoor uses and so are not addressed by this report.

225 While there have been a number of breaches of field trial conditions - even for the relatively limited number undertaken in New Zealand, and those with respect to a Northland based GM tamarillo trial were among the most serious to date – the intent is to keep the altered genetic material within the test site and remove it after the trial.

226 These are regulated under HSNO s38.

227 These are regulated under HSNO s34.
Within New Zealand, research has to date been confined to field trials under controls set with the intention that no altered genes escape the test areas. However, the next stage envisaged by New Zealand GM plant developers in the near future involves pre-commercial development under HSNO’s conditional release provisions. Tony Conner of the Crop and Food Institute identifies the intended scope of such work with respect to GM potatoes in the following terms:

This must allow for the full evaluation of GM lines in a manner similar to the evaluation of potential new cultivars from traditional breeding programmes. Implicit in such field trials will be the need to assess GM crops in farm-scale trials with most of the farming practices applied to existing crops. This must involve all standard agronomic practices and the use of conventional farm machinery. The harvested produce must be allowed to undergo normal processing assessment using standard industry practices.  

Under an application for a conditional release, ERMA can set very few or a great many controls of any form. There has been no precedent to date to guide how it may respond. The purpose behind the 2003 amendments to HSNO however was clearly to provide a framework for such pre-commercial releases that would allow GMO projects to progressively move to commercialisation, other things being equal.

With respect to GMOs developed offshore, as described in Section A1, the current varieties commercially available are unattractive in general to New Zealand farmers as they predominantly target pests and problems not present in this country. Applications for use of such varieties could nonetheless come forward for a variety of reasons.

One potential driver could be the desire to legalise the growing of a particular GM variety so that it was no longer a “new organism” under HSNO, for which there is zero tolerance under the act. This would mean imported seed unintentionally containing some GM seeds of that variety would then pass border inspection. A further strategic motivation could be to compete against or head off a national or regional branding initiative. Strategic marketing considerations are an important motive for corporate initiatives and such action could be used as part of an effort to maintain a future ability to release GMOs. A type of application that could serve each of these two purposes is seed multiplication. This is an activity New Zealand routinely engages in for conventional seeds. An approach was made to ERMA for GM seed multiplication in 1998 but did not proceed.

While the projected timelines for overseas development of new GMOs are relatively well documented, which of these new products will be considered worth bringing to New Zealand and at what stage in their commercialisation is very difficult to provide useful guidance on.

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228 We have to test GM in the Kiwi context, Tony Conner, NZ Herald, 28 August 2003.
229 The purpose is to bulk up seed supply during the Northern hemisphere off-season.
230 ERMA described the approach from Monsanto in the following terms: ‘GMR98001: To import for release canola (Brassica napus L) genetically modified for resistance to Roundup herbicide, for the purposes of seed multiplication and export of grain and to allow breeding of specific brassica crops for animal forage in New Zealand.’
5.3 **Four Response Options**

While there are a large number of ways in which an active council response can ultimately be framed, discussion at this stage can be usefully focussed on four broad approaches to regulation of the classes of activities identified above. Detailed design issues can be addressed as a subsequent stage of investigation. As discussed further below, it is expected that robust community and stakeholder consultation will be key to informing an “in principle” decision.

An option that would exclude GMOs of all forms is not put forward as the scope of this report is limited to outdoor uses of GMOs\(^{231}\) - which are those the RMA can address. (Note that GMOs that have been grown in other jurisdictions but are no longer live - eg processed foodstuffs - are not outdoor uses in the New Zealand context.)

Neither is a “do nothing” option set out here as this requires no particular specification and remains a natural counterfactual against which any proposal for intervention will be compared. Such an assessment is made in Section 6.2 which specifically addresses the issue of whether to intervene.

The following options are framed to address the choice of which classes of GMOs should be discretionary activities and which prohibited, as this is the key high level decision councils and their communities need to make. Whether particular parts of a district should be treated differently from the general rules can be given consideration at the time detailed design of the rules is undertaken, as these are in effect sub-options to any decision in principle. However, the inability to predict the type of GMO and industry sector that release would in fact be sought for (as distinct from the range of research prospects that could be of interest), the resulting likely location of demand for particular zones of GMO development, and the extent to which the form of development sought could be contained within the defined area, pose compounding problems to devising meaningful consultation options based on this concept and also rule changes in advance of a well defined activity.

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\(^{231}\) As noted in the introduction to this report, this is its prescribed scope of reference.
5.3.1 Option A. All GMO Activities Discretionary

Each application for a GMO activity is individually determined, subject to pre-specified mandatory conditions. Key features of this option include:

- All GMO activities are discretionary activities;
- Each requires a consent and is publicly notified;
- Consent conditions would be set to manage foreseeable adverse effects, such conditions tending to be common within a class of GMO;
- All applications are subject to mandatory monitoring and financial accountability provisions designed to ensure any damage is remedied or compensated for, to the extent possible under the RMA;
- Field trials are restricted discretionary activities (subject primarily to financial accountability provisions) while the scope of conditions able to be applied to all other activities is unrestricted.

The following table summarises the coverage this position provides for each class of release activity (the main block) and all types of field trials (far right column). “D” indicates a discretionary activity, and “RD” indicates a restricted discretionary activity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option A</th>
<th>Releases</th>
<th>Field Trials</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food Plants</td>
<td>Food-Animals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fibre</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Biopharming &amp; Industrial</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Biocontrol Agent</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As noted above, it is proposed under this option that all field trials would be restricted discretionary activities. This narrows the considerations that a council can take into account when determining whether or not to grant a consent but appears justified given the legal requirements for containment HSNO imposes on any application for a field trial. This approach is not proposed for release applications as to limit the range of potential controls that a council could utilise would place it in a less flexible position than ERMA. Central government was careful not to restrict the range of actions ERMA could take to control a conditional release activity. Councils may agree with ERMA that a particular control is the optimum method, but simply wish to reduce risk by toughening the control, so it would be prudent for councils to maintain full flexibility in its response options.
Any outdoor GMO activity will require ERMA approval irrespective of a district council’s requirement for it to be consented as a discretionary activity. It would greatly assist a council’s consideration if it had in hand ERMA’s decision on the activity before hearing a consent application. ERMA’s decision will provide not only its analysis of the risks and benefits, it will detail the constraints or controls that ERMA has imposed on the activity. In particular, the decision will detail any geographic controls that would restrict the areas in which the activity could take place at all, or if there are stricter limits on activities in certain areas.

The nature of the required plan change would determine the scope of any considerations that would be compulsory for a council to weigh. To what extent information would be sought from the applicant to cover specific local effects (e.g. ecological risks), or whether the council wished to commission independent advice (e.g. local economic impacts), would be a matter for the council to determine and provide for in its plan.

5.3.2 Option B. Food Plants and Food Animals Prohibited

In addition to the parameters set out in Option A, activities using food plants and food animals (for food and/or non-food purposes) would be prohibited. Specifically:

- All food plant releases are prohibited;
- All food animal releases are prohibited;
- Field trials for biopharming of food plants are prohibited;
- All others activities are discretionary activities, as in Option A.

The table below again summarises the results, where “P” indicates a prohibited activity and the cells are coloured red, while discretionary activities are coloured yellow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option B</th>
<th>Releases</th>
<th>Field Trials</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food Plants</td>
<td>Food-Animals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fibre</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>Biopharming &amp; Industrial</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>Biocontrol Agent</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The test would be whether the plant or animal has a role as a food source, rather than whether a particular plant or animal is to be used for food. Thus corn for animal feed would be covered as it is a food plant, while other animal feeds that are not also sources of human food would not be covered.
5.3.3 Option C. Plant Activities Largely Prohibited, Food Animals Prohibited

In addition to the parameters set out in Option B, activities involving non-food plants for the production of fibre and biopharmaceuticals would be prohibited. The overall position is:

- All food plant releases are prohibited;
- All food animal releases are prohibited;
- Non-food plants for the production of fibre and biopharmaceuticals are prohibited;
- Field trials for biopharming of food plants and non-food plants are prohibited;
- All others activities are discretionary activities, as in Option A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option C Releases</th>
<th>Field Trials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food Plants</strong></td>
<td><strong>Food-Animals</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fibre</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>Biopharming &amp; Industrial</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>Biocontrol Agent</td>
<td>P</td>
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</table>
5.3.4 Option D. All Release Activities Prohibited

In addition to the parameters set out in Option C, those release activities not already prohibited would become so. Under this option, attention would be focused on the sub-options for addressing field trials. There are three broad possibilities for these:

\( D(i): \text{ Restricted discretionary} \)
This would be in line with a stance that is strongly precautionary with respect to all releases, but sets only limited and pre-declared issues that could be controlled with respect to field trials.

\( D(ii): \text{ Discretionary} \)
This stance would remain strongly precautionary with respect to all releases, but leave open the grounds that could be used to control or refuse consent to a field trial.

\( D(iii): \text{ Prohibited} \)
This stance would be strongly precautionary with respect to all releases, and all field trials.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option D</th>
<th>Releases</th>
<th>Field Trials</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food Plants</td>
<td>Food-Animals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fibre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Biopharming &amp; Industrial</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>Biocontrol Agent</td>
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6. Option Evaluation

6.1 Assessment Elements

An RMA section 32 analysis of any proposed new rules is ultimately required in order to support a plan change to give effect to these. This in turn requires clearly defined objectives and policies which the rules can be tested against to determine if those proposed are the most appropriate.

The degree of uncertainty surrounding many key risks attendant to GMOs suggests that further development of those objectives and policies is best carried out iteratively with the options analysis. Option evaluation at this stage therefore needs to be conducted at a somewhat higher level.

Key issues that will inform decision-making at this stage include: the effectiveness of the measure in addressing the risk, as compared to alternatives; and the expected cost of implementing and administering the required rules. The following subsections address these issues through evaluating each of the four response options in terms of the expected:

- Degree of precaution provided;
- Effectiveness of financial accountability measures;
- Costs of administering the new rules and risks of court action.

A further issue which is important in the context of the current stage of high level decision-making is the extent to which an option forecloses opportunities – both GMO development options and alternatives reliant on the absence of GMOs or particular GMO classes.

6.1.1 Degree of Precaution

Options A to D show a progressive increase in strength of precaution.

- **Option A**: represents the minimum intervention necessary to secure a community-determined level of precaution. Every GMO activity would require a TLA consent and this would provide an opportunity to place additional or more

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233 Section 1.2 lists the relevant policies adopted to date by Northland peninsula councils.

234 In particular, section 32 (3) and (4) require:

(3) An evaluation must examine-

(a) the extent to which each objective is the most appropriate way to achieve the purpose of this Act; and

(b) whether, having regard to their efficiency and effectiveness, the policies, rules, or other methods are the most appropriate for achieving the objectives.

(4) For the purposes of this examination, an evaluation must take into account-

(a) the benefits and costs of policies, rules, or other methods; and

(b) the risk of acting or not acting if there is uncertain or insufficient information about the subject matter of the policies, rules, or other methods.

235 Discussion of the risks attendant to different types of GMO applications is contained in section 5 above.
stringent conditions on any application ERMA had approved under HSNO. This option leaves a TLA flexibility to consider case specific issues as they arise and discretion whether or not to permit an activity.

- **Option B:** exercises strong precaution in respect of food plants and food animals, while taking a minimum intervention approach with respect to other potential releases. This option focuses in on the leading source of concern that has been identified in public opinion surveys and that which has demonstrated a capacity to impose financial losses on non-GM food producers.

- **Option C:** would extend the focus of new rules to include prohibiting the release of GM non-food plants to make fibre (commercial forestry in particular) and also those used for biopharming and industrial substances. If community concerns run beyond food-related releases and include other plant-based GM products, but do not extend significantly beyond this in scope, then Option C would cater to this position.

- **Option D:** represents a very strong precautionary approach that would prohibit all GMO releases.

An important caveat is that if the Minister for the Environment exercises the right to call in an application under the RMA, the Minister would then decide the application, rather than the council. This applies for any class of GMO that was made a discretionary activity. If an activity is prohibited, the Minister can not intervene as no application can then be made.

### 6.1.2 Financial Accountability

Financial accountability is addressed in two different ways in the four options. If use of a GMO is a discretionary activity, the issue is addressed explicitly through consent conditions, bonds and financial contributions. If a GMO activity is prohibited, financial accountability is addressed implicitly through the source of risk having been barred from taking place.

As one moves through the options from A to D, the extent to which reliance is placed on consent conditions falls away and more classes of activity are prohibited. Prohibiting an activity eliminates the need for consent-related financial accountability measures as these would not apply.\(^\text{236}\) If an activity is discretionary and is consented, there are a suite of measures that can be utilised under the RMA to provide for financial accountability. The effectiveness of these will be subject to a number of factors including:

- **Scope of accountability provided for in the statute:** It is clear that the RMA can provide for full accountability with respect to ecological damage. The extent to which economic damage can be covered is unclear and this requires further investigation. Opportunity costs are very unlikely to be covered.

\(^{236}\) Consideration still needs to be given to whether any additional provisions are needed to cope with a GMO activity that ERMA has approved but the TLA has prohibited.
• **Scope for setting bonds provided for in the statute:** It is again clear that the RMA provides fully for bonding related to ecological damage, but it is not clear that it covers economic damage.

• **Nature of the guidelines established for setting bonds and their successful execution:** Councils will need to have carefully developed guides for setting bonds so that these are comprehensive in provisioning against potential risks and are successfully implemented.

Thus there is less certainty of the effectiveness of financial accountability measures the more GMO classes are made discretionary activities, and the scope for application becomes less clear.

### 6.1.3 Administrative Costs and Legal Risks

**Administrative Costs**

There are one-off costs involved in implementing any plan change and also those involved in administering the new rules.

Looking first at implementation costs, it is likely that each of the options will involve much the same level of expenditure. This is because the bulk of the costs arise from the process of researching alternatives, consulting on alternatives, and setting in place the desired change. While one option may ultimately involve a significantly great number of rules or wider scope, the costs of arriving at any position are likely to be fairly similar. Discussions with WDC confirmed that the participating councils will be best placed to estimate these costs on the basis of past proposed plan changes and thus have not attempted to research this question – particularly as it would not reveal significant differences between options.

There will however be more variation in the cost of administering different options. The costs will be lowest if intervention is minimal, or where a class of activity is prohibited. Option D would tend to carry the least cost in terms of administering applications for consents.\(^{237}\)

There is a great deal of uncertainty as to what the costs would be under any options that provide for council discretion due to the difficulty in predicting the:

- Number of applications that would come forward;
- Types of application (field trial or release);
- GMOs in question;
- Purposes of use (research or commercial production).

There is also considerable uncertainty as to the extent of community concern each consent application would generate and the resources a council considers it is appropriate to devote to an application – this too being largely a matter for council’s discretion.

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\(^{237}\) The actual position would depend on the policy position selected with respect to field trials and the extent to which field trial applications were made.
The distribution of these costs will of course depend on the cost recovery policy adopted. The RMA clearly provides for full cost recovery\textsuperscript{238} from the applicant and this would seem to be a prudent measure in cases involving GMO decisions.

The best guide to total costs is probably derived from a strategic level assessment. It seems reasonable to presume that if Northland Peninsula Councils establish district level conditions to GMO development, when the area has had very limited GMO activity in the past and has already evidenced community concern via LTCCP submissions, GMO developers will in general look to other districts in preference. We are not aware of any features of the Northland peninsula that would attract GM development in preference to other parts of the country. Indeed, local developer Wrightsons has elected to extend work on GM ryegrass it began in New Zealand by migrating this work and any field trials that result to Australia.\textsuperscript{239} The opportunities for research locations are thus international and, prima facie, the costs of administering consent applications could turn out to be low.

**Legal Risks**

An important caveat however is that GMO developers will also regard the emergence of local controls on GMO activities as a barrier to business development and may seek to challenge such controls through the courts. Thus a plan change could attract a challenge that has a strategic purpose of testing the new rules. The form of challenge may depend on whether the activity was prohibited or discretionary. In the first case, the plan provisions would be challenged whereas a discretionary activity could also be challenged on the basis of the conditions set, or the decision not to grant a consent.

Councils that adopt the new rules will naturally have undertaken extensive legal reviews prior to implementing a plan change, and refined the proposals to be robust to litigation. To the extent that potential litigants are also advised that the plan changes are robust to challenge, the incentives for following through on the threat of a court challenge are greatly reduced as it is then more clearly exposed not only to meeting its own costs, but also those of the council it challenges.

In very general terms, the risk of such an action being taken probably does not vary greatly between the options. The strategic purpose of the litigation would be to overturn any form of local control that could hinder GMO projects, so each would be a target from that perspective. The key question then is how well rules established under each of options A to D would be likely to withstand legal challenge. This is a question which is naturally easier to address once specific provisions have been developed and it is in any case one for which independent legal advice will be required. In principle, however, we understand there may well be no greater risk of any one of options A to D being overturned than another given the evidence to date. Thus, making all GMO releases prohibited activities may be no less robust than making all GMO releases discretionary. We are confident that forms of plan change can be developed that would be robust to challenge and understand a legal view is

\textsuperscript{238} Section 36 (1) (b).
\textsuperscript{239} $6.5 million biotech boost, Press Statement by Hon Pete Hodgson, 03 March 2005. On page 2 it is stated that “Development and field trials will be carried out in Australia”.
being sought on the strength of the s32 analysis that could be developed in support of approaches presented here.

If a challenge were to proceed nonetheless, Section 6.2 discusses how this cost would be controllable and would most likely be shared between councils that were implementing like plan changes.

Were the court to find fault with a plan change, it seems unlikely that the provisions would be simply deleted. More likely is that these would be softened so that the end result in any event would be a locally determined set of measures to manage GMO risks.

A further dimension is that Crown Law considers it unlikely that a council would be held liable for consequences resulting from it failing to uphold a rule it had made to regulate GMOs. It also does not see councils being liable as a result of an activity that was approved under the rule, but the rule did not succeed in controlling a particular adverse effect.240

6.1.4 Foreclosure of Opportunities

GMO Development Opportunities

Option A: does not foreclose the use of any GMO varieties, as all applications are at a council’s discretion to consent. Option B: precludes the commercial production of GM food crops and animals, but makes pre-commercial field trials discretionary. Option C: in addition prohibits GM plant fibre crops, such as forestry, while Option D prohibits all remaining classes of release.

An important feature of the RMA’s plan provisions is that a decision to prohibit an activity is entirely reversible. Thus, if it were to become evident in the field trial stage and in light of new information that a particular GMO activity would be of net benefit to a district, the leadtime involved in gaining an ERMA consent would not be so different for that required to achieve a plan change. The change would, however, be specific to a particular class or GMO variety, and could leave in place the protections against risks from other GMOs if new information had not suggested a change of rules was also required.

For a number of classes, products being developed for the New Zealand market (such as GM pine or GM cows) are not expected to be commercialised for around a decade – the period within which a district plan undergoes a routine review. Thus the only GMO activities affected for such classes are pre-commercial evaluations.

We are not aware of characteristics from a regulatory approvals point of view that would offer unique benefits for pre-commercial evaluations to be undertaken in the Northland peninsula. Neither is it clear that farmers of the relevant district would gain any special advantage from hosting such work. Pre-commercial development would therefore be likely to pose risks to Northland peninsula producers for no direct gain.

240 Crown Law (3 November 2004) Advice on potential for council liability arising from rules controlling GMOs, paras 9 and 11.
As has recently been demonstrated with respect to GM ryegrass research, any reluctance by New Zealand consent authorities to approve development work can be overcome by undertaking such work offshore.

**Branding and Marketing Opportunities**

There is also the potential for foreclosure of opportunities through permitting development of one or more classes of GMO activity. This could remove the opportunity to build price premiums or new markets through a district marketing itself as excluding the production of specified GM products. Different options offer different potentials for branding and marketing efforts, at a company or district level, designed to alter buyer perceptions, if not the fact, of the extent to which “GM Free” produce could be sourced from a district.

- **Option A**: could offer branding potential with respect to markets sensitive to GM content if it were shown over time to result in an absence of one or more classes of GMO, food varieties in particular. However, as all applications to council would be individually assessed and discretionary, in the medium term there would be no clear basis for a marketing claim that would significantly distinguish the area or its products in this respect.

- **Option B**: offers the potential for a district to market itself as excluding the production of GM foods. This can be used by non-GM producers to advise customers of the correspondingly reduced risk of any trace GM contamination being found in foods produced in the area. While overseas initiatives suggest individual districts and sub-regions are capable of driving marketing initiatives based on policy set within that area alone, if the Northland Peninsula Councils adopted parallel stances to GMOs, this would allow the creation of a Northland peninsula exclusion zone, with respect to food GMOs for example. The geographical characteristics of such a zone would enhance both the perception and the fact that the zone was remote from any other plantings of GM food crops.

- **Option C**: carries the same potential for marketing but with a broader claim – that GM forestry and non-food plant biopharming and industrial crops production is also excluded. Trace GM contamination in food is far and away the most sensitive market issue so it is difficult to gauge the additional value in marketing terms relative to Option B.  

- **Option D**: presents the potential to make a stronger claim still – that there would be no GMO releases at all (only potentially field trials under conditions designed to prevent any altered genes leaving the research area). Here too, the value to

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As noted in Appendix 1, GM cotton is grown in one of the Australian states that has also prohibited GM food crops. We have not been able to find references that would suggest to what extent removal of this fibre crop would alter marketing potentials for food products. How GM pine plantations would be regarded (compared to GM cotton), and whether exclusion of these and most other non-food crops would enhance marketing potentials is a matter that would require specialist research to address. It would also depend on the particular markets being targeted. The potential for GM pine pollen to show up in standard tests performed on kiwifruit, as noted in section 3.1, is one such area for investigation.
purchasers of a further reduced likelihood of any form of trace contamination is
difficult to gauge without specialised research. However, the boldness of such a
stance of itself would offer branding opportunities.

6.2 Whether to Intervene?

The above evaluations provide a final set of material that informs the first decision
point for councils – whether to intervene at all. We now draw together and to an
extent repeat analysis already presented in order to provide a focus on that question.
To briefly recap key background:

There are clear deficiencies in the national regulatory regime: Liability
provisions are quite inadequate and HSNO makes optional, not mandatory, the
exercise of caution in assessing risk.

There are well identified sources of risk: Overseas experience has demonstrated
the capacity for very significant economic damage to arise and environmental risks
have been well documented but their significance for the most part is still to be
researched.

There is a clear legal basis for intervention under the RMA: District councils
have jurisdiction, RMA instruments can be used in parallel with the HSNO Act, and
they can specifically target the forms of GMO activity that have generated community
concern.242

If there were no intervention, the identified risks would not be addressed. The
important issue however that requires consideration before committing to intervention
is the cost of acting. In particular, do the benefits of intervention outweigh the costs?
Despite significant uncertainties on both sides of this equation, analysis of the form
and context in which these costs arise provides a clear basis for answering the
question.

6.2.1 Costs of Intervention

Turning first to the costs of intervention, as noted above these come in three forms:
implementation, administration, and those that could arise if a legal challenge is
mounted to a plan change or plan variation.243

Administration Costs: These are fully recoverable from the applicant and so need not
pose any direct cost to a council. It does generate compliance costs for an applicant
but this is the case for all other activities covered by a plan.

Implementation Costs: As identified in section 4.3.7 and further discussed below,
there is a very good chance that a council faced with the prospect GMO activity

242 Dr Somerville has provided opinions to this effect and Crown Law either supports the
interpretations, or in the case of the relationship with HSNO, has not contested this.
243 New rules may be introduced either through a plan change or a plan variation, depending on
the district plan. Use of the term “plan change” is intended to also cover a “plan variation”.

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would ultimately end up making a GMO related plan change, if only to recover monitoring costs. As the incremental cost of making a plan change that also specified other simple controls would be modest, the implementation costs that would actually be avoided by not doing so are likely to be modest. If shared between councils as envisaged, the net additional costs that can be counted against a plan change directed at local management of GMOs shrinks further.

**Legal Defence Costs:**

As Crown Law considers it unlikely a council would be held liable for it failing to uphold a rule it had made, or if the rule did not succeed in controlling a particular effect, there seems little basis on which to provide for such contingent costs.

The single source of potentially significant cost is a legal challenge to a plan change. There are a series of important characteristics to this:

a) *It is a contingent cost taken on only after detailed legal review:* While there are clear indications that GMO developers would look seriously at challenging any form of local controls, whether such a challenge would actually take place will not be known until such parties have had legal opinions prepared giving them an assessment of the chances of a challenge succeeding. No council would proceed with a plan change before having received legal advice that the change was considered sound and likely to be able to withstand challenge. It is probable, therefore, that the potential litigant will receive much the same advice and that would tend to quell a reasonable challenger. This would especially be the case if the advice was that a challenge would only serve to confirm the *vires* of the plan change and provide a clearer precedent for future like initiatives. While the threat of court action can be used as a strategic weapon in its own right at an early stage, once legal reviews suggest a sound plan is available, the value of the threat largely evaporates. Progressively, the limited utility of such a threat against a carefully prepared change will be well understood.

Alternatively, the challenger’s legal advice may be that a small part of the plan is open to challenge but the likely result of any court action would be a minor alteration. In such a case, the incentive would be to negotiate directly with the council. This and other variations on the theme would result in no court action taking place and no defence costs being incurred.

b) *It is a controllable cost:* If legal defence costs do arise, it is important to observe that while a council is bound to respond, it has considerable control over how much is spent on the action. Also, one of the options it has for responding is to seek an out of court settlement. Further, council has the option to make a further plan change at any time if it comes to understand that there is a legal exposure it had not previously identified. Finally, if the council wins the case, costs can be claimed from the challenger. Under these scenarios, the net cost to a council of defending an action would be small or much reduced.
c) **It would be a shared cost:** The councils participating in the Inter-Council Working Party are approaching the prospect of community management of GMOs on the basis that a uniform response across the districts they cover will be the optimum and that the costs involved will be shared. To the extent that councils in the Northland peninsula adopt parallel or similar plan changes for managing GMOs, it would seem reasonable that they commit to mounting a joint defence to challenges made to any one of the grouping so that councils are not individually exposed. This would in part recognise that in absence of a plan change, a council would individually face legal risk from the other side - through constituents alleging the council failed in its duty of care.

It is also important to note that the risks identified in this report are by and large common to all other councils, and a considerable number are monitoring developments in the Northland peninsula with a view to recommencing their own investigation of response options once these have been more clearly defined. They too are prospective partners in a broader agreement providing for mutual cover with respect to this particular litigation risk.

Further, there is precedent for LGNZ acting as the co-ordinator and banker for such an arrangement. It has taken on this role when there have been parallel concerns across a number of local authorities and there is agreement to share the risk of any court costs. Given the availability of such risk sharing arrangements, options should be assessed at this stage on the basis that an arrangement can be devised. This can be confirmed or otherwise explored at the time a formal s32 analysis is completed, should the costs of acting begin to approach the expected costs of not acting.

Also to be taken into account on this side of the ledger are any public benefits that would result from the use of GMOs in the district. The difficulty in accounting for these is that, to date, the varieties for which field performance is known have in general shown only modest private gains and public benefits would be slight if any. On the other hand, the many research projects currently under way are, in general, not at a point of development where reliable data can be drawn on. Hence these represent a pool from which future opportunities may emerge but for which the benefits remain speculative at this point.

### 6.2.2 Benefits of Intervention

The costs of not intervening (and hence the benefits of intervention) cover a wider set of possibilities and have different distributional impacts. However, some large potential costs arising from not intervening that first affect individual ratepayers would quickly loop back to become costs to the wider community.

A serious category of risk for a council is the financial liability for clean-up of any environmental damage that may result from a GMO activity. Due to the inadequate liability and financial assurance arrangements under HSNO, councils are exposed to meeting the costs of clean-up if the polluter does not pay. A clear warning from the past in respect of such costs is offered by the thousands of sites throughout the country contaminated with hazardous substances which it is estimated will cost
around $1 billion to clean up. A significant proportion of this cost can not be recovered from the polluter and Government funding has been committed to only a very small number of sites, leaving councils with the problem of “orphaned” sites. Clean up costs for organisms will vary greatly but can amount to tens of millions of dollars, as the painted apple moth and varroa mite programmes have shown. Government has made no commitment as to whether it would provide financial support for cleanups that are required following an authorised release - as opposed to unauthorised GM contamination incidents that MAF is bound to address under HSNO.

While certain forms of environmental damage may also have commercial implications for food producers, it is the economic impacts of GM contamination that are the most apparent threat. Any detectable level of GM contamination in food products is in general sufficient to trigger product rejection in key export markets including Japan and Northern Europe. The scale of financial damage arising from such contamination has been demonstrated to be very high overseas. In New Zealand, at a time before any GMO has been approved for release, one food producer has already lost close to $500,000 in one product rejection incident - via contaminated imported seed.

Were a similar contamination incident to result from a GMO deliberately released in this country, the potential impact on the returns to growers in that district in particular, and the country in general, would be very significant according to statements made by major exporters. Thus what would in the first instance be a loss to an individual constituent of the district is likely to have spillover effects to other producers and to the brand of the area and/or the nation, depending on the nature of the product and the contamination. This general principle was illustrated through the apparent hoax that foot and mouth disease had been deliberately released on Waiheke Island in May 2005 and the ensuing concern over its potential wide ranging impacts.

While it can be argued that a council’s general duty of care extends to a single producer, the case becomes compelling when the extent of the probable spillover effect is taken into account. It is this link that brings closer to councils the economic costs arising from GM contamination. For, as discussed in 4.3.7, simply the threat of such financial harm and concern about this will tend to trigger a council’s s35 duty to monitor. In order that a council obtains the form of monitoring it requires to adequately protect against this risk and that it is not burdened with significant expense in achieving this, a plan change would most likely need to be made so it could become a condition for the GMO activity, which would then require a consent. (It should be emphasised that this chain of considerations arises due to the unusual magnitude and extent of potential spillover effects from GM contamination.)

At the time a change is being made to bring GMOs under the plan, the question then naturally arises, should not a bond be taken to protect against ecological damage and conditions also set which are designed to protect against adverse economic effects? (Note that at the point measures such as this are in place, a position equivalent to Option A would have been reached.)

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244 See section 2.3.2 and Appendix A1 in particular.
245 There are many different activities that co-exist either without adverse interaction or with only minor boundary issues but GMOs are an unusual case due to the scope for spread of the effects and because of low or zero tolerance for this contamination in key markets.
Just how far a council’s duty of care extends and what its legal exposure is if it took no action in these circumstances is unclear. While Crown Law suggests there is no liability, other legal opinion suggests this view is too narrow. What seems highly likely however given the community initiatives to date is that even if no legal action were taken by concerned constituents, they would in any case initiate a private plan change. This would then require the council to become intimately involved in a s32 analysis.\textsuperscript{246} Either way, therefore, there is a good chance a council would arrive at the point where a s32 analysis will need to be seriously evaluated.

The only current requirement for a developer to undertake a GMO activity in a district is to obtain an ERMA consent and district plans need to anticipate such activities rather than arriving to regulate after the fact. The comparatively long timeframes required to make a plan change mean that an approach of waiting for evidence that a particular GMO activity is set to arrive in a district would result in missing the opportunity to take effective precautionary measures. To the extent a dependable legal opinion was provided that a proposed plan change was \textit{vires} and likely to withstand challenge, the costs of a potential court defence would need to be discounted and then further diminished to the extent these are shared. It would then require only a rather small cost to be the expected result of taking no action for the benefits of a plan change to outweigh the costs of intervening.

The evidence presented in Section 2 strongly indicates that the degree and form of resistance to GM contamination is such that simply the release of a GMO variety, rather than even the fact of a contamination incident, could alone be expected to generate costs to food producers that in general far exceed the potential benefits on the other side of the ledger.\textsuperscript{247} These costs would then have flow on impacts for the district’s economy and community that would be expected to be less in scale than the private costs but still well above that other side of the ledger.

Part of the reason the release in itself could have such an impact is that expectations would be strong with respect to most plant GMOs that contamination would soon thereafter appear in like non-GMO plantings (plants being the clear immediate prospects). While the identification of GM contamination in non-GMO produce may have a higher cost to particular producers whose crops have tested positive, the impacts in terms of lost markets and sales premiums may not be so different for other farmers who are perceived to be exposed to the same contamination. A range of

\textsuperscript{246} While the applicant for the plan change may be required to pay for the preparation of a s32 analysis, as its purpose would be delivery of a public good, a council may well end up funding or part funding this exercise and would in any case need to invest in building expertise to evaluate the analysis.

\textsuperscript{247} Naturally, there are a huge range of variables that would influence the estimated costs including: the type of GMO, the area it is released in, the controls set, the extent of any planting, and so forth. As a council’s response must cater to a broad range of possibilities, this conclusion is based on the assessments offered by those producers closest to major markets and incorporates their views as to the significance of GM contamination and on the forms of GMO release that can reasonably be expected (Again see section 2.3.2 and Appendix A1). With respect to benefits of GMOs, as noted above, it is difficult to identify any public economic benefits to a district from commercialised GMOs and benefits that could arise from future GMOs are highly speculative in their magnitude and quite uncertain in their timing. To the extent that a particular GMO did show strong benefits, reversibility of policy naturally allows for a change of rules that would account for this while there are considerable risks of irreversibility with respect to the costs side of the equation.
additional costs (potential and expected) resulting from a GM release and/or GM contamination are discussed in Section 2 and include: adverse environmental effects, negative cultural effects, and adverse impacts on tourism. Depending on the circumstances and assumptions made, such factors would swell the expected total cost of inaction accordingly.

While ERMA may well have already undertaken an assessment of the risks and benefits of a particular release, in addition to the issues discussed in Section 3 it is important to note that ERMA’s assessment would be carried out using different assumptions to those that a council’s s32 analysis would require. Thus different results could readily arise even if the same baseline data was used in each case. In particular, national economic benefits would be submitted to ERMA in support of a release whereas district-level benefits would be considered by a council. As we are not aware of GMOs whose benefits could only be realised in a particular district, were a council to foreclose a GMO activity in its territory, this need not represent a foreclosure of the GMO project in the way refusal of a consent for a power project would with respect to a unique project site.

A further factor is the extent to which a council perceives it could be exposed to legal action in respect of its duty of care and the weighting it would apply to this risk. The complexities of this question remain to be researched for such cases.

In summary, *prima facie*, non-intervention would seem a very unlikely conclusion of the s32 analysis if the proposed plan change was constructed in accordance with the framework identified in this report and the other legal opinions and reports so far prepared.

### 6.2.3 Conclusion

The objective set for this report was to develop options to the point that a decision in principle could be taken on a preferred response option. As discussed in the following subsection, a single option could not be put forward at this stage as community consultation will be required before the best form of active response can be identified. Following that process and identification of the preferred option, a separate and subsequent stage of decision-making will be required before a council would have sufficient information to commit to implementing a particular option. That information would include:

- A fully specified proposed plan change and section 32 analysis;
- A legal review of its robustness to challenge; and
- Clear arrangements with other councils as to how costs are to be shared by those councils proposing to commit to a like plan change.

Thus the decision required at this stage is simply whether there is sufficient evidence to justify proceeding with further development of an active response option. Given the above, it is clear that not only is there sufficient evidence to justify proceeding, but that this work is likely to be triggered in any event and the only difference in a council refraining from being proactive is that it would lose control of the form of plan change to be put forward (at least in the first phase). The legal issues associated have been
worked through to the point that there is a clear track to preparation of a sound plan change. Thus, non-intervention is not considered a useful response option to put forward for further consideration at this stage.

6.3 Community Attitudes to Risk Critical

If a council is to intervene, the key high level decision councils and their communities need to make is which classes of GMOs should be discretionary activities and which prohibited, based on their tolerance for, or aversion to, risk.

There are a number of different dimensions and forms of risk to consider. For some of these, the level of information available provides a reasonable guide to the nature of the risk and the chance of it coming about. For others, it will be important to look at higher level considerations such as whether a risk is reversible or not.

However, what stands out is the extent of uncertainty surrounding many of the underlying risks – especially the potential economic and environmental effects - and the potential scale of damage. This applies to points of analysis that are key to predicting outcomes.

When considering GM food crops, a decade’s experience of these in the market has at least provided a significant pool of information on potential economic effects. Past experience means a key basis for assessment of any response will be the extent to which it is considered to adequately cover the economic risks of GM food production. However, even for this class of GMO, environmental effects remain under-researched.

This means that in weighing the attributes of each option, a great deal depends on the degree of precaution sought. There is no objective standard as to what is a correct level of risk. It is not an objectively determinable factor. It is subject to individual and collective determination, through evidence of what is, and judgements about what might be. ERMA notes that:

... the way individuals and communities perceive risk affects the way that they respond to situations that they perceive as risky and consequently the level of risk that they are prepared to accept (or tolerate) in any particular circumstance. Some researchers have found that risk analysts tend to consider only two components of risk – the likelihood of the event occurring, and the size of the event should it occur. The lay public, however, tends to consider risks within a much broader context, and takes into account a wide range of factors.248

The RMA provides communities with the ability to set rules that embody community determined outcomes, including the level of risk it is willing to tolerate with respect to particular activities, such as the management of GMOs. A minimum level of joint council response that would be likely to flow from a s32 analysis would be provision for all outdoor GMO activities to be subject to mandatory provisions designed to ensure funds are available to remedy or compensate for damage, to the extent the RMA will provide for this.

248 ERMA (December 2002) Approaches to Risk, p. 11.
This report has also found evidence that would support the use of a strong precautionary approach under the RMA. In particular it would appear that the extent of risk posed, or indeterminacy in the face of serious potential effects, could be used as the reliable basis for a policy of prohibiting classes of GMOs, were a community to seek this.

The extent to which each community wishes to provision against risk is a critical input to policy formation. When large parts of the analysis are currently characterised by indeterminacy (and thus beyond the reaches of conventional risk analysis), when a number of the potential effects are significant and some irreversible, it follows that communities should be able to set a floor on the extent of precaution to be specified for their district, as they are the ultimate risk bearers. As there is no opportunity to appeal an ERMA decision that overrides a community’s views, communities will themselves need to set rules to manage GMOs if they wish to assure particular outcomes.
7. Implementation Issues

7.1 Community Consultation

Any process targeting the implementation of plan changes, or variations to account for the management of GMOs, is naturally first reliant on adoption of the approach at a political level. One of the purposes of this paper is to assist in bringing the issue to the fore with the respective Councils, and a possible outcome is a political constituency willing to pursue plan changes, or variations for the management of GMOs. If this is indeed ultimately the case, community and stakeholder consultation is an imperative.

Although LTCCP consultations have in general indicated caution with respect to GMO use, there remain a wide range of views held within the community and by stakeholders with respect to the use of GMOs. Before embarking upon plan change/variation processes it is therefore important that potential changes to the district plan are widely debated and the Council fulfils its consultation obligations.

The RMA implicitly requires consultation on new policy and the way it provides for public input on plan changes and the promulgation of new plans. The RMA does not provide a definition for the term consultation but the *Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (1987) defines consultation as “the act or process of consulting, deliberation, conference”.

In our view the most complete definition to date of what consultation is or should be, was provided by the Court of Appeal in its decision on *Wellington International Airport Limited v Air New Zealand* (1993). Whilst this case was not a case determined in terms of the RMA (in fact it related to whether the airport company had conducted adequate consultation with the airlines before making a significant increase in airport fees) it provides a useful baseline of what consultation is, and what it is not for RMA purposes. The approaches have been widely adopted in RMA circles for this reason.

In this case, the Court recognised that consultation is not merely telling or presenting. The process is based on a willingness to change a proposal. It includes listening to what others have to say and considering responses. It is founded on sufficient time being available for discussion and should be a genuine effort by the consulting party. Consultation requires sufficient information being provided to those being consulted so that they can make intelligent and informed decisions and responses. Consultation means that the party that is conducting the consultation must keep its mind open, and be willing to change and give genuine consideration to requests and even start afresh. This does not preclude that party having a working plan already in mind. Finally, consultation requires the party consulting waiting until those being consulted have had a say before making a decision.

With these foundation consultation principles established, we see the following as comprising a first step for the respective contributing Councils pursuing a plan change for the management of GMOs.
In the first instance, sufficient information has to be provided in order to fuel the consultation process. This document could be utilised as the basis for the preparation of a public discussion document, which would be issued to key stakeholders and the community more generally for comment. This process could be supplemented by direct engagement with key stakeholders and interested community groups and individuals via specifically targeted meetings, open days and forums.

In tandem with these more conventional methods there is also some value in our view, in the adoption of a more global consultative approach, whereby constituent communities are subject to surveys about the issues and more of an overall representative rate-payer response is able to be obtained. The bottom line is that as many contributing views as can reasonably be obtained, should be obtained. Consultation with respect to this matter needs to be robust because subsequent plan changes have the ability to set precedents, in both the councils considering this reform and in other districts that are monitoring their development. As noted above, any endeavour to utilise prohibited activity status in a plan should necessarily occur sparingly. This in itself warrants full and balanced engagement with stakeholders and community interests.

Consultation of this nature would also serve to further inform the section 32 analysis. The end result of such a process is a more robust approach moving forward.

At the completion of this consultation process the details of a plan change/variation could then be prepared, which would be followed by the usual processes of notification, submissions, further submissions and hearings. We envisage that the overall structure of the necessary plan changes, at least at a fundamental level would be termed in a reasonably common way for all of the District Plans at issue. Obviously, the way the change was ultimately inserted into each plan would need to be adapted to the structure of the plans themselves. However, this is certainly not an impediment to the adoption of a combined approach to the GMO issue.

### 7.2 Potential Commonality of Plan Provisions

If a change of plan is pursued, it is necessary to consider how appropriate provisions can be inserted into the plans of each of the districts adopting new rules. As one would expect, each of the District Plans is set out in a different way, with some being primarily based on a zoning approach and others organised around issues rather than zones.

The purpose of this section of the report is to briefly identify the inherent structure of each of the District Plans in question and suggest how issues, objectives, policies and methods relating to community management of GMOs might find their way into the respective documents.
7.2.1 Far North District Council

The Far North District Council operates only in part according to its proposed District Plan. While nearly half the appeals have been resolved, those outstanding affect large portions of the plan (mainly the Coastal Environment, Landscape, Indigenous Flora and Fauna chapters) (see RMA s19). In general terms this plan adopts a zoning approach to management of land use activities. In addition a number of district wide provisions are also relevant in the management of land use within the district. This means that the proponent of any land use activity needs to understand what rules apply, both in respect of the zoning of a given property, and also in respect of the rules which apply throughout the district.

The plan adopts a permissive approach. Where land use activities not otherwise controlled they are assumed to be permitted.

The Far North Proposed District Plan is divided into five parts comprising general provisions, environment provisions, district wide provisions, appendices and district plan maps. Part 2 – Environment Provisions contains rules applying to specific zones.

Part 3 incorporates district wide provisions. These provisions apply to the control of land use activities regardless of zone. In our view, this is the most appropriate location for a chapter that imposes control over GMOs. We favour a district wide based approach to the issue, rather than a zoned approach on the basis that GMO activities that are not prohibited could be pursued in any zone within the district. Moreover, adopting a district wide approach to the management of GMO more readily enables the sliding scale controls referred to earlier in this report to be adopted for the differing categories of potential GMO uses in a comprehensive way. This is preferred to insertion of controls on a zone by zone basis.

7.2.2 Whangarei District

Whangarei District also operates under a proposed plan in a similar manner to the Far North District Council. The structure of this proposed plan differs from the Far North approach in that it adopts an approach to objectives, policies and methods organised around issues, rather than being area or zone based. While the plan identifies classes of activity, this has been done only where the specific identification of activities is the most appropriate way to manage effects. Most rules in the plan relate to any activity, thus act along the line of performance standards relevant to any activity that might come forward. These plans are generally recognised as “effects based” plans where rules are tailored to management of individual effects.

The general presumption within this plan is that every activity, except subdivision, is permitted unless it is regulated or prohibited by a rule in the plan.

It is envisaged that provisions dealing with the management of GMOs would need to be split within this plan, with issues, objectives and policies appearing under this section of the plan and relevant rules appearing later within the rules section. This is not at all problematic, and simply means that objectives and policies ultimately find themselves separated from rules within the document, rather than forming part of the
same chapter. The advantage in such an approach is that any potential land user can review the rules section in order to determine whether a resource consent is required for any particular activity. If a consent obligation is triggered, then relevant objectives and policies come into play in assisting the Council with its decision making function on the subsequent resource consent application. It is envisaged that the sliding scale approach to the management of GMO activities (prohibited and discretionary activity status dependent upon GMO classification) could be tailored into the rules sections of the Proposed Whangarei District Plan.

7.2.3 Kaipara District Plan

The Kaipara District Plan is operative. In terms of structure this plan is more akin to the Far North District Plan than the Whangarei District Plan. It adopts more of a zone based approach, where rules are set out for specific zones which results in area based controls. However the plan also includes objectives, policies and rules that apply at a district wide level.\textsuperscript{249}

As suggested for the Far North Plan, a separate chapter having applicability at a district wide level is the most appropriate approach for the management of GMOs. Again this chapter would include all issue identification statements, objectives, policies and rules in one location within the plan.

7.2.4 Rodney District

Rodney District Council operates under a proposed plan which was first notified in 2000. This plan also adopts a zoning approach with an overlay of "general rules", which are rules which apply across the district. In terms of structure, the plan is mixed with some chapters including a full suite of objectives, policies and rules that have relevance to a specific zone (for example rural, residential, business, open space and recreation) whereas other chapters include issues, objectives and policies relating to certain matters and rely on rules being implemented in the various zoning and rule chapters later in the plan (for example Highly Valued Natural Resources chapter).

If Rodney District Council ultimately wishes to insert provisions for managing GMOs in its district, we would suggest that a new chapter including relevant issues, objectives and policies with respect to GMO management would be appropriate. Given the current structure of the plan it is then likely that the rules to be adopted would need to be inserted into each of the relevant zone chapters.

7.2.5 Waitakere City

Waitakere City also operates in terms of its proposed plan which has been amended as a consequence of Council decisions and appeals. The printed version is essentially a "decisions version" as at 10 May 2002. This plan is divided into three parts being the policies section, rules section and the planning maps. From our review of the

\textsuperscript{249} For example hazard mitigation, heritage and landscape protection, transportation, public works and services, land subdivision and monitoring.
structure of the plan it is evident that relevant issue identification of objectives and policies relating to the management of GMOs would logically fall within chapter 5, which includes significant resource management issues and the response, objectives, policies and methods. This chapter is pivotal to the District Plan and sets the policy context for subsequent rules. The approach within this chapter is largely effects based and sets out those specific issues that require some type of rule intervention in order to achieve acceptable environmental outcomes.

The first volume of rules (note there are two) includes those rules that are applicable at a city wide scale. We would envisage that this would be the logical location for rules pertaining to GMOs, rather than one which is based on the individual zones (Volume 2 of the rules).

7.2.6 Overview

Whilst there are differences in the structure and format of the respective District Plans, it is our view that the fundamentals of what ultimately would need to be inserted into these plans can have a reasonable degree of commonality across the various districts. Whilst some of the language ultimately utilised in a plan change would need to be refined to match the language used in the District Plan in question, the fundamentals would remain largely unchanged. Any local differences that need to be accounted for are primarily structural differences in the way that the plans are set out, rather than fundamental issues of style.

7.3 Next Steps

The overall objective set for this project was to advance analysis to the point where a decision in principle could be made on how to respond to the risks associated with the outdoor use of GMOs. The resulting report has described the key risks in detail and analysed the available response options.

The analysis suggests that the decision in principle should be made between four response options, as detailed above. The ability to identify a superior option by analysis alone is limited by the extent of the uncertainties surrounding the risks they would address, and the potential scale of damage that could result. While this report provides the essential elements of the factual matrix required to make such a decision, the indeterminacy of important sources of risk means that community consultation forms a further vital component.

A number of the Northland Peninsula Councils have already received significant community comment on the issue of GMO activities during LTCCP and district plan hearings. However, it is the preferences of communities with respect to particular response options that are now required.

This means that a key next stage will be preparation of a community consultation document as a part of designing an overall consultation process. Should review of this report trigger an interest in further research on particular matters, it will be important to establish at an early stage whether this additional research is carried out
before or after the community consultation is undertaken. Either may be appropriate depending on the nature of the issue, but an early decision on this will assist in minimising the time required to assemble a full package on which the Inter-Council Working Party and ultimately the individual councils can base decisions.

Although this report focuses on the response options available to district councils, it is also of relevance to regional councils. It was anticipated that a legal opinion on the potential role of regional councils with respect to GMO management would have been obtained by LGNZ and available for the analysis in this report but this has not occurred and examination of boundary issues awaits such an opinion.

At the point a particular response option has been selected in principle, assuming this involves a plan change, the following steps will then need to be addressed:

- Development of the precise framing of objectives, policies and rules that would support and give expression to the options selected. This would involve detailed research into the particular mechanisms to be used to implement the chosen option and would also involve a thorough legal review of these options and their implications.

- Development of individual plan changes or variations required to implement a generic set of rules into each council’s plan;

- Establishment of a memorandum of understanding between councils to a joint defence of any challenges to a related plan change in order to cover this financial risk;

- Preparation of RMA s32 analyses to ensure each proposed plan change meets the tests this section sets.

It is assumed here that such work will continue to proceed under the auspices of the Inter-Council Working Party and thus issues of timetable co-ordination and development of a joint implementation strategy will be addressed through this group.
Appendix 1  Review of Classes of GMOs

The following profiles classes of GM activities that display key effects that are sufficiently similar to allow for a common basis of regulation at a high level, as discussed in Section 5.1. Here, we profile five groupings of classes: food plants genetically modified for food purposes (A.1) and non-food purposes (A.2), non-food plants genetically modified for fibre, ornamentals and other uses (A.3), GM animals (A.4) and microorganisms (A.5).

A.1  GM Plants For Food Production

A significant number of GM food varieties are already on the market and a considerable amount of GM research is dedicated to GM food projects. Should they prove commercially viable, applications for a wide range of GM food crops may emerge in the near future.

A.1.1  Economic Risks

Economic effects associated with GM crops have demonstrated an ability to generate spillover effects of a very significant scale and scope, as described in Section 2.3. Devising controls for such economic impacts has provided one of the greatest challenges to regulators. The absence of any demonstrated means of preventing GM crops from contaminating non-GM crops of a like variety means conventional farmers are particularly exposed when there is resistance to GM contamination in target markets. As we have also seen, even perceptions of an inability to prevent gene flow can have serious economic consequences.

Food production is the dominant economic activity of the Northland peninsula, and contributes $975 million per annum to the economic output of the Northland region alone.\(^{250}\) Thus any market rejection of produce due to GM contamination could have far reaching effects on the regional economy.

If the economic impacts of GM food crops were confined to the single non-GM counterpart, that would allow a direct tradeoff assessment to be made on a crop–by-crop basis. However, the spillover effects clearly extend further. Just how far and with what severity has been inadequately researched to date.

The single quantitative study commissioned by Government\(^{251}\) to date does however provide grounds for believing that the effects would be significant. As already noted above, the National Research Bureau surveyed consumers in the UK, US and Australia specifically to assess the extent of this effect. Asked whether they would buy New Zealand fruit and dairy products that were not themselves GM, between


\(^{251}\) In the public domain.
20% and 30% said they would cease to purchase, irrespective of price, if New Zealand was at that time growing related GM products.  

In the wake of a series of food scandals including Mad Cow disease, educated and affluent consumers in Europe and the Far East increasingly want ‘safe’ food. "A majority of Europeans do not support GM foods. These are judged not to be useful and to be risky for society", the European Commission reported in its most recent official survey. 

Wholesale purchasers and major retail chains are the centres of power in the food market and perform a gatekeeper role. Their assessment of customer tolerances, not regulations governing labelling, also dictates what is presented to customers to select from. Most existing GM food production has gone to animal feed, or been refined into products that until recently escaped labeling requirements in major markets such as the European Union. Soy and maize, the two biggest GM crops, can find markets this way at present but products whose primary market is direct human consumption do not.

In the US, one of the most GM-tolerant markets, GM potatoes were voluntarily withdrawn by their developer after two seasons’ limited cultivation. The withdrawal was made in response to the refusal by US food companies to use the GM potatoes in their product lines. In particular, fast food giants McDonalds and KFC rejected the product. GM tomatoes were similarly withdrawn in the US after two season’s cultivation, also due to market resistance.

Heated opposition to the proposed release of GM wheat is the most recent example of strong market resistance to GM foods intended for human consumption. When North American wheat exporters consulted their major buyers as to the acceptability of GM wheat, the responses were clear-cut across Europe and Asia. Not only was there near universal refusal to take any GM wheat, many stated they would reject shipments that contained even trace GM contamination - including all Japanese importers surveyed where Japan is the biggest purchaser.

It is already well recognised that there are opportunities to gain sales and/or market premiums through providing produce that not only shows no GM content when tested, but is perceived to be GM Free by the purchaser. In New Zealand, this effect is marked with respect to corn products (sweetcorn and maize for grain). New Zealand is a small scale grower and is not a low cost producer. Current sales levels are

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253 European Commission (March 2003) The attitudes of Europeans to the environment, Eurobarometer Survey No 58.


underpinned by the perception that New Zealand is free of GMOs.\textsuperscript{257} All sweetcorn exports from New Zealand must meet a zero tolerance test for GM contaminants. With respect to maize for grain, Federated Farmers maize grower’s spokesman Colin McKinnon cites the importance of a GM Free status to the industry’s biggest buyer:

Penfords are adamant that if there is any contamination whatsoever, they will stop buying from us. If the growers lost Penfords as a buyer, the maize industry would collapse. You can’t lose 30\% of your sales.\textsuperscript{258}

A.1.2 Potential Demand in New Zealand

The financial benefits to date from using GM food crops have been modest at best. Changes in yield are a key performance parameter\textsuperscript{259} and it is not clear that there is currently a significant yield advantage from GM crop seeds across the board.\textsuperscript{260}

In the meantime, conventional breeding is continuing to lift yields. “An estimated 50\% of yield gains in major cereal crops since the 1930s has come from genetic improvements through conventional breeding techniques”.\textsuperscript{261} For some mainstream crops, the figures have been much higher (wheat 75\%, soybeans 85\%). What can be expected is that as each new conventional seed variety is developed, the GM variant of that line will tend to also be developed and released. Thus, it is likely that GM seed will keep up with conventional breeding advances in this respect, on a lagged basis. However, any gains (in relative terms) are expected to be progressively eroded. As better means of dealing with pests are developed, productivity gains from using GM seeds would be reduced or eliminated.\textsuperscript{262}

Of the four GM crops accounting for 99\% of global plantings, New Zealand does not grow cotton, nor soybeans other than for research purposes and the canola industry is tiny. Of these four, this leaves only maize as a current prospect for local cultivation.\textsuperscript{263}

From a marketing perspective, Federated Farmers Maize Growers spokesman, Colin MacKinnon, sees GM maize cultivation as a threat to existing maize for grain production:

\textsuperscript{257} Bruce Clark, Sunrise Coast, Personal Communication, September 2003.
\textsuperscript{258} Bob Edlin, Straight Furrow, August 2, 2004, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{259} The other major parameters are: segregation and regulatory costs, herbicide costs, seed costs, and producer returns. Note for example that while GM soybean harvest yields are actually reduced, savings made on the applications of chemicals are also reduced and the convenience for farmers of reduced applications has often been a trigger for conversion to GM soy seeds.
\textsuperscript{260} GM cotton has shown consistent gains in certain jurisdictions, but not in all. See Section 2.1 for further discussion of this point.
\textsuperscript{261} USDA. Economic Issues in Agricultural Biotechnology, USDA Bulletin No 762, February 2001, p iv.
\textsuperscript{263} Federated Farmers view of current GM crops in general is that “the GM crops in existence at the moment have no real attraction to New Zealand growers.” Federated Farmers Grains Council Chair, Neil Barton, Newsroom September 30 2002. For similar comments, see Federated Farmers media releases September 19 2002 and March 14 2003.
“The way our markets are, the majority of our customers require GE-Free maize. It’s important that we retain our GE Free status. [Contamination] would be a major blow to the maize-growing industry.”

From an agronomic perspective, one of New Zealand’s leading maize scientists, Alan Hardacre, does not believe there is any compelling argument to introduce GM maize. This is also the view of Tony Conner, the scientist foremost in advocating GM food production in New Zealand, who states:

There is no economic demand for GM maize here; we do not have European corn borer, and weed control by existing herbicide systems is good.

One of New Zealand’s major seed companies, whose parent company develops GM plants, assured farmers they would continue to have access to the most recent developments in seed stocks, even if GM plants were prohibited in the future. Pioneer Brand Products research manager, Richard Brenton-Rule, stated that:

GM conversions are not made until the end of a variety’s conventional commercial development. Therefore the original non-modified product will always be available.

... For instance the BT gene has little application here because we don’t have a major problem with the caterpillar it controls.

It generally take 8-10 years to develop a new crop variety, so varieties likely to be commercialised in the next 10 years will tend to be known development projects now. The new plant varieties expected to be commercially available within the next 5 years are limited to:

- Herbicide resistant maize, oilseed rape, wheat, sugarbeet, chicory, cotton;
- Insect resistant maize, cotton, potatoes;
- Stacked herbicide and resistant maize and cotton.

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265 No GE opportunities yet for NZ growers, by Sarah McVerry, Country-Wide Northern, 1 March 200, and Zea mays Breeding in New Zealand: Analysis of the probability of perpetuating transgenes in breeding material, Allan K. Hardacre, Crop and Food Institute, May 2004, p. 9.
266 We have to test GM in the Kiwi context, NZ Herald, 28 August 2003.
267 GM moratorium no disadvantage to maize growers, Erena McCaw, Rural News, 3 September 2002.
A.2  GM Food Plants for Non-food Purposes

A.2.1  Food Plants for Biopharming

Investment in plant biopharming is being made on the basis that plants, including GM varieties, will prove capable of reproducing certain pharmaceutical and industrial substances at costs lower than alternative production routes. In general, the intended product is not a novel one. It is the prospect of a lower cost production method that is attracting research and development.

However, this work carries the potential for major risks to food producers because food plants are overwhelmingly the dominant types being used in the research and development of so called “pharma” crops. The outdoor production of such crops is being trialled in the US and the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has already documented the contamination of a soy food crop by trial pharma corn. The breach was due to those managing the trial planting failing to observe the required conditions.

Economic risks

The potential threat to food manufacturers from pharmaceutical contamination is of such concern that even in the home of agricultural biotechnology, the issue has provoked very strong responses, most notably from the country’s significant food industry interests. The Grocery Manufacturers of America has recommended that: “The FDA needs to make it absolutely unequivocal that drugs do not belong in food and that FDA will use the full arsenal of its civil and criminal enforcement powers if such non-food or non-feed products appear in the food supply. … FDA should emphasize that the consequences of failed containment are not limited to regulatory violations and are not limited to those directly involved in drug development. Any failure of containment could expose large and small businesses involved at every stage of food manufacture and handling …”

Corn is the plant most commonly used in pharma crop research. The North American Millers’ Association is concerned that use of this staple food crop for pharmaceutical production poses a significant risk to the food industry:

A positive detection of plant-made pharmaceuticals and industrial products in food or feed at any level, therefore, would require the immediate recall and destruction of all products manufactured from that grain. Under current regulatory standards, this zero tolerance creates an intolerable risk for U.S. food processors.

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269 Pew Initiative on Food and Biotechnology (2002) Pharming The Field: A Look at the Benefits and Risks of Bioengineering Plants to Produce Pharmaceuticals.

270 FDA Action on Corn Bioengineered to Produce Pharmaceutical Material, FDA Media Release, November 19 2002.


272 Pew Initiative on Food and Biotechnology (2002), Pharming The Field: A Look at the Benefits and Risks of Bioengineering Plants to Produce Pharmaceuticals, p. 11.
Consideration [should] be given to prohibiting the use of food crops, especially corn, to produce plant-made pharmaceuticals.\textsuperscript{273}

Pharma crops also pose considerably greater environmental risks than GM food crops. An extensive report published by the National Research Council, a part of the US Science Academy, issued the following caution.

“The production of non-edible and potentially harmful compounds in crops such as cereals and legumes that have traditionally been used for food creates serious regulatory issues. With few exceptions, the environmental risks that will accompany future novel plants cannot be predicted.” … “[their introduction]… poses the potential for environmentally associated risks of a wholly different order than those associated with existing transgenic crops.” \textsuperscript{274}

The concerns outlined above may also have led a leading Crop and Food Institute scientist, Tony Conner, to advise participants of a biopharming seminar in 2003 that he did not expect ERMA would grant an approval for the outdoor release of GM pharma plants.\textsuperscript{275} It is reasonable to assume therefore that researchers, especially those at Crop and Food, will be focusing on biopharming prospects that can sustain the costs of indoor production, should the research be commercialised.

Indoor production is likely to provide a mutually beneficial solution to the needs of the pharmaceutical industry on the one hand, and the food industry on the other. Both sectors require purity of product: the food industry must avoid contamination of their products by GM pharma crops, while one of the limitations on commercialisation of any biopharming prospect is the ability to isolate and purify the small quantity of desired product. Indoor production allows much greater ability to manipulate the growing environment (such as the ability to eliminate or reduce pathogenic contamination) as well as what is emitted from it (such as crop residues in soil and pollen flow).

Control options

Confining biopharming to indoor production could therefore represent a means of addressing concerns in respect of actual contamination. However any risk management strategy must also address risks arising from perceived contamination. Given the scale of damage that could result from any actual escape of altered genetic material, and the potential for concerns amongst overseas buyers not familiar with the particular controls, the only standard that would seem workable is one requiring that no altered genetic material escaped into the environment. This is effectively a lab standard.

A.2.2 Food Plants for Industrial Substances

A companion technology to biopharming is the use of food plants to produce industrial substances such as plastics. For regulatory purposes, they can be grouped with pharma crops and treated similarly.

Food crops are already used to produce industrial substances: conventionally bred food crops such as corn and sugar beet are used in ethanol production, and potatoes are used to produce industrial starches.

The hope with GM industrial crops is that domesticated and well characterized food crops might be modified to produce industrial substances (biofuels, oils, starches and plastics) more efficiently than wild plants, or that industrial feedstocks may be produced more environmentally sensitively than production by chemical processes. In the US, research is underway to genetically modify soy and corn varieties to produce petrol. 276 One of the most advanced GM biofuel plant projects using food crops is a GM potato variety that produces industrial starch. 277 An application for commercial cultivation of the potatoes in Sweden is currently filed with the European Union regulatory authorities.

In the UK, GM food and feed crop varieties (GM herbicide resistant oilseed rape and sugar beet) were proposed for biofuel generation. However, these two GM crops were also found to adversely affect farmland wildlife and are unlikely to be approved for cultivation (see Section 2.3.2). An additional consideration is the potential for actual or perceived contamination of the food chain by GM food crops producing industrial substances places. While the potential medical consequences of ingesting food contaminated with industrial substances instead of pharmaceuticals may differ, as a class the risks are of much the same level and form and it would seem appropriate to treat such GM activities in the same way and prohibit them.

Plant-based fuels offer a potential but small part of the solution needed to reduce fossil fuel use and to develop more sustainable energy sources. 278 Yet as identified by the US National Research Council, the potential ecological effects that the presence of new precursor compounds for plastics new to the plant kingdom may hold have yet to be identified and researched (See Section 2.3.4).

Thus far, the GM potato appears to be the most advanced of the GM industrial plant projects. Other applications are further out due to the complex or novel biochemical pathways involved. 279

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276 Iowa State University Centre for Designer Crops.
277 The potatoes, developed by BASF subsidiary Amylogene, produces an industrial grade starch (high amylopectin starch content) that is tailored to the needs of industries such as paper production. Regulatory approval is not sought for human consumption; however, following extraction of the starches, the potato pulp is intended for use in animal feed. Amylogene HB, Summary Notification C/SE/96/3501
A.2.4 Food Plants for Biocontrol and Bioremediation

Limited research is being pursued using food plants as biocontrols. In New Zealand, one of the avenues using GM to control possum population is GM carrots.\(^{280}\) The experimental project is to develop carrots that control female possum fertility by delivering an oral contraceptive (GM potatoes are also being used in the experimental stages).

The practicality of this method for controlling the possum population (its comparative effectiveness and safety to 1080) has yet to be demonstrated as the experiments are in their early stages. Currently, the GM carrots are being developed in the US and Australia. In 2001, ERMA granted approval for GM carrots and potatoes developed by Landcare’s US research partners to be imported for contained feeding trials.\(^{281}\)

Use of a vegetable crop to deliver fertility control to possums is likely to raise significant market issues, particularly given the scale and regularity with which the GM bait would need to be delivered to ensure a high level of infertility within the possum population. If the product proves viable as a biocontrol, large-scale production of the GM carrots (and potentially potatoes) in New Zealand, stringent controls would need to be set to limit the risk of the GM carrots entering the human food chain.\(^{282}\) If market resistance is sustained, such controls may not be sufficient to reduce marketing and branding risks. In this sense, the use of food plants used for GM biocontrol poses similar risks to pharma crops in marketing and branding terms so there would be good grounds for treating them similarly.

A.2.4 Food Plants for Fibre

We are not aware of research in New Zealand or overseas into fibre crops based on food plants that would be ready for release in the next five years.\(^{283}\) For the sake of clarity and consistency, it would seem appropriate to treat this class of activity for release similarly to other food plants.

A.2.5: Food Plants for Animal Feed

The cultivation of GM animal feed in New Zealand pastures raises high risks of actual or perceived contamination of other food products. This is particularly the case as most animal feeds incorporate crops that are also grown for direct human

\(^{280}\) Dr Phil Cowan, Landcare (2000) Submission to the Royal Commission.
\(^{281}\) Application GMC00020
\(^{282}\) Continued overseas production of the GM carrots (should this control method prove effective) may reduce the marketing risks arising from cultivation in New Zealand, yet this could make the proposed control method economically unviable by dramatically increasing the overall costs.
\(^{283}\) There are crops with both food and fibre uses. GM cotton is a key example where the crop is grown principally for fibre use, but cotton oil can also be derived from it. As is discussed below, New Zealand does not grow cotton so this issue is unlikely to arise. Another potential example is flax. A form of GM flax has been developed in Canada and forms of flax can be used to derive edible linseed. Such a use here would seem very unlikely due to the cultural concerns it would pose.
consumption. In New Zealand, the most likely use of a GM crop for animal feed in the near future is GM maize. Maize for silage is the single biggest crop in the arable sector. As discussed above, the maize for starch production sector is particularly susceptible to the potential for harm by association as much of the sector is producing for customers that have a zero tolerance policy to trace GM contamination.

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284 Statistics New Zealand, 2002 Agricultural Production Census (Final Results) June 2002: Commentary.
A.3  GM Non-food Plants

A.3.1  Non-Food Plants for Fibre (cotton)

GM cotton is one of the four dominant GM plant varieties – and the sole GM fibre crop to reach commercial production. However cotton is not grown commercially in New Zealand and there are no indications that this is expected to change.\(^{285}\)

A.3.2  Non-Food Plants for Fibre (forestry)

Wood is a significant production sector for Northland and is New Zealand’s third biggest export earner, with forestry accounting for $2.9 billion in sales or 8% of export income.\(^{286}\)

New Zealand is one of a just a few countries undertaking field trials of GM tree varieties. These countries include Australia, Canada, Chile, France, Italy, Japan, South Africa and the US, with the last accounting for 61% of field trials.\(^{287}\) The bulk of GM forestry research is directed at three plantation species: poplars, pine and gum varieties. Pine is the central focus of New Zealand research by the Forest Research Institute, which is also conducting trials on spruce. For the time being, the crown research institute is the sole entity field trialling GM trees. In the last few years private sector companies - Carter Holt Harvey and Fletcher Challenge - that were engaged in GM tree R+D and had received regulatory approval to advance to field trial phase have set aside these plans.

While commercial cultivation appears to be imminent in Latin America,\(^{288}\) the prospect of commercial cultivation of GM trees in New Zealand is likely to be around a decade away. Tree trials are longer in duration, due to the longer life cycle of tree species comparative to food crop species. FRI trialling of GM pine and spruce is an 11-year project, while a further GM pine trial investigating the species’ reproductive development is 22 years in duration.\(^{289}\)

Market Acceptance

Although development of GM forestry varieties has been underway for some time, consideration of whether to adopt GM forestry is increasingly being seen as a market acceptance issue. This is primarily due to the exclusion of GM trees from a new global certification regime for sustainable forestry.

\(^{288}\) Ibid, p. 4.
\(^{289}\) ERMA application codes GMF99005 and GMF99001 respectively.
Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) certification has become the preferred standard and it prohibits the use of GMOs in FSC accredited plantations.  Draft standards for New Zealand FSC, if adopted, would further prohibit certificate holders from field trialling GM trees, and from laboratory research for the development of GMOs for commercial release.

Industry experts predict that FSC certification could become a prerequisite for market access in the future:

“If the current trend continues certified wood is likely to be the norm rather than something a few owners are making a small premium on. … FSC certification will soon become a standard requirement for selling wood products in the New Zealand and international markets. Those that do not have certification may suffer in terms of market access or discounted log prices.”

As of 2005, 42% of all New Zealand plantation forests are FSC certified. Withdrawal from GM R+D from major forestry companies appeared to have been driven by branding considerations. It is understood that FSC certification offered higher economic returns than the GM route for Carter Holt Harvey. Further, the industry has identified country brand vulnerability to the introduction of GM forestry to forestry production:

“Offshore competitors, unable to profit from biotechnology in their own country’s forests (mainly in those countries, unlike New Zealand) who still rely on native forests for wood production, could seek to enhance their competitive position against New Zealand by encouraging consumers to believe that wood produced from New Zealand biotechnology and trees carries a high risk.”

Cross sector effects: GM pine pollen and food production

Analysis to date has not adequately assessed the potential spillover effect of a non-food GM release on food and other products. In particular, the extent to which New Zealand’s forest products would suffer in branding and marketing terms, and how these losses would measure against potential gains from GM forestry have yet to be assessed. Another factor in light of the existing pest problems posed by pines is the impact of wilding GM pine populations could have.

A concern with broad ramifications is the impact of GM pine pollen dispersal on non-GM foods. While the pollen would not interfere with the reproduction of food plants,

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290 Use of biological control agents shall be documented, minimized, monitored and strictly controlled in accordance with national laws and internationally accepted scientific protocols. Use of genetically modified organisms shall be prohibited. Section 6.8, Document 1.2 (Revised February 2000)


294 Forestry group abandons GM trial, NZ Herald, November 24 2001

GM pine pollen is nonetheless capable of clinging to food produce. This is a significant consideration for two reasons:

a) Pine pollen can travel for hundreds of kilometres, affecting very large areas; and  
b) Some tests for trace GM content involve crushing the entire food such that any GM pollen clinging to the skin can trigger a GM contamination report, even if the product itself is non-GM.

The latter issue was highlighted by Zespri International in its presentation to a Parliamentary select committee in October 2003. General Manager for Innovation, Nigel Banks, noted that kiwifruit were especially at risk as the fruit’s furry skin readily traps pine pollen. This indirect physical contamination pathway has yet to be fully explored to identify which other crops are similarly at risk and whether testing protocols could be altered so that positive contamination results could be waived if only surface GM pollen was detected.

The second and linked consideration is perceptions of contamination simply because a GM plant is growing in the same area, even though it is not a food plant. Again, Zespri offers caution in this respect:

New Zealand is especially exposed to the potential impacts of negative perceptions associated with a change to our status as a GE-free food producer. The New Zealand horticulture sector is potentially one of the most vulnerable among these because of the huge importance of the image of the New Zealand horticultural production environment in the minds of consumers of our horticultural products. These perceptions and Zespri’s reputation for producing safe to eat fruit, naturally, have been built over time and after years of careful investment. Trust once broken will not easily be restored.296

A key question is whether New Zealand is more vulnerable in this respect than agricultural areas of Australia, and if so to what degree. As described above, a number of Australian states have been sufficiently concerned about the potential effects GM food cultivation to prohibit this. However, at the same time two have allowed GM cotton production297 – a non-food fibre plant. The utility of the related precedent requires investigation.

Councils have the option of adopting a strongly precautionary approach and prohibiting the release of GM fibre plants, or alternatively regulating for these as discretionary activities. If GM fibre plants are to be managed as a discretionary activity, the following could be incorporated as conditions to a consent:

1. An effective mechanism must be available that would protect non-GM food producers from having their products register positive for GM contamination due to GM pollen from the activity; and

2. Evidence is provided that food producers will not suffer to any significant extent from perceptions that GM trees contaminate food products.

297 GM cotton is commercially grown in New South Wales and Queensland.
A.3.3 Non-Food Plants for Biopharming and Industrial Substances

While a number of researchers have pointed out the benefits of using non-food plants for biopharming, superior knowledge of food plants has seen pharma research continue to be overwhelmingly dominated by their use. Thus the availability of pharma crops involving non-food plants for commercial release is a considerable time away. A key consideration in assessing this class of GMO is the level of uncertainty or ignorance regarding the potential ecological effects of the novel plant.

A.3.4 Non-Food Plants for Biocontrol and Bioremediation

Projects have been established to experiment with GM trees to remediate contaminated soils. Further, GM thale cress has been proposed as a potential tool for detecting unexploded landmines in third world countries. However, some landmine experts have questioned the contribution that the GM plant could make and point to potential hazards associated with its use, including enticing livestock onto mined land.

A.3.5 Ornamentals

Flower varieties – carnations and poppies - are the first GM ornamentals. GM carnations and poppies are being cultivated in Australia. In 1997, Crop and Food received approval to field trial GM lisianthus at their research facility in Levin. GM traits include longer vase life and new colours to species.

The introduction of GM ornamental plants for commercial nurseries or private gardens may raise significant biosecurity issues. Ornamental plants are the source of 3/4 of invasive exotics in New Zealand today. Around Auckland alone there are four garden escapes annually, as ornamentals establish as weeds. GM ornamentals may pose higher biosecurity risks if the GM traits protects them from management or broadens the ecosystem conditions they can tolerate (salt or drought tolerance).

GM lawn grasses for potential use in amenities such as sports fields and municipal parks and private gardens are also in the pipeline. Recently, an application to allow for the use of GM herbicide resistant bentgrass on golf courses was withdrawn. It is uncertain when the first GM grass will receive regulatory approval. Restricting GM grasses to the site of intentional release will be a significant challenge, because of their capacity for outcrossing, hybridisation and vegetative propagation. The potential for gene flow from GM to non-GM grass is high. Traits such as herbicide resistance could result in invasiveness, and the make management of wild seeding GM grasses more difficult. Grass seed can be spread easily through imported grass seed and bird seed.

298 The Royal Commission refers to such developments in its report, p. 157.
301 US National Research Council (2004) Biological Confinement of Genetically Engineered Organisms, p. 102. The Research Council notes that few biological confinement techniques have been reported because little funding has been available for basic research (p. 104).
Economic effects

As yet, the economic effects of pursuing commercial GM ornamental planting are not known. However, Tasmania has permitted ongoing cultivation of GM poppies, while placing GM food production under a moratorium until 2008.
A.4 GM Animals

This is a broad-ranging category, including mammals, poultry, insects and fish (as adopted by the US National Research Council). To date, only one GM animal, an ornamental aquarium fish, has been commercialized. 302

A.4.1 GM Animals for Food

Livestock

Research is being conducted on a range of domesticated animals bred for food. A Canadian University has developed a GM pig breed that processes feed more efficiently has been developed. The so-called ‘enviropig’ is reported to excrete less phosphorous. 303 GM experimentation involving poultry is being conducted in other countries, yet this does not appear to have resulted thus far in breeds that are close to commercialisation.

Thus far, New Zealand research has brought forth a single GM experiment involving livestock for food purposes that has reached field trial phase. In 2000, AgResearch received regulatory approval to commence outdoor trials for a GM sheep; as yet, however, the trials have not commenced. 304

Marketing issues

The slower pace of developing GM livestock breeds may be in part due to the greater technological challenge: one that Fonterra scientists have claimed not only faces significant technological hurdles, but is of questionable benefit and may also meet with market resistance. 305 This may explain why the dominant focus of producer board spending in research is exploring new commercial opportunities through biotechnology tools that do not require GM livestock for financial returns to be secured. Major research vehicles of the meat and dairy industry (such as Ovita) instead have turned largely to gene sequencing and the identification of genetic traits of commercial interest that can then be introduced and multiplied through traditionally bred stock.

Meat and dairy producer boards have also adopted policies that explicitly exclude the use of GMOs. Meat New Zealand (now Meat and Wool New Zealand) states:


303 The pig is genetically engineered to secret phytase, an enzyme which degrades plant phosphorus, allowing the pig to utilize it more efficiently.

304 GMF99004, AgResearch genetically modified sheep with an inactivated myostatin gene.

Meat New Zealand’s policy is that no genetically modified products will be developed for release into the food chain while a majority of consumers remain concerned about GM foods.\textsuperscript{306}

Meanwhile, the Deer Industry New Zealand explains:

At this stage, Deer Industry New Zealand does not support the introduction of GM organisms into animals or into the deer industry food chain (including pastures and feeds).\textsuperscript{307}

These policies send clear signals to export markets such as the UK, New Zealand’s number one export destination for sheep meat\textsuperscript{308} All major UK supermarkets have adopted policies precluding the use of GM food ingredients in house brands; these supermarkets have a policy of providing their customers with the option of animal products not produced with GM animal feed, or ensure that products are labeled as such. New Zealand sheep meat suppliers to Tescos, the single largest UK buyer of New Zealand mutton and lamb, require farmers to quality assure that the animals supplied are not genetically modified and have not been reared on GM animal feed.\textsuperscript{309}

\textit{GM Fish}

While the market reception of GM fish has yet to be tested, there is no reason to assume that it will be exempt from the consumer and gatekeeper resistance that has met GM foods thus far. Containment of GM finfish and shellfish will also pose significant challenges, which will likely raise significant market and ecological issues.

An indication of the possible sensitivity to GM in fish production is the policy of the largest King Salmon exporter. King Salmon (also known as Chinook or salmon) is the most significant finfish in New Zealand aquaculture. 70\% of King Salmon exports are destined for Japan.\textsuperscript{310} In the 1990s, King Salmon Ltd was conducting trials on GM king salmon in order to increase growth rates. The company has since discontinued this research, and the marketing of its products are now firmly anchored on assurances that King Salmon are GM free, stating that:\textsuperscript{311}

New Zealand King Salmon uses international sources of feed for the fish that will provide them with a healthy, balanced diet. Formulated by the world’s leading salmon

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[307] Deer Industry Policy on Genetic Modification. The producer board’s policy is explicitly precautionary: “Deer Industry New Zealand supports the precautionary principle in relation to GM such that Deer Industry New Zealand would not support the introduction of GM to the environment/food chain until the risks associated with that course of action are properly understood and can be assessed as acceptable.”
\item[308] As above.
\item[309] Tescos’ policy can be viewed at http://www.tesco.com/corporateinfo/. The first indicates the degree of market sensitivity, as no GM animals have been approved for human consumption anywhere in the world.
\item[311] This includes the feed on which the King Salmon is reared. “Art of the Raising and Preparing”, http://www.kingsalmon.co.nz/mainsite/ArtOfRaisingAndPreparing.html
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
feed suppliers, the raw materials - South American fishmeal and oil - are obtained from good quality, sustainably managed sources and are totally free of any bovine or genetically modified products. [...] The salmon are not genetically modified and are healthy and disease free, so antibiotics, vaccines and chemical treatments are not used.

Ecological concerns

Key science institutions in the US and Canada, where GM fish development is furthest advanced, have issued strong warnings on the potential ecological risks posed by GM finfish and shellfish. These concerns are based on the demonstrated impacts of non-GM farmed fish on wild populations. These ecological concerns include the potential for increased fitness of GM species (due to traits such as higher growth rates and disease resistance), and the ability of GM fish species with higher fitness to outcompete wild or native communities, or to disperse the GM trait throughout wild or native communities by interbreeding \(^{313}\).

The US National Research Council notes that GM shellfish will require costly containment that may still not provide the level of containment required to prevent shellfish from outcompeting naturally occurring shellfish populations. \(^{314}\) The Council noted that ecological principles and empirical data indicate “a considerable risk of ecological hazards being realised should transgenic fish or shellfish enter natural systems”. \(^{315}\)

Significant aquaculture species in New Zealand are seafarmed or farmed in the intertidal: this includes King Salmon, and shellfish such as oysters and mussels. Pacific oysters (the key shellfish commercially cultivated in Northland) are cultivated on racks in the intertidal. \(^{316}\) Shellfish containment is particularly difficult at the larval stage, when shellfish dispersal capability is highest. \(^{317}\)

In its comprehensive report on GM foods, an expert panel of the Royal Society of Canada considered in detail the potential risks that GM fish species (in particular trout and salmon) might pose to native fish populations. The panel concluded that the escape of GM fish from aquaculture facilities could lead to swamping of native fish due to predation, competition for food and feed and the transmission of disease and parasites. The Society noted that interbreeding of GM with non-GM species would not be necessary for such negative impacts to be realised \(^{318}\) and has called for a moratorium on seafarming GM fish. \(^{319}\)

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\(^{312}\) [http://www.kingsalmon.co.nz/mainsite/ArtOfRaisingAndPreparing.html](http://www.kingsalmon.co.nz/mainsite/ArtOfRaisingAndPreparing.html)

\(^{313}\) A concern here is that the GM trait may have unintended effects in wild or native populations that could cause extinctions, by increasing one component of fitness while fatally compromising another. US National Research Council (2002) *Animal Biotechnology: Science-Based Concerns*, p. 84.

\(^{314}\) Ibid, p. 11.

\(^{315}\) Ibid, p. 92.


\(^{319}\) Ibid, p. 190. The UK Agriculture and Environment Biotechnology Commission (AEBC) came to similar conclusions in their review of the regulatory responses required to address to issues arising with GM animals, noting: “the commercialisation of GM fish raises significant
In New Zealand, the escape of GM fish species could also pose risks to significant trout fisheries. Further, the GM breeds may provide additional challenges for struggling native aquatic species, through direct predation, food and habitat competition, and alteration of habitat.\textsuperscript{320}

Although GM Atlantic salmon is nearing commercialisation in the US and developers in China are preparing to apply for regulatory approval for two lines of GM carp\textsuperscript{321}, commercial GM fish production does not seem appear to be imminent in New Zealand. An approval in another jurisdiction may bring forward a possible desire to introduce a GM fish species in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{322}

\subsection*{A.4.2 GM Animals for Fibre}

The relationship between food and fibre production in livestock farming is intimate. Animal fibre is an intrinsic by-product of meat and dairy farming - New Zealand’s top two export earners.\textsuperscript{323} To date, no experimentation to genetically modify livestock for altered fibre has reached development or field trial stage. Domestic genetic research to improve and diversify animal fibre is predominantly genomics, that is, research identifying genes believed responsible for desirable qualities. The findings are used to assist traditional selective breeding programmes.\textsuperscript{324}

GM animal fibre production cannot therefore be considered in isolation from its potential effects on the market acceptability of food production. Further, the commercial success of GM animal fibre production requires market approval and acceptance of food products from GM livestock to provide a financially viable opportunity for livestock farmers.

Unless there is consumer acceptance of GM meat, GM livestock fibre is not commercially viable. A review of FRST funding of New Zealand research and development of GM livestock for food and fibre indicates that in both arenas, market approval is some time in the future.\textsuperscript{325}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{320} Environment concerns because of the possibility of the fish escaping from the aquatic net pens used in offshore fish farms.” The AEBC therefore recommended: The commercial production of GM fish in offshore aquatic net pens should not be permitted while there is significant uncertainty about the environmental consequences of the fish escaping to the wild and about the containment of the fish in net pens.” Animals in Biotechnology (2002), pp. 5-6 and p. 38 respectively.

\textsuperscript{321} Van Roon M and Knight S (2004) Ecological Contexts of Development: New Zealand Perspective, p. 205. Van Roon and Knight note that although it is difficult to draw direct links between the introduction of exotic fish species and the fate of natives, in some instances the linkages are clear. Severe decline in the native galaxiid koaro followed introduction of trout to Rotorua lakes in the 1900s. Further research suggests that giant kokopu do not survive in the presence of brown trout.

\textsuperscript{322} Ibid, p. 5.


\textsuperscript{324} Wool is New Zealand’s tenth largest export while hides and leather from livestock rank as New Zealand’s 12\textsuperscript{th} largest. Statistics New Zealand (June 2004) External Trade Statistics.

\textsuperscript{325} Some experimentation is being conducted in Canada to modify goats that will produce spider’s silk in their milk. Nexia Biotechnologies, “Biosteel Extreme performance fibers”, http://nexiabiotech.com

\textsuperscript{325} The review was conducted using the Foundation for Research Science and Technology Funding database and the ERMA approval database.
\end{footnotesize}
Overall, it is not expected that any GM animal fibre application will be ready for outdoor commercial breeding in the next five years.

A.4.3 GM Animals for Biopharming and Industrial Substances

Food Animals

A UK Government committee estimates that around 50 products are in development that use pharmaceutical substances produced by GM animals. Most of these are farm animals, although fish are also being considered as potential pharmaceutical producers.\textsuperscript{326} In New Zealand, the most advanced R+D projects using farm animals to produce pharmaceutical proteins by Crown Research Institute, AgResearch, involves GM cattle engineered to produce proteins for potential use in the treatment of multiple sclerosis.\textsuperscript{327} Until 2004, New Zealand was also the site of experimental production of pharmaceutical proteins in GM sheep. The protein was being produced in the sheep milk engineered with a human gene sequence coding for AAT protein, and was destined for incorporation in a treatment to slow the progress of cystic fibrosis. The trial, conducted by Scottish-based company PPL Therapeutics, was abandoned in 2003 after commercialization partner, Bayer, withdrew from the joint venture.\textsuperscript{328}

The use of livestock animals (animals that are part of the human food chain) to produce pharmaceutical or industrial substances is likely to raise clear marketing issues around the food chain safety and integrity. This, although livestock breeds such as cattle or sheep may be more easily contained than some plants, and the value of the animals will provide incentives to ensure they do not escape.

The ability of handlers and processors to ensure that biopharming animals and their products are kept distinct from animals destined for the food chain is a key issue, although physical containment measures may not be sufficient to address market damage from perceptions that the New Zealand or regional supply chain is compromised by the presence of sheep with human genes or pharmaceutical producing cattle. The risks arising from farm animals with such novel genes extend well beyond marketing. Among them, the US National Research Council includes the possibility of generating potentially pathogenic viruses.\textsuperscript{329}

There is a strong consensus emerging by review committees established to review the regulatory issues around GM that the use of food animals to produce pharmaceutical (and industrial) substances is not advisable. The US National Research Council recently reviewed biological means of confining GMOs and noted that with respect to

\textsuperscript{327} The cattle are engineered with human myelin basic protein. The medical viability of these proteins has yet to be demonstrated. Further details of the AgResearch project are available at http://www.ermanz.govt.nz/news-events/focus/gm-cattle-field.asp
\textsuperscript{328} “Transgenic sheep slaughtered as Dolly’s creators run out of money”, The Independent (UK) July 16 2003 and “Dolly the Sheep Firm Faces the Chop”, Reuters, September 15 2003.
\textsuperscript{329} These could arise from recombination between sequences of the vector used to introduce a transgene and related, non-anthropogenic viruses already present in the animal. US National Research Council (200) Animal Biotechnology: Science Based Concerns, p. 52
production of pharmaceutical or industrial substances in animals: “Alternative nonfood host organisms should be sought for genes that code for transgenic products that need to be kept out of the food supply.” Similarly, the Royal Commission also recommended that food animals be avoided in biopharming. Recommendation 7.5 states: “wherever possible, non-food animals, or animals less likely to find their way into the food chain, be used as bioreactors rather than animals that are a common source of food.”

Markets

While Europeans, like New Zealanders, show support for medical applications of GM, their rejection of GM foods is high. As indicated above, New Zealand sheep farmers producing for Tescos must already prove that the sheep are not genetically modified, even though no GM sheep breeds have yet been approved for the food chain. As a representative of the US National Food Processors Union noted the news headline “Medical Carrots Containing Vaccine Found in Baby Food: Recall Underway” is “something we never want to see”, the potential effects of a single contamination incident involving a pharmaceutical producing GM farm animal could deliver a devastating blow to the reputation of the New Zealand meat industry.

This is particularly the case with respect to highly sensitive consumers such as those in the UK (New Zealand’s largest sheep meat market), for whom the memory of BSE and foot and mouth outbreaks will still be fresh. As the US National Grain and Feed Association submitted with respect to GM pharma food crops, “the cost exposure to the grain and food industry from another contamination incident is potentially huge, with a long-term impact over many years. So that even a small probability of an accident occurring is a highly significant risk exposure to the existing grain and food industry.” There is no reason to believe that New Zealand’s valuable sheep and beef meat industry would fare better if such an event were to occur.

Non-food animals

Research is also being conducted using non-food animal species to produce pharmaceutical substances. Examples of animal species used for these purposes that may not trigger negative perceptions or present a risk to the supply chain include silkworms that are increasingly seen as offering great potential for efficient production of commercially valuable substances. These are viewed as less risky as

331 Royal Commission report, p. 162.
333 US National Grain and Feed Association (2003) Submission to the US Food and Drug Administration on “Guidance for Industry: Drugs, Biologics and Medical Devices Derived from Bioengineered Plants for Use in Humans and Animals”.
they are intended for indoor production, whereas GM farm animals used for pharmaceutical production would likely be intended for outdoor breeding.

### A.4.4 GM Animals for Biocontrol

**Biocontrol**

Biocontrol involves the use of living organisms to target other living organisms that have become a public health, ecological, or economic threat. Typically, it involves the introduction of one (usually) exotic species to an ecosystem to combat another exotic species that has become a pest, due to a lack of natural predators that serve to control the population of the intruder. Biocontrol is thus an alternative to chemical control methods (such as the use of pesticides). New Zealand has a long history of biological control, including biocontrol introductions that have proved disastrous (the introduction of stoats and ferrets in an attempt to control rabbits) and later, highly successful application of this approach (controlling insect pests in agriculture and forestry) that have undergone increasingly more rigorous assessment.  

The traditional challenge that biocontrol poses arises because the behaviour of an exotic species in a new environment can never be fully predicted. A potential outcome of biocontrol using live organisms is that one exotic pest species may be replaced by another. While subject to rigorous assessment, biocontrol can be a high risk strategy that may be further compounded by genetic modification, where this confers enhanced fitness on the biocontrol agent. In a review of GM technologies for possum control, the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment noted:

> The extent of what is yet known about biocontrols of genetically modified organisms is perhaps the most difficult and challenging aspect of this investigation. There are vast and fundamental gaps in our knowledge of those technologies, how they function, and what effects they might have on New Zealand’s unique biodiversity, on non-target species or the broader environment […] There are equally critical gaps in our knowledge and understanding of the attitudes and acceptability of thresholds of New Zealanders, and of consumers in our overseas markets, for such technologies. It seems a precarious course for New Zealand’s environmental, social and economic future to advance technologies with such potentially awesome powers and capacities, when so little is yet known about the methods themselves, their possible effects, and societal responses.

**GM Insects**

GM insects are being considered for several biocontrol functions, among them, controlling insects that spread disease to humans and animals. The aim would be to replace populations of insects which spread disease to humans, livestock or plants with almost identical populations which do not cause this damage. Other biocontrol roles include eradicating pest species.

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336 Ibid, p. 86.
While GM insect R+D is still at an early stage, there is general agreement that GM insects pose unique risks. Like GM aquatic organisms, GM insects are considered to pose a particularly high ecological risk due to their mobility and their size. It is generally accepted that once released, GM insects will be difficult to recall. GM sterility is being pursued as an option to reduce the potential for GM biocontrol agents establishing unwanted populations. However, there is as yet little research into GM biological confinement techniques, and current methods for sterilization to prevent GM insects from mating to breed new populations (radiation) reduces the vigour of the insects by ten times, and may thus compromise the biocontrol function of the insects. Moreover, the large number of insects in any population could make even a small failure of sterility techniques problematic.

This is particularly the case as GM insects for biocontrol are designed to establish in ecosystems. For example, GM insects designed to replace insects that transmit diseases must establish in the environment to achieve their intended function.

In a review of the issues and regulatory responses required to address GM insect releases, US scientists note that traditional genetic improvement of biological control agents used for suppressing pest insects has involved removing biological boundaries (lengthening life active phases in life cycles, increased tolerance to temperature extremes) to ensure they effectively combat target pests. As the review notes:

> The risks of biological control agents emerge from the same qualities that can make them successful. They exhibit the ability to disperse widely, have a high reproductive rate, establish permanently in the new environment, and are intrinsically programmed to harm other insects or plants.

The emergence of new pest species from feral biocontrol introductions may also have economic effects on agricultural production. For this reason, the use of biocontrol agents will need to be subject to strict evaluation.

**GM roundworms to control possums**

The leading GM biocontrol animal agents under development in New Zealand are targeted at possum control. AgResearch is experimenting with the use of GM parasites. The research involves genetically engineering an intestinal worm (nematode) to carry a biocontrol that could control possum fertility or vaccinate possums against Tb, thus serving as a self-maintaining biological control system.

The BERL report cites the following as the current state of research:

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339 National Research Council, ibid.
341 Ibid, p. 33.
342 Dr David Heath (AgResearch) presenting to the Royal Commission, New Zealand Association of Scientists Hearing, 24 January 2001, Transcript, p. 2639.
“Two possibilities have been suggested; GM-based fertility control and GM vaccines. […] Both could be distributed by using a possum-specific parasite (nematode) as a vector. Fertility control is considered unlikely to be viable for another 5-10 years, but a Tb vaccine is probably viable within 2-5 years.” 343

The implication therefore is that even if a GM Tb vaccine is proven in the next 2-5 years, it would be somewhat longer before this would be commercialised. Evidence given to the Royal Commission in 2001 stated that an initial product suitable for testing in the field was likely to be at least five years away. After initial field-testing, development and refinement was likely to continue for a further 3 to 5 years.344

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344 Dr Phil Cowan, Landcare (2000), Submission to the Royal Commission, p. 3.
A.5 GM Microorganisms

The term microorganism refers to viruses, bacteria and fungi. The actual or potential uses of GM microorganisms include production of pharmaceuticals, fermentation, vaccines in human and veterinary medicine, biocontrol and bioremediation. Much of the application of GM to microorganisms does not require the release of GMOs to deliver their intended benefits.\textsuperscript{345} This section provides examples of outdoor use of live GM microorganisms to indicate the kinds of applications that are coming forward in New Zealand and other jurisdictions.

A.5.1 Vaccines

Vaccines are used extensively in the prevention or limit the effects of diseases to which both humans and animals are vulnerable. Immunisation is developed using bacteria or viruses, and delivery methods that include injection, inhalation and ingestion. Parasites – such as intestinal worms (see above) – may also be used to deliver the vaccine.

Vaccines allow for health care to focus on prevention rather than therapy. GM offers the possibility of developing vaccines for a number of diseases for which vaccination is theoretically possible, but for which no vaccines yet exist. GM vaccines are considered to provide safer and more effective approaches to disease prevention.\textsuperscript{346, 347}

The potential for negative effects of the vaccine beyond any benefits to the target population will in part be determined by the ability of the live GM vaccine to persist and replicate in the environment. There appears to have been little risk-associated research on the potential negative ecological effects thus far.\textsuperscript{348}

The GM vaccines that may pose direct ecological or market risks in themselves are vaccines that comprise live GM final products. The vaccines that do not contain live GMOs in the vaccine are not considered here. (These include so-called subunit vaccines and recombinant vaccines that contain pure proteins).\textsuperscript{349}

\textsuperscript{345} Note that large-scale fermentation using microorganisms does entail significant waste disposal issues.

\textsuperscript{346} New Zealand Veterinary Association (2000), Submission to the Royal Commission. Also see T Traavik (2002) “Environmental risks of genetically engineered vaccines”. In: Genetically Engineered Organisms: Assessing Environmental and Human Health Effects.

\textsuperscript{347} The approval for use of live GM vaccines is guided by HSNO, as these constitute new organisms. ERMA is able to co-decide with or delegate decisions regarding the approval for use of GM vaccines to MedSafe (in the case of human treatments) or the Agricultural Compounds and Veterinary Medicines (AVCM) Group under the New Zealand Food Safety Authority (in the case of animal treatments).

\textsuperscript{348} Most research is focused on identifying potential immunological effects on the vaccinated individuals or population, T Traavik (2002) “Environmental risks of genetically engineered vaccines”. In: Genetically Engineered Organisms: Assessing Environmental and Human Health Effects, p. 332.

\textsuperscript{349} As of 2000, with one exception all the GM vaccines approved for use in New Zealand were produced using GM techniques, but the end product does not incorporate a live GMO. The exception is a single, live GM vaccine (a cholera vaccine) was recalled under instruction from
The types of GM vaccines that may pose ecological and other risks that extend beyond the target population are:

1. **Vectored DNA vaccines** (live viruses that are capable of infecting, but not harming, the target organism in order to deliver the vaccine which has been introduced by GM)
2. **Gene-deleted viral vaccines** (live vaccines incorporating the virus that causes the disease)
3. **Naked DNA based vaccines** (where a defined segment of DNA that will cause immunity to the disease is injected into the target organism)

**Ecological risks**

Microorganisms are ubiquitous, and play many vital functions in environmental metabolism, for example, mineralisation of organic matter, nitrification and nitrogen fixation.  

At a general level of risk, the US National Research Council notes that the implications of releasing GM microorganisms into the environment have yet to be adequately analysed:

> […] information about the ecology and evolution of transgenic microbes in the wild is limited. Microbes [microorganisms] occur in extremely large populations with short generation times, so they adapt quickly to adverse conditions. Their environments change constantly, resulting in unpredictable and variable selection pressures.

There is some evidence that GM bacteria have reduced survival fitness due to the load that the additional (inserted) genetic trait places on them. However, it cannot be claimed that all GM bacteria are ‘unfit’ in the natural environment, as the ability of the GM bacteria to persist may depend on where its environment, with a host of variable selection pressures.

It is generally accepted that viral recombination in natural infections is a major driver in the evolution of new viruses. One of the theoretical risks posed by live GM vaccines is the potential for the development of new strains of the virus or bacteria by processes such as horizontal gene transfer, which may increase the range of species that the virus or bacteria may affect. The non-target species may be ill-prepared to defend itself from attack by the new virus due to a lack of genetic resistance. According to the NRC, more research is needed to evaluate the risks associated with the release of GM viruses.

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352 Ibid, p. 142.

353 Ibid, p. 140 and 144.
Horizontal gene transfer amongst bacteria is also well documented (although there are methods that may reduce the probability of this form of gene exchange from occurring).

Biological confinement measures to limit or eliminate the spread of GM microorganisms are largely focussed on reducing their fitness. The efficacy of these methods has yet to be demonstrated in the natural environment. There is as yet little data on the long-term persistence of GM vaccine viruses, and the efficacy of techniques that handicap (attenuate or weaken) the virus are not yet clear. The engineering of suicide genes in bacteria is the subject of laboratory experiment, but it is understood that suicide genes can reduce, but not eliminate a survivor GM bacterial population.

**Markets**

Thus far, there appears to be little end-consumer concern regarding the use of GM vaccines. GM vaccines may reduce the need for use of antibiotics in intensively farmed livestock, which has become a focus of consumer concern. Given the resistance to GM foods, it is yet to be seen how consumers will react to the use of GM vaccines as a substitute for antibiotics once their use and consumer awareness of that use is more widespread.

It remains to be seen whether detectability of the GM vaccine in end products (e.g., GM vaccine marker genes detectable in meat) will raise issues with gatekeeper buyers such as supermarkets and food processors, who are anxious to avoid loss of consumer confidence in their products should GM be detected in a random test conducted by consumer advocate groups.

### A.5.2 Bioremediation

Experimentation with the genetic modification of microorganisms is underway with a view to refining the tools for the remediation of contaminated sites. Bacteria are among the organisms of choice for this purpose. The ability of to alter the metabolic pathways of microorganisms to mineralise contaminants is seen as the source of their potential usefulness in bioremediation.

The use of GM bacteria for bioremediation does not necessarily require a release: GM bacteria can be used as biosensors as a preliminary screening system detect the presence and potential toxicity of contaminants at a site. Some GM microorganisms are being developed for release at a contaminated site. GMOs are also being developed to bioremediating the target pollutants, although it appears that the initial GMOs developed for this purpose have not performed well in the field.

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354 Ibid, p. 147.
357 Ibid, p. 149.
Thus far, this area of GM application is still largely confined to the laboratory; however, a handful of field tests for GM microorganisms designed for bioremediation have been conducted overseas.

For GM bacteria to act effectively as bioremediators in a contaminated site, they must be able to survive, compete and be able to degrade or accumulate the target pollutant. These same characteristics may be the source of a risk that the GM bacteria will persist (at the site and beyond the site) well after the task for which it is released has been completed. As discussed above, dependable biological containment mechanisms that might reduce the undesired spread of GM microorganisms, or their parts are still to be demonstrated.

Much bioremediation will occur in terrestrial environments, and will be focussed on restoring polluted soil systems in particular. Contaminated sites may pose ongoing and, in some cases, acute risks to biodiversity and to the local economy, making a strong case for bioremediation of some form, where non-GM organisms can also contribute. This said, considerable research is still required to gain baseline knowledge, such as the functioning of microbial populations (the biodiversity of New Zealand’s microorganisms is poorly understood), in order to begin to assess the potential behaviour and effects that the introduction of GM microorganisms will have.

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Appendix 2
Australian States Prohibiting GM Food Cultivation

Australian legislators have developed a model of joint decision-making by federal and state governments with respect to GM release that defines distinct roles for the two levels of government in assessing GMO release applications.

Section 21 of the Australian Gene Technology Act 2000 (GTA) requires the federal Gene Technology Regulator (the equivalent of ERMA) to assess applications for GMO release in terms of their effects on human health and the environment. Its duties are broadly science-based assessment. States, on the other hand, are provided with a right to decline the release of GMOs in their territories on the basis of economic considerations.

“21 Ministerial Council may issue policy principles
1) The Ministerial Council may issue policy principles in relation to the following:
(a) ethical issues relating to dealings with GMOs;
(aa) recognising areas, if any, designated under State law for the purpose of preserving the identity of one or both of the following:
   (i) GM crops;
   (ii) non-GM crops;
   for marketing purposes;
(b) matters relating to dealings with GMOs prescribed by the regulations for the purposes of this paragraph.” [Emphasis added]

This provision has been invoked by at least five of the eight states including: New South Wales, Western Australia, Tasmania, Victoria and South Australia. Each has introduced legislation that allows the state to effectively prevent all commercial growing of GM foods in their territories for multi-year periods through designations issued under the legislation.

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362 http://scaletext.law.gov.au/html/pasteact/3/3428/top.htm. Note also that 21(3) states “Regulations for the purposes of paragraph (1)(b) may relate to matters other than the health and safety of people or the environment, but must not derogate from the health and safety of people or the environment.”

Community Management of GMOs III

Recommended Response Option
Community Management of GMOs III

Recommended Response Option

Prepared for

Working Party on
GMO Risk Evaluation and
Management Options

by

Simon Terry
&
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September 2010

Disclaimer: While every effort has been made to ensure the accuracy of information in this report, no liability is accepted for errors of fact or opinion, or for any loss or damage resulting from reliance on, or the use of, the information it contains.
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Appendix: 21

High Level Description of Proposed Rules
Summary

1. This report extends earlier research examining options available to councils under the RMA for responding to outdoor activities involving genetically modified organisms (GMOs). It identifies a preferred response option for managing GMOs through change to the district plan.

2. A Colmar Brunton survey of resident opinion reported:
   - Strong support for local or regional councils to have a role in regulating GMOs in their areas;
   - Strong support for regulation of at least a strength that would make users of GMOs legally responsible for any environmental or economic harm; and
   - Around half the residents want councils to have the right to prohibit GM plants and animals.

3. The first preference of councils has been for central government to remedy the gaps in the national level regulation of GMOs and to also provide communities with the ability to add local level conditions to any ERMA approval for a GMO activity. The consistent response from central government over 6 years has been that it does not intend to make such changes and this leaves councils with little choice but to pursue parallel reform at the local level, through the RMA, if they wish to deliver stricter regulation.

4. Different types of GMOs carry different risks. However similar GMOs can be brought together into classes of like organisms which can be expected to have similar types of effects that councils may be required to avoid, remedy or mitigate.

5. The key decision councils and their communities need to make is which classes of GMOs and modes of use should be unregulated, which should be made discretionary activities, and which prohibited - based on their tolerance for risk.

6. Councils have good grounds for adopting plan changes that at least make all GMO activities discretionary and provide for the following:
   - Recovery of costs for undertaking any monitoring that is required;
   - Conditions designed to secure compensation in the event that an activity causes harm; and
   - Bond requirements to ensure funds are available to meet claims.
   Such a plan change would involve a sharing of costs between participating councils, while costs arising from contamination in absence of a plan change would tend to be faced by councils and their communities alone.

7. The essential question posed by the RMA’s structure is whether the risks and costs of particular GMO activities warrant councils raising the level of protection further to prohibit these.

8. Field trials are designed with the objective of ensuring that no altered genetic material leaves the test site and this greatly reduces the risks of harm arising. Making all field trials a discretionary activity nonetheless provides greater protection for the community by making the GMO operator financially accountable should harm arise from a breach of conditions.
9. When considering a GMO release, the main differences between making a release a discretionary activity versus a prohibited activity are:
   - There is uncertainty whether a discretionary approach would provide compensation for economic damage, and it seems very unlikely that it would provide compensation for opportunity costs.
   - Under a discretionary approach, the Minister for the Environment could call in an application or it could be referred directly to the Environment Court and a council’s autonomy would be considerably diluted.
   - Costs could arise from legal challenges to decisions made under a discretionary approach, while no applications can be made if the activity is prohibited.

10. The indications to date are that the Auckland and Northland communities seek a relatively strong degree of protection but also want to remain open to opportunities that new GMOs may provide. Given the high levels of potential harm and the uncertainties surrounding the extent of costs and benefits that could be expected from GMO releases, rather than attempting to pre-determine the level of risk posed by each class of GMO, a precautionary approach would be to initially make GMO releases a prohibited activity and periodically review whether particular classes or individual GMOs should be made discretionary activities.

11. At the point a set of GMOs demonstrated potential to provide net benefits, a change to the plan could then make these subject to its discretionary provisions. As an application requirement would be that ERMA had already approved such a release, the council’s role would be limited to determining whether there were additional conditions that would make release in the district satisfactory, or whether to decline the application.

12. We recommend that a plan change be advanced in line with the above and that the consultation document group GMO outdoor uses into three simplified categories to produce the following general proposal:
   - Field Trials Discretionary Activity
   - Food-related GMO Releases Prohibited Activity
   - Releases that are Not Food-related Prohibited Activity

Consultation needs to be conducted on a broad basis, needs to actively engage with key stakeholders, and needs to show that it is effectively achieving these goals.

13. The additional work required for a plan change is perhaps best divided into two blocks: that required to be undertaken in order to have a plan change “ready to go”, and that required to take it to completion. Such a division allows a council to first advance to the “ready to go” stage and to then be fully informed to consider the second stage of implementation.

14. Assuming an approval in principle is given for a plan change, the following tasks will need to be addressed:
   - Further development of objectives, policies and rules to support a plan change, and the precise framing and legal review of the provisions;
   - Execution of consultation process and modifications to the original proposal;
   - Establishment of a memorandum of understanding between councils to a joint defence of any challenges to a related plan change; and
   - Preparation of RMA s32 analyses for the proposed plan changes.
1. Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

The Working Party on GMO Risk Evaluation and Management Options has asked Simon Terry Associates Research Ltd and Mitchell Partnerships to extend our earlier research examining options available to councils under the RMA for responding to activities involving genetically modified organisms (GMOs). Our report, Community Management of GMOs II, described the issues confronting communities and set out options for addressing these. The Working Party has requested that these options be further analysed and that the scope of options be reduced with a view to identifying a preferred option for further development and consultation.

In this further stage of reporting, consideration is similarly limited to the outdoor use of living GMOs, and in particular to field trials and releases to the environment. There is currently no outdoor use of GM plants or animals in the Auckland and Northland regions.

1.2 Prior Assessment Undertaken

The following provides a high level overview of the scope and findings of our previous report. Some of these points are expanded in later sections and parts of our previous work are restated for ease of reference, but for a full treatment of what are often complex issues readers are directed to the full report.

- A wide range of types of GMOs are being developed for commercialisation. As the types of potential benefits available from new GMOs are generally available by alternative mechanisms, gains available from GM products need to be measured in terms of their net benefit over those alternative means.

- Sources of risk from the outdoor use of GMOs include:
  - The risk that cultivation of GM crops will cause economic damage through trace GM contamination appearing in non-GM crops.
  - Environmental risks include: adverse effects on non-target species (e.g. birds and insects), GM plants becoming invasive and disrupting ecosystems, and altered genes transferring to other organisms - and few have been researched sufficiently.
  - Concerns of Maori include: preserving the integrity of nature, the mixing of genes from unrelated species, and which parts of the community stand to the benefit from the technology.
  - There are important deficiencies in the national level regulation of GMOs.

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2 The Working Party comprises: Far North, Kaipara, Rodney and Whangarei District Councils, Waitakere City Council, Auckland Regional Council and Northland Regional Council. This report was funded by the councils for: the Far North, Kaipara, Rodney, Whangarei and the Auckland Region.
3 The report is available at: [http://www.wdc.govt.nz/customerservice/?lc=reader&m=tssd&i=3433](http://www.wdc.govt.nz/customerservice/?lc=reader&m=tssd&i=3433)
- A key gap is the absence of adequate liability provisions. There is no liability under the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act (HSNO) for damage arising as a result of an activity carried out in accordance with an approval from ERMA (the Environmental Risk Management Authority). Innocent parties will tend to bear any losses arising from unexpected events and ineffective regulation of GMOs.

- A further important deficiency is that HSNO makes the exercise of precaution a matter for ERMA’s discretion. Precaution is an option, not a requirement.

- The RMA provides communities with the ability to set rules that embody community determined outcomes, including the level of risk it is willing to accept with respect to activities such as the management of GMOs. District councils have jurisdiction under the RMA to set rules for GMOs that act in addition to those that may be set under HSNO or by ERMA. Given a district council’s general duties of care for its financial position and that of its constituents, there is a ready justification for mandatory conditions to provide for both financial accountability and avoidance of economic damage. If additional conditions would be insufficient to address the risks a GMO activity presents, the RMA also provides the basis for communities to prohibit classes of activity.

- Different GMOs and their uses pose different levels of risk. The key high level decision councils and their communities need to make is which classes of GMOs should be unregulated, which should be made discretionary activities, and which prohibited - based on their tolerance for, or aversion to, risk.

Four options were presented:

A. All GMO activities are discretionary with each assessed on a case by case basis. Accountability provisions designed to ensure damage is remedied or compensated for, to the extent possible, would be mandatory.

B. All releases involving food plants or food animals are prohibited. Other activities are in general discretionary activities, as in Option A.

C. All releases involving food plants, food animals, and production of fibre and biopharmaceuticals are prohibited. Other activities are in general discretionary activities, as in Option A.

D. All release activities would be prohibited.

- With respect to the four options:
  - There is a progressive increase in the level of precaution applied in moving from Option A to D.
  - Prohibiting an activity removes the need for consent-related financial accountability measures. If an activity is discretionary, effectiveness depends on the scope of accountability provided for in the RMA and on successful implementation.
  - Implementation of each option is likely to involve much the same level of expenditure. While ongoing administration costs are uncertain, the RMA provides for full cost recovery from the applicant.
• Whether to intervene turns on whether the benefits of taking action outweigh the costs. Implementation costs are modest when shared between councils and the risk of a legal challenge would be reduced by thorough legal vetting prior to any plan change, and by agreements between councils to share any costs should a challenge arise.

• The analysis suggested that a minimum level of joint council response would be for all outdoor GMO activities to be made subject to mandatory provisions designed to ensure funds are available to remedy or compensate for damage, to the extent the RMA will allow. The report also set out analysis that could be used as the reliable basis for a policy of prohibiting classes of GMOs, were a community to seek this.

• When large parts of the assessment are characterised by indeterminacy and the potential effects are significant, a community’s tolerance for risk becomes a critical input to policy formation. Thus while the report provided the baseline information required to select between options for GMO management, it noted that community consultation forms a further vital component.

1.3 Public Attitudes Survey

In late 2009, the Working Party commissioned Colmar Brunton to survey residents in each of the areas controlled by councils in the Auckland and Northland regions - representing over a third of the population of New Zealand. Results were presented for each jurisdiction and were also aggregated by region. The following summarises key findings.

• Two thirds or more of the residents polled want local or regional councils to have a role in regulating GMOs in their areas, either by setting local rules or by a change of legislation at the national level. Support in the Auckland region averaged 68% and 74% in Northland.

• Around two thirds of the respondents also favoured regulation of at least a strength that would make users of GMOs legally responsible for any environmental or economic harm - either through local regulation or by way of changes to national legislation (Auckland 64%, Northland 67%).

• The survey indicated that around half the residents (Auckland 44% and Northland 53%) want councils to have the right to prohibit GM plants and animals, either by setting local rules or allowing communities, through their councils, the right to reject use of a particular GMO in its area when the national regulator, ERMA, is processing applications.

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4 Those councils that commissioned the survey through the Working Party are: Whangarei, Far North, Kaipara and Rodney District Councils, Waitakere City Council, and Auckland Regional Council.

5 This summary is adapted from that presented in the media release prepared by the Working Party. For a full interpretation and the detailed results, see www.wdc.govt.nz
• When questioned whether councils should set rules in addition to those set by ERMA, 40% of Auckland respondents supported this mechanism and 46% of Northland respondents were in support. Amongst those respondents who support their council setting rules, total prohibition is the most favoured level of regulation (a range of 39-57% across all council areas), with strict liability provisions the next most favoured (a range of 22-32%), and prohibiting only GMOs for food production the third favoured (a range of 18-27%).

• Within the Auckland region there is considerable variation in support for local regulation between individual council areas. For the Waitakere, Auckland and Franklin communities, levels of support for local regulation were significantly higher than for not utilising local regulation while for Manukau, North Shore and Rodney, the levels of support for and against local regulation were more evenly matched.

• However, all communities strongly favour making users of GMOs legally responsible for any economic or environmental harm that may result. Support for regulation to make users of GMOs strictly liable for any harm caused ranged from 63% to 72% for individual councils.

• Support for local regulation is strongest amongst Maori, particularly in the Northland region. It is also strongest amongst semi-rural and rural residents while urban views vary by region. Rural residents are more likely to favour prohibiting GMOs in both Northland and Auckland than are semi-rural or urban residents. Females are more likely to support local regulation than are males, and support is greater amongst 18-39 year olds than older age groups.

• The poll also found that there is clear support from the Auckland and Northland communities for only producing food that is GM free but strong support for leaving options open for GM plants and animals in the future. While the results showed an even stronger opinion against people being able to produce GM plants and animals simply if they choose to, views were less strongly divided over the economic impacts of GMOs. Across the Auckland region, residents believed GMOs would harm local food industries but that there would be economic benefits overall, while Northland respondents saw GMOs harming local food industries and not providing economic benefits for their districts.
2.  Rationale for Local Level Regulation

2.1  Change at Central Government or Council Level?

The Colmar Brunton survey provides a first evaluation of community perceptions concerning the local regulation of GMOs. It is useful to examine key results from this while reviewing decision points councils face when assessing how to respond to GMO activities. Two strong findings address the question of whether any form of change should be made:

- Residents seek the ability to exercise local control: two thirds or more want local or regional councils to have a role in regulating GMOs in their areas, either by setting local rules or by a change of legislation at the national level.

- Residents seek a stricter regulatory framework for GMO activities in their areas: Around two thirds judge the current level of protection as inadequate. They favour regulation of at least a strength that would make users of GMOs legally responsible for any environmental or economic harm - either through local regulation or by way of changes to national legislation.

The question of how councils could exercise local control has been the subject of ongoing dialogue with central government for over a decade, and particularly since the amendment of the HSNO Act in 2003. The first preference of councils has been for central government to remedy the gaps in the national level regulation and to also provide communities with the ability to add local level conditions to any approval for GMO activity that is granted by ERMA through the HSNO process.

Such positions were first detailed in a letter to the Minister for the Environment in October 2006. The response to this and subsequent letters, including the most recent to the Working Party of August 2010, has been that the Government:

- Has no plans to amend the HSNO Act or institute alternative arrangements that would address the concerns of local government with respect to liability;
- Does not propose to provide any mechanism for councils to influence the outcomes of ERMA assessments beyond those available to any other submitter.

The consistent response from central government, across 6 years and two administrations, has left councils with little choice but to pursue parallel reform at the local level if they wish to deliver stricter regulation on the local use of GMOs. While it is not their first preference, and not that of a significant minority of the constituents surveyed, central government responses have been unusually clear-cut, leaving no apparent opening for a compromise position.

Given the nature of the gaps identified in the national regulatory regime, the GMO activities of concern, and the statutory powers available to local government, the RMA emerges as the best mechanism for providing stricter control over GMOs at the...
local level. It allows precisely targeted rules to be set under a district plan so that specific concerns can be addressed without compromising other activities. The availability of the RMA for use by councils to manage GMO activities was a matter considered in detail by Dr Royden Somerville QC in March 2004 and his conclusion that district councils have jurisdiction in this regard has also been the interpretation offered by Crown Law opinions.

While the RMA embodies an approach to environmental management that differs from the HSNO Act, the key finding from analysis of the two is that additional protections framed under the RMA can act alongside the HSNO process without conflict. To the extent that such additions satisfy the section 32 test that benefits of the regulation exceed costs, these would satisfy the RMA’s statutory requirement.

2.2 “Do Nothing” a Difficult Option to Sustain

Another way of approaching the question of whether or not a council should act is to work through the pressures likely to be placed on a council in the event a GMO release was planned for its district, and no local plan-based mechanism for response had been put in place.

A first issue would be whether ERMA has made monitoring of the release a condition of its approval, and required monitoring for that district in particular. Historically, ERMA has set few meaningful monitoring requirements. Further, ERMA can only require this where it is relevant to assessing environmental risk when economic risks will often be a major source of concern. Information from such monitoring would be valued by those who were concerned about GM contamination risks as it could be used to underpin claims for compensation.

If monitoring has not been required by ERMA, or is not in the form constituents seek, then it is likely the council will face a call for it to undertake monitoring as a part of its own duties under RMA sections 35(2)(d) and (e). Such a call could become mandatory if a constituent succeeds in obtaining an enforcement order through the Environment Court.

Monitoring can be expensive but a council can require the GMO operator to meet the costs under either the RMA or the Local Government Act (LGA). The LGA is the simpler option as it does not involve a plan change – otherwise required under the RMA route.

However, those concerned about liability for harm caused by any GMO contamination will wish to ensure that more than just monitoring provisions are in

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8 See: Dr R J Somerville QC (2004) Opinion on Land Use Controls and GMOs; and Crown Law, Advice on potential for council liability arising from rules controlling GMOs, 3 November 2004. Crown Law does however question whether a s32 analysis would support the use of such powers and this position is critiqued in detail in our earlier report: Community Management of GMOs: Issues, Options and Partnership with Government, p 30-32.
place. They will be particularly concerned about having mechanisms for financial accountability in place and the LGA cannot deliver this effectively.

Thus a council could expect to face significant pressure to complete a plan change that would at least make GMO activities subject to council consent. This would be directed at having a council incorporate conditions or performance standards that would make a GMO operator liable for harm caused, and would specify how bonds could be taken to ensure liability claims are met.

Such additional changes would align with a council’s desire to avoid having to carry the costs of cleaning up should a GMO activity cause unexpected effects, or the site becomes abandoned. MAF is only obliged to clean up illegal releases, not those approved by ERMA which have unexpected effects. The thousands of so-called “orphan” toxic contaminated sites the Environment Ministry estimates are present provides a clear example of what results when there is no prior allocation of liability. A council’s also have a stake in any economic loss resulting from GM contamination. A single contamination incident can cost millions. The three major incidents in New Zealand to date have cost between $0.5 and 1 million each, simply from imported seed having been contaminated. When such damage occurs across groups of producers it becomes a community concern and councils owe a duty of care to their constituents. This means they are expected to provide due protection for constituents against threats to their financial resources.

A council’s exposure to paying for clean-up costs, and constituents’ exposure to losses from GM contamination are key foreseeable risks and if a council chose not to make a plan change, key stakeholders may well ask the courts to rule whether the council was adequately discharging its duty of care. Were councils to make a plan change, either pro-actively or in response to a court ruling, this would be a shared cost between participating councils. There is also the prospect that a plan change will attract a legal challenge - though it is envisaged that this too would be a shared cost.

The following table sets out the expected and potential costs to a council and its community of taking no action, or making a plan change of the form recommended in the following section. The cells are coloured to represent relative costs. Those coloured green are the lowest cost components and are shared costs. Cells coloured orange show the potential for considerably higher costs, and those coloured red for higher costs still. These red and orange cell costs arise only if harm occurs (e.g. a contamination incident) and could be low if the event is not serious. However, if these types of costs are triggered, a single event has the potential to be many times the cost of a plan change and any legal challenge to it. Further, they are expenses councils and their communities would tend to face alone in absence of government assistance.

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9 Central government provides a fund of $1 million a year to local government to assist in their cleanup and directly funds a tiny number of high priority sites while the great majority remain not funded.

10 To the extent a plan makes any GMO activities discretionary, the possibility of consent decisions being challenged is also opened up and this is discussed in the following section.
In summary, a council which did not act in advance of a GMO release taking place in its district is likely to find itself pressed by key stakeholders to at least adopt a minimum set of new provisions in its plan. These make up the core of what we termed “Option A” in our earlier report.

While it is possible that no releases will be planned for the Auckland or Northland regions, this seems unlikely on the basis of current developer intentions. If councils wish to be in a position to at least impose conditions designed to address liability and redress concerns, then they will need to pursue a change to their plan.

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11 For example, the plans for GM forage grasses under development by three research groups. The economic modeling for one of these assumes widespread distribution among dairy farms and it is likely that the others will also be looking to achieve widespread adoption.
3. Selecting Between RMA Options

3.1 Key Variables

How to apply the RMA so as to enable communities to secure the level of protection they seek depends on the nature of the risks. Our previous report provided a detailed survey of the sources of risk and identified classes of GMOs with similar risk profiles and the modes of GMO activities that needed to be considered. The following summarises those findings.

3.1.1 Classes of GMO Activities

Different types of GMOs carry different risks. However similar GMOs can be brought together into classes of ‘like organisms’ which could be expected to have similar types of effects that councils may be required to avoid, remedy or mitigate. In this way, response options can be framed to govern classes of GMOs.

The very wide scope of research into GMOs means a large number of types of potential activities have to be considered. However, classes often share similarities with respect to key potential effects so that very similar controls can be used to regulate not just classes of GMOs but groups of such classes. In particular, the following distinctions are central to assessing the scope of risk.

- Whether the GMO is one normally used for the production of food: The economic effects of these GMOs have the potential to be significantly greater than for GMOs that are not food-related.
- Whether the GM organism is a plant, an animal, or a microorganism: The nature of the risks and the ability to control the spread of a GMO differs greatly between plants and animals in particular.

Based on these distinctions, five high level groupings have been identified.

- GM (food) plants
- GM (non-food) plants
- GM (food) animals
- GM (non-food) animals
- GM microorganisms

These high level groupings can be subdivided into individual classes of activities based on the intended purpose of the GMO:

- Food production;
- Fibre production;
- Pharmaceutical and industrial substances production;
- Biocontrol or bioremediation;

See sections 2 and 5 and the Appendix for details.
Our survey showed at least 20 classes of activities under the five high level groupings. Only three of these classes have been commercialised to date – with GM plants used to produce food the overwhelmingly dominant one. Identification of these classes offers a means by which councils and their communities can structure effects-based assessment for community management of GMOs.

3.1.2 Modes of Outdoor GMO Activities

The HSNO Act provides for three distinct modes of outdoor use for GMOs:

*Field Trials:* This provides for experimental trials to be carried out under controls that have the objective of ensuring no altered genetic material leaves the test site during the trial and that all heritable material is removed upon its conclusion.14

*Conditional Release:* Release under case specific controls that can range from those only slightly less restrictive than a field trial or only slightly more encumbering than an unrestricted release.15 Conditional release covers both more extensive experimental activities (e.g., allowing for some release of GM material from the test organisms) through to commercial activities (where the GMOs are cultivated or bred for market). The nature and strength of the conditions is at ERMA’s discretion. Only one application for conditional release of a GMO has been made since it was introduced to HSNO in 2003, and no release has so far taken place under that approval for a veterinary vaccine.

*Release (unrestricted):* Release of a GMO without any conditions on the use of it, or restraint on the time for which approval is given.16 The new organism is accepted as a part of New Zealand’s biological stock. No unrestricted releases of a GMO have been authorised in New Zealand.

3.2 Discretionary vs Prohibited Activity Status

Our previous paper identified two categories of activity under the RMA that seem appropriate to select between when regulating each class of GMOs:17

a) *Discretionary Activity:* A council may decline the consent or grant the consent with or without conditions; and

b) *Prohibited Activity:* An application cannot be made and a consent cannot be given for the activity.

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13 Other classes of GMOs for which one or more approvals for commercial use overseas have been made include: GM vaccines used in animals (also approved but not yet used in New Zealand) and GM animals to produce food (fish).

14 While there have been a number of breaches of field trial conditions - even for the relatively limited number undertaken in New Zealand, and those with respect to a Northland based GM tamarillo trial were among the most serious to date – the intent of the legislation is to keep the altered genetic material within the test site and remove it after the trial.

15 These are regulated under HSNO s38.

16 These are regulated under HSNO s34.

17 See section 4.2. The classes of activity permitted under the RMA are set out in s87A.
As outlined in the last chapter, councils have good grounds for adopting plan changes that at a minimum provide for the following with respect to GMO activities:
- Recovery of costs for undertaking any monitoring that is required;
- Conditions designed to allow compensation to be secured in the event that an activity causes harm; and
- Bond requirements to ensure funds are available to meet claims against the GMO operator.

Such strengthening of the regulatory framework can be achieved by making GMO activities a discretionary activity. They become minimum specified conditions that an applicant must meet, while a council nonetheless retains the right to approve or decline the application.

Our previous report also found evidence that would support the use of a strong precautionary approach under the RMA. In particular it would appear that the extent of risk posed, or indeterminacy in the face of serious potential effects, could be used as the reliable basis for a policy of prohibiting classes of GMOs, were a community to seek this.

The essential question posed by the RMA’s structure is whether the risks and costs of particular classes of GMOs warrants councils raising the level of protection further to make these prohibited activities. The following subsections address this issue.

### 3.2.1 Field Trials

As noted above, field trials under New Zealand law are designed with the objective of ensuring that no altered genetic material leaves the test site during the trial and that all heritable material is removed upon its conclusion. This greatly reduces the prospect for harm arising from any trial.

Nonetheless, breaches of trial conditions that could have lead to GMOs escaping the trial site have already occurred in New Zealand. Although none have been reported to have had caused adverse effects, they illustrate the potential for even field trials to result in unintended consequences that could impose costs on the host community. Having the ability to require monitoring of such trials at the operator’s cost, and to set trigger conditions for liability and bond requirements, therefore remain important additional safeguards given the gaps in the HSNO regime. Holding these options need not oblige a council to do more than simply consider placing conditions additional to those already imposed by ERMA.

If a council did not believe the risks accompanying the trial warranted monitoring, then providing the trial went as planned, the requirement to obtain council consent would not impose any additional costs on the GMO operator, beyond administration charges associated with issuing the consent. To the extent monitoring is seen as

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18 Also provided for under HSNO s40 is the contained development of a GMO. This involves somewhat different statutory requirements but for the purposes of this report, the term “field trials” also encompasses outdoor GMO development projects.
19 The most recent was the December 2008 breach of conditions for the trial involving GM Brassica by the Plant and Food Institute when plant flowering was discovered.
important for a trial, those costs belong with the operator. Thus making all field trials a discretionary activity provides greater protection for the community while allowing responsibly managed field trials to proceed.\textsuperscript{20}

In order for field trials to be made a prohibited activity, this would require evidence of a very high level of protection by the community being deemed to be appropriate in terms of section 32 of the Act, such that the additional protection justified the removal of the ability to undertake a trial.\textsuperscript{21}

3.2.2 GMO Releases – Differences Between Discretionary and Prohibited Status

Given the serious scale of losses that can arise from GMOs contaminating non-GM food production, and the uncertainties surrounding the environmental risks posed by GMOs that are not food-related, it is instructive to examine in general the costs and benefits of a discretionary activity status for the release of GMOs versus a prohibited activity status.

Administration Costs

As the costs of responding to an application are fully recoverable under the RMA, there would be no additional net cost in administering consents under a discretionary regime, and no administration costs if GMO releases were prohibited.

Compensation for Economic Damage

Consent conditions can be set to guard against harm arising, and any breach of these can trigger an enforcement order under RMA s314. Such an order can clearly provide compensation for “any adverse effect on the environment” as a result of a breach, and so any ecological damage. Whether an enforcement order can also be used to recover economic losses is unclear however. The RMA definition of "environment" is inclusive of economic conditions which affect not only natural and physical resources but also all people and communities, and this provides a good base for the proposition that economic losses are covered as well as ecological damage. However, we are not aware of case law on this point and further investigation would be required to develop the proposition.

A key question that remains in the case where economic damage is serious is whether the Court would order payment to be made from a bond taken to secure performance of conditions set to protect against physical harm. In absence of such an order, or if it were to eventuate that neither bonds nor

\textsuperscript{20} A further sub-option is for some or all field trials to be made restricted discretionary activities. This would restrict the extent to which a council could exercise its discretion in determining the merits of the proposal and the extent to which it could set conditions.

\textsuperscript{21} While even field trials have lead to purchasers raising questions about potential impacts on conventional exports (for example, when approval for a GM onion trial was being sought, one of the six major buyers of New Zealand onions raised concerns about the trials with exporters), it appears that deliberate commercial release is a much more significant threshold for market responses. However, trials involving biopharming applications pose unusual risks for food growing regions and while these could be addressed under a discretionary status, this sub-class of trials may attract stringer levels of concern.
enforcement orders were able to be used to protect against most forms of
economic damage, there is a significant risk that such damage of any serious
scale will not be paid for by the consent holder, and that the losses would lie
where they fell - with innocent individuals and businesses.

Thus there is uncertainty whether a discretionary regime would provide
compensation for economic damage.

**Opportunity Costs**
It seems very unlikely that RMA instruments would provide compensation for
costs not actually suffered – costs that instead involve the loss of anticipated
future earnings. Such opportunity costs may take the form of a non-GM
farmer who suffers GM contamination in one year, losing a premium contract
for future years due to buyer concern that contamination will recur. At the
district-wide level, such contamination incidents could take the form of a lost
ability for non-GM farmers to access markets that require surety of the
absence of trace contamination. Similarly, it seems very unlikely that any
brand value built under a proposition such as “GM Free Northland” could be
recovered if this were lost.

**Local Autonomy**
A distinction between a discretionary activity and one that is prohibited is the
degree to which local control over decisions is assured. For any class of GMO
that was made a discretionary activity, the Minister for the Environment could
call in an application under the RMA and the minister would then decide it as
part of a process that included council representation, but which considerably
diluted council autonomy. Similarly, an application can be referred directly to
the Environment Court. Alternatively, if an activity is prohibited, neither the
Minister nor the Court can intervene as no application can then be made. If a
GMO related application were important enough to be considered for call in, it
would likely be one that a community would especially want to exercise
control in respect of.

**Legal Costs**
Any plan change, whether to make GMO releases discretionary or prohibited,
would involve similar costs to design and implement.

Either plan change is probably equally at risk of attracting a legal challenge.
This is because GMO developers will regard the emergence of local controls
on GMO activities as a barrier to business development and a plan change
could attract a challenge that has a strategic purpose of overturning any form
of local control. Councils that adopt the new rules will naturally have
undertaken extensive legal reviews prior to implementing a plan change, and
refined the proposals to be robust to litigation. This of itself will tend to
reduce the prospect of a challenge coming forward, as the strategic value of a
threat of court action would be diminished once a legal review suggests a plan
change would survive challenge. Should the need to defend a plan arise, such
costs are expected to be shared between councils adopting similar plan
provisions.
The strength of any particular plan change will ultimately depend on the provisions inserted and the basis for these. However, we understand that if a community seeks a high level of protection against risk, and frames plan provisions that largely prohibit GMO release, that there may well be no greater risk than to a plan based on a community’s desire for a level of protection consistent with a plan that makes most GMO releases a discretionary activity. We also understand that if a court did find fault with a plan, it would tend to amend the plan rather than reject it.

The main point of difference between making a set of GMO activities either discretionary or prohibited is the costs that could arise from legal challenges to individual decisions that are made under a discretionary regime. As a prohibited status prevents applications coming forward, there would be no legal challenges arising from particular project proposals. However, if a GMO release were a discretionary activity, there is potential for legal challenges to be mounted by either GMO operators or opponents of the application on a case by case basis. Although the scope for challenges could be largely mitigated by a council adhering to conditions that are predefined in the plan, this would tend to remove the ability to respond flexibly.

3.2.3 GMO Releases – Risks, Costs and Benefits

In summary, a regime that prohibited the release of GMOs would provide a number of additional protections including those against uncompensated economic losses, and avoidance of costs associated with challenges to council decisions on individual applications. However this status would rule out obtaining benefits from the release of GMOs. The RMA section 32 test in essence is whether such extra protections against losses would justify ruling out potential gains. The following points are important to consider as part of such an assessment.

Food-Related GMOs

- Food-related GMOs have a well-demonstrated ability to cause economic harm far beyond the entities that undertake the original land use. A major source of such “spillover” effects is cultivation of GM crops leading to economic damage through trace GM contamination appearing in non-GM crops. Sustained high levels of consumer resistance to eating GM foods in Europe and the wealthier Asian nations in particular is demonstrated most clearly through examples of rejection by major buyers of product that is found to contain trace levels of GM contamination, regardless of whether those products meet food safety requirements. Such contamination may be physical and measurable. However economic harm can also arise from perceived contamination - through retail gatekeepers losing confidence that a country, region or individual product line is free of altered genetic material to the level that meets their standards. Each domestic contamination incident has been in the $0.5 – $1 million range and the costs incurred in many overseas incidents have amounted to tens of millions of dollars or more. Precisely which markets will exhibit intolerance to trace contamination and to what threshold levels is
an unfolding picture and the total cost of the potential harm can vary considerably depending on the produce in question.

- A wide range of research is underway to expand the scope of food-related GMOs available to producers, including research targeting their use in New Zealand. However, we are not aware of any commercially available food-related GMOs that offer gains under New Zealand conditions and are traditionally produced in New Zealand. Thus it is not clear that any net economic benefits are currently available from food-related GMOs.

**GMOs that are Not Food-Related**

- There are also a great many GMOs in development that are not food-related, but globally they are relatively rare in the outdoors at present. In the New Zealand context, the leading example is development work being conducted on GM pine trees. For these GMOs, the risk of economic damage is expected to be lower than for food-related GMOs. However, in many cases rather little is known about their environmental risks, and some pose novel risks. The scale of damage to the environment that can result from a single organism being introduced and then found to have unexpected consequences is well understood through past experience in New Zealand, and the cost of programmes to eradicate or control unwanted organisms has been recently demonstrated by those for the painted apple moth and varroa mite which each ran to tens of millions of dollars.

- Beyond GMO veterinary vaccines, we are unaware of commercially available GMOs that are not food-related and are said to offer net benefits to New Zealand under local conditions.

**Ability to Change an Activity’s Status Under the Plan**

- The lead-time for development of new GM plant varieties is typically 8 – 10 years - and is similar for other forms. To the extent GMOs under development demonstrate characteristics that would make them attractive for Auckland and Northland, there is considerable time to review whether to change a prohibited status regime to a discretionary one for a class or individual GMO.

- ERMA has made clear that in order for a GMO to gain approval for release, it wishes to first see effects research undertaken. That will require at least field trials to be carried out and assessed prior to any release application being received. Availability of the results of such research, including field trial work potentially undertaken in the Auckland and Northland regions, could provide the basis for assessing whether a GMO activity that was previously prohibited should instead be made a discretionary activity.

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22 See sections 2.1 and A1 of our previous report.
23 See section A1 of our previous report.
24 GM forage grasses under development locally that are estimated by consultants to the developer to provide a commercial benefit (rather than a net national benefit) are not expected to be commercialised before 2019.
25 These include the use of plants to produce pharmaceuticals and industrial substances, and the use of sterility technology in trees.
4. Proposed Approach to GMO Activities

4.1 Strong Protection but Open to Opportunities

The RMA provides a council with the ability to set rules that embody the level of risk a community is willing to tolerate with respect to particular activities, including GMOs. It allows communities to set a floor on the extent of precaution to be specified for their district (they being the ultimate risk bearers). There is no objective standard as to what is a correct level of risk as it is not an objectively determinable factor. The indications to date are that the Auckland and Northland communities seek a relatively strong degree of protection but also want to remain open to opportunities that new GMOs may provide.²⁶

Given the high levels of potential harm and the uncertainties surrounding the extent of costs and benefits that could be expected, what the above discussion suggests is that rather than attempting to pre-determine the level of risk posed by each class of GMO under release conditions, a precautionary approach would be to initially make GMO releases a prohibited activity and periodically review if particular classes or individual GMOs should be subject to an alternative activity class, such as discretionary.

This prescription could be met by a plan change that at first prohibited all GMO releases except veterinary vaccines,²⁷ but also set out plan provisions for handling GMOs as discretionary activities. This alternative track would be required for field trials, and review procedures would allow particular GMO release activities to be reclassified so they too could operate under this track, as set out in the table below.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposed RMA Status for GMO Activities</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Unregulated</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>GMO Field Trials</td>
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<tr>
<td>GMO Releases – Food-Related</td>
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<tr>
<td>GMO Releases – Not Food-Related</td>
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<tr>
<td>GMO Veterinary Vaccines</td>
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²⁶ See the results of the Colmar Brunton survey reported in section 1 and the policies of councils and LTCCP provisions detailed in our earlier report.

²⁷ Veterinary vaccines tend not to persist in the environment and to date have appeared to be low risk. They would also be very difficult to monitor. However, if left unregulated by councils, the appropriateness of this classification could also be periodically reviewed.
Classes of GMOs would be periodically reviewed as field trial information became available that would allow adequate assessment of the potential benefits to a district or region to be made. At the point a class or set of GMOs demonstrated potential to provide net benefits, a change to the plan could then make these subject to its discretionary provisions that would initially solely cater to field trials. As field trials occur a number of years before commercialisation takes place, if a bi-annual review was programmed for example, consequent amendments to the plan could be implemented without delaying the introduction of any GMOs that appeared to carry net benefits for the district or region.

Ideally reviews would be carried out jointly by collaborating councils in order to minimise duplication of effort, and to encourage a harmonized approach to plan amendments. Should councils not bring forward proposed amendments in a timely manner, the option is also open to the proponent of a GMO release to request a private plan change.

At the point a particular GMO release was to be considered under the discretionary provisions, an ERMA hearing would have already set conditions for its use that would usually apply nationally. The council’s role would in essence be limited to determining whether there were additional resource management based conditions that would make release in the district satisfactory, or whether to decline the application.

Such an approach would provide surety of outcomes for a community as follows:

1. The level of risk considered acceptable by the community would determine whether and under what conditions a particular GMO activity would take place, rather than the acceptable level of risk being determined by ERMA. This would allow not only local perceptions of risk and benefits to dominate, but would also mean assessments of economic costs and benefits would be those applying to the local economy (whereas ERMA assesses applications with respect to the national economy). ERMA’s assessment methods may also differ from those used by a council.

2. Communities would retain the ability to prohibit a particular GMO or class of GMOs and would not be exposed to its autonomy being significantly diluted if an application for a GMO release were able to be made and that application were called in.

This approach is also not reliant on a series of councils acting in unison. So long as the high level template for a plan change is agreed by collaborating councils, the time at which individual councils alter their plans is not critical and administration of the provisions does not depend on joint action, in the early stages at least.

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Note that a refusal to release a particular GMO at a district level need not shut out national benefits if the release can take place in another district where the costs and benefits are different, or perceived to be different. Further, trials often need not take place in New Zealand in order to obtain information relevant to local conditions (as trials of GM grasses in Australia by New Zealand developers indicate).
While this report focuses on the response options available to district councils, it is also of relevance to regional councils. There is potential for regional councils to at least set high level policy that underpinned a consistent approach and promoted integrated management across a region. The Auckland Regional Council has affirmed a precautionary approach to the outdoor use of GMOs in its region with the aim of managing these to prevent any adverse effects. Regional Councils may also be able to develop specific regulatory approaches to the management of GMOs if legal opinion indicates such management falls within the scope of matters they can develop rules for within regional plans. For example, in relation to the coastal marine area (e.g. aquaculture), the maintenance of indigenous biodiversity (e.g. GMO weeds), or if GMOs are identified as a contaminant. Further investigation would be required if such mechanisms were to be pursued.

4.2 Plan Change Specification and Community Consultation

In our previous report we set out consultation principles for a plan change of the form described above. As noted in that discussion, a robust approach to consultation does not preclude a party such as a council having a proposed plan change already in mind.

Given that the councils making up the Working Party have been proactive in seeking public opinion about GMO issues and methods available for community based management, we see the setting of a proposed response option as being a logical next step. A high level description of the changes recommended in this report is set out in the appendix. If the participating councils see the proposed option as worthy of being advanced, we nonetheless suggest that some additional work needs to be undertaken to show how the suggested approach would manifest as actual plan provisions. This would then be outlined in a public discussion paper that was essentially the same for each council jurisdiction.

The paper would discuss the council’s intent to insert provisions governing GMO activities into the relevant plans. There is certainly no impediment to an option being portrayed as the council’s preferred approach, so long as it is made abundantly clear that in the minds of the councils, there remains an openness to considering the merits of alternatives.

The document would outline that the different levels of risk that accompany different GMOs and modes of use suggest a sliding scale approach to their control, based on degree of risk. Where a GMO activity is accepted as being able to occur in the district, but not in every instance, this can become a discretionary activity with minimum protections that are predefined in the plan. GMO activities that are regarded as presenting unacceptable levels of risk can be prohibited.

29 The draft Auckland RPS currently contains the following policies with respect to GMOs: "A precautionary approach shall be taken to the outdoor use of GMOs in the Auckland Region in response to their potential to cause adverse effects", and "District and regional plans shall ensure that the outdoor use of GMOs in the Auckland Region is managed to prevent any actual adverse effects".

30 Noting of course that all of the participating districts have different structures and approaches to the various Resource Management Plans.
We recommend that GMO outdoor uses be grouped into three simplified categories and an activity status be suggested for each of these to produce the following general proposal:

- Field Trials: Discretionary Activity
- Food-related GMO Releases: Prohibited Activity
- Releases that are Not Food-related\(^{31}\): Prohibited Activity

The consultation document would outline the minimum requirements that would apply to any discretionary GMO activity that was approved, including: recovering monitoring costs, setting conditions to provide for compensation in the event of harm, and establishing bond requirements. It would then describe why field trials are proposed to be treated as discretionary activities, and why releases are proposed to be prohibited activities, with individual release prospects periodically reviewed, as outlined in the previous section.

Given that the proposed option would prohibit some activities (which of course is the strongest level of regulation available under the RMA), we strongly believe that the consultation process needs to be conducted on a broad basis, needs to actively engage key stakeholders, and needs to show that it is effectively achieving these goals.\(^{32}\) This will require considerable effort on the part of the councils involved and a detailed consultation plan should be prepared which identifies key stakeholders, relevant ad hoc authorities, and how best to engage with the public more generally in a meaningful way. This plan should incorporate an appropriate range of methods for engaging with the various stakeholders and the community. The plan should indicate key milestones and clearly convey that the results of the consultation will be drawn on when determining whether the proposed option, or alternatives to it, are to be pursued. Promulgation of the consultation plan will need both expert input, and input from those closest to the community - council officers and perhaps councillors themselves.

There is no question in our minds that given the level of regulation that could result for GMO activities, and the importance of community attitudes to determining what constitutes tolerable risk, that good management of this process is imperative for advancing any plan change proposal. If consultation is done well, it will lend significant strength to the plan change process, both in terms of the support it is able to achieve at a community level, and in making it more robust to legal challenge.

### 4.3 Further Steps

An option to significantly reduce risk at relatively low cost has been identified in this report. It arises from a sustained effort by the Working Party to identify and assess options and has involved gathering a considerable body of information that can be used to underpin a plan change.

---

\(^{31}\) Other than veterinary vaccines that would remain unregulated.

The additional work required for a plan change is perhaps best divided into two stages: that required to be undertaken in order to have a plan change framed up, suitable for public consultation; and that required to take the plan change to public notification. Such a division allows a council to first advance to the “ready to go” stage (and so minimise the time to completion at any point), and to then be fully informed to consider the second stage of implementation.

Assuming further advancement of the plan change option is favoured, the following outlines the key tasks required to be addressed. There is considerable overlap between many of these such that sequencing and allocation between stages is best addressed when implementation is being planned at a more detailed level, but the first four are clearly a core part of stage one.

- Establishment of a memorandum of understanding between participating councils to jointly fund and advance a plan change, including responses to any legal challenge to the change in order to optimise the form of response and share costs.

- Approval in principle is given to proceed with a plan change, noting that there is particular benefit in its further development to at least the point where it can be put in place in a timely manner.

- Development of the precise framing of objectives, policies and rules to be advanced through the plan change. This would involve research into the particular mechanisms to be used and a legal review of the proposal.

- Preparation of consultation documentation and identification of stakeholders.

- Execution of consultation process, analysis of stakeholder concerns and suggested alternatives, and modifications to the original proposal.

- Development of individual plan changes or variations required to implement a generic set of rules into the plan of each participating council.

- Preparation of RMA s32 analyses to ensure each proposed plan change meets the tests this section sets.

- Notification of plan changes and processing of plan changes according to the relevant statutory provisions.

It is assumed here that such work will continue to proceed under the auspices of the Working Party and thus issues of timetable co-ordination and development of a joint implementation strategy will be addressed through this group.
Appendix: High Level Description of Proposed Rules

The rules would divide all outdoor GMO activities into three categories:
- Permitted Activities;
- Discretionary Activities; and
- Prohibited Activities.

The GMOs listed under each category would be set out in a schedule to the plan.

1. **Permitted Activities**

The plan would set no rules in respect of GMOs listed as Permitted Activities. These would be regulated only by ERMA at the national level.

The schedule would upon commencement of the plan change list all veterinary vaccines as Permitted Activities.

2. **Prohibited Activities**

The plan would list those GMOs that are Prohibited Activities. These could be approved by ERMA, but within the district they would not be legal to use in the outdoors.

The schedule would upon commencement of the plan change list all GMO releases as Prohibited Activities - all food-related GMO releases and all those that are not food related.

3. **Discretionary Activities**

The plan would list those GMOs that were Discretionary Activities.

The rule would, upon commencement of the plan change list all GMO field trials as Discretionary Activities.

Applications could only be made to the council after the relevant GMO activity had been approved by ERMA. This would comprise a performance standard within the rule. The council would then assess whether there were additional conditions that would make the activity satisfactory to undertake in the district, or whether to decline the application.

Performance standards would be proposed to ensure that an application could not be approved without imposing the following minimum conditions:

- Conditions designed to allow compensation to be secured in the event that an activity causes harm. This is to include one or more of the following:
  - The GMO approved for use may not contaminate another property.
- The site for use shall be fully described and the steps taken to stop escape of the GMO from the site shall be detailed.
- Transport of GMOs to and from the site shall be undertaken so as to not allow contamination of roadsides or other property.

b) Bond requirements to ensure funds are available to meet claims against the GMO operator.
- A performance bond (rather than a cash bond) is taken, such that a trusted financial institution pledges to make payment rather than the applicant’s capital being tied up.
- The bond is specified to as far as possible cover all forms of potential damage, including economic damage resulting from contamination.

c) To the extent that monitoring is judged to be required:
- All costs associated with monitoring are fully recovered, if this is not already provided for.

It is possible the plan would also contain a description of a council’s intention to periodically review classes of GMOs as field trial information became available that would allow adequate assessment of the potential benefits to a district or region to be made. At the point a class or set of GMOs demonstrated potential to provide net benefits, a change to the plan could then make these subject to its discretionary provisions.
Genetically Modified Organisms Survey

Results For Aggregated Northland Area

November 2009
Summary of Results for Aggregated Northland Area (1)

- 74% of residents favour their local Council having a role in regulating the use of GM plants and animals, either by setting local rules or when ERMA is processing GMO applications.

- 46% of residents aged 18+ believe that their Council should set rules for the local use of GM plants and animals. However, there are also 37% who believe their Council should not set rules, whilst 14% have no preference.

- Amongst those residents who believe their Council should set rules, 55% would prefer that the Council prohibit the use of all types of GM plants and animals, whilst 26% believe that GM plants and animals should be allowed, but the user should be made legally responsible for any economic/environmental harm caused. Only 18% favour the option of prohibiting for food production, but allowing GM for other uses.

- 67% of Northland residents favour regulation of GM plants and animals of at least a strength that would make GMO users legally responsible for any environmental or economic harm - either by local regulation or through changes to national legislation.

- 53% of residents believe their Council should have the right to prohibit GM plants and animals from the district, either by setting local rules or when ERMA is processing GMO applications.
Summary of Results for Aggregated Northland Area (2)

- The main reasons given for wanting their Council to set rules for the local use of GM plants and animals are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q3 Reason for choosing this option</th>
<th>All Options</th>
<th>All types prohibited</th>
<th>User legally responsible</th>
<th>Food prohibited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Against GM / don't believe in GM / shouldn't mess with nature / GM should be banned</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough is known about (consequences of) GM / not enough research has been done / worried about dangers of GM / need more information made available to the public</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Users of GM should be made accountable/held responsible for their actions/consequences if something goes wrong/pay for damage</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm pro GM (for research) / not against GM / don't think it should be prohibited / open mind</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't want GM in/near food / don't want to eat GM food / prefer organic food</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Overall, amongst those residents who believe their Council should **not** set rules or have **no preference**, there is a strong desire for Councils to lobby central government to:
  - Give local communities the ability to reject the use of particular GM plants and animals in the district when ERMA is deciding on the applications (54% agree)
  - Have the law changed so that users of GM plants and animals are legally responsible for any environmental or economic harm caused (59% agree)
Summary of Results for Aggregated Northland Area (3)

• In general, Northland residents agree that:
  - NZ should only produce GM free food (56% agree)
  - Should leave the option open for GM production in the future (62% agree)
  - GM will harm the local food industry (51% agree)

• And disagree:
  - GM plants and animals will provide economic benefits for the district (47% disagree)
  - People should be able to produce GM plants and animals if they choose (70% disagree)

• Reactions are more mixed on the question of whether:
  - GM will harm the local tourism industry (41% agree and 35% disagree)
Background and Objectives
In 2004, the district councils of the Northland Peninsula formed an inter-council working party to investigate the risks associated with the outdoor use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and the options available to local bodies for managing these risks.

As part of their investigation into this area, the participating councils received in 2005 a report that scoped the risk and response issues. It was the view of a number of councils, that the community be consulted with regard to their view on whether there should be more regulation at a local level when it comes to the outdoor use of GMOs.

As a part of this consultation, it was decided that a survey should be undertaken to gauge resident’s opinions on this matter.

Councils participating in the survey are Whangarei District Council, Rodney District Council, Kaipara District Council, Far North District Council, Waitakere City Council and Auckland Regional Council.
Research Objectives

- The overall objective for the research is to obtain resident’s opinion on the question of how local government should respond to the risks arising from GMO land use activities.

- Specifically the councils wish to:
  
  - Understand whether they should set regulations at the local level to act in addition to those at a national level and, if so, what form these should take
  
  - Determine the reasons for preference of different options for additional regulations
  
  - Among those who do not feel the councils should set additional rules, determine whether the councils should continue to lobby government to give communities more influence over the regulation of GM crops and animals
  
  - Measure residents’ attitudes in general towards GM with regards to food, crops, and animals

- Further to the above objectives, there is also a desire to establish whether there are any particular groups in the community whose opinions on this issue differ significantly to that of the combined community.
Research Methodology
Research Methodology (1)

- The survey was conducted using CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) and fieldwork took place from July 21\textsuperscript{st} to August 18\textsuperscript{th} 2009.
- The survey was conducted amongst residents aged 18+ living in the Northland region.
- The total combined sample size for this survey was \(n=1200\), which has a maximum margin of error of \(\pm 2.8\%\) at the 95\% confidence level. All significance testing has been done at the 95\% confidence level.
- Department of Statistics’ data was used to weight the results to be representative of each of the sub-council areas, in terms of gender, age, ethnicity and number of people aged 18+ in household. In addition, each council area was weighted to represent the proportion that its population represents of the total combined Northland area surveyed, as per below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northland Region</th>
<th>%ge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Far North District</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whangarei District</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaipara District</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{TOTAL}</td>
<td>\textbf{100.0%}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Research Methodology (2)

- All sample sizes quoted in this report are based on weighted numbers.
- This report contains the results for the aggregated Northland area, comprising of:
  - Far North District
  - Whangarei District
  - Kaipara District
Survey Results
Whether There Should be Regulation or Not?
Whether Councils in Northland Area Should or Should Not Set Rules For The Use of GM Plants and Animals in the District?

Thinking about your district and the (AS APPROPRIATE) Council, which one of the following options do you prefer?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base = Residents of Northland area aged 18+ (n = 1200).</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
<th>Should set rules</th>
<th>Should not set rules</th>
<th>No preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males n = 576</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females n = 624</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-39 yrs n = 396</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-54 yrs n = 372</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 yrs+ n = 432</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ European n = 720</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori n = 276</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnicity n = 204</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban n = 420</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi rural n = 384</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural n = 396</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= significantly higher than total sample at 95% confidence level

= significantly lower than total sample at 95% confidence level
Of Those Who Want To Set Rules (46%), What Level of Rules Should Councils in the Northland Area Set in Relation to The Use of GM Plants and Animals in the District?

In which of the following ways, should the council set these rules on the use of outdoor GM plants and animals?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sample size</th>
<th>All Prohibited</th>
<th>Legally Responsible</th>
<th>Food Prohibited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>n = 232</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>n = 320</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-39 yrs</td>
<td>n = 226</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-54 yrs</td>
<td>n = 166</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 yrs +</td>
<td>n = 160</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ European</td>
<td>n = 315</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori</td>
<td>n = 149</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnicity</td>
<td>n = 88</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>n = 204</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi rural</td>
<td>n = 182</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>n = 166</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significantly higher than 'making user legally responsible'

Significantly lower than total sample at 95% confidence level

In which of the following ways, should the council set these rules on the use of outdoor GM plants and animals?

Base = Residents of Northland area aged 18+ who want council to be able to set rules (n= 552).
## Reasons for Saying Council Should Be Able to Set Rules At Various Levels?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for choosing this option</th>
<th>All Options</th>
<th>All types prohibited</th>
<th>User legally responsible</th>
<th>Food prohibited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Against GM / don't believe in GM / shouldn't mess with nature / GM should be banned</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough is known about (consequences of) GM / not enough research has been done / worried about dangers of GM / need more information made available to the public</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Users of GM should be made accountable/held responsible for their actions/consequences if something goes wrong/pay for damage</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm pro-GM (for research) / not against GM / don't think it should be prohibited / open mind</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't want GM in/near food / don't want to eat GM food / prefer organic food</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM needs to be regulated/monitored/well controlled</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sounds like better/best option / sounds right</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council to make the rules / police the rules / monitor GM activities / have a say in controlling GM locally</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's about the environment / concerned about the planet/environment/people</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okay to use GM in Forestry/medical research/pharmaceuticals</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Government must make rules/have clear mandate / ERMA to make final decisions</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council should be completely/responsible for harm caused by GM products / ratepayers shouldn't have to pay</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People should have a choice/their say about GM</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't need GM plants/animals/products / not necessary to have anything modified</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't trust Council/ERMA to do their job properly / worried about organisations/companies having no legal liability for harm or damage caused</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review from time to time in light of new information about GM</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't trust big companies/Council/ERMA - more interested in GM for profit gain/making money than the good of the people/environment</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very difficult to enforce legal liability (on users of GM products) / damage may be too far gone/reversible / should be more preventative actions</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ's has a natural environment / clean green image / should become GE/GM free / should go natural</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against cruelty to animals / don't believe in animal testing / don't want animals GM modified</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May be needed in pharmaceuticals/may have benefits in medicine</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need more food production</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM is OK if it's not used on humans / GM products for human consumption not OK</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing / No other reason</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / not sure</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For what reasons do you choose this option?

Base = Residents of Northland area aged 18+ who want council to be able to set rules (n= 552).
Of Those Who Do Not Want To Set Rules or Have No Preference (51%), Whether Councils in the Northland Area Should Lobby Central Government Regarding Regulation of GMO Plants and Animals?

Lobby to give communities (through council) the ability to reject use of GM plants and animals when ERMA is processing applications

- Agree: 54%
- Disagree: 36%
- Neither: 8%
- Don't know: 3%

Lobby so that users of GM plants and animals are made legally responsible for any harm

- Agree: 59%
- Disagree: 29%
- Neither: 9%
- Don't know: 3%

Instead of setting additional rules, there are other ways that your local council could be involved in regulating the use of GM plants and animals. I am going to read out some of these and for each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the council doing this.

Base = Residents aged 18+ who do not want their council to set rules for GMO or have no preference (n= 612). © Colmar Brunton 2009 | Slide 16
Whether Residents Want Their Local Council to Have a Role in Regulating the Use of GM Plants and Animals?

- **Favour Council having a role in regulating use of GM plants and animals**: 74%
- **Council to regulate by setting rules itself in addition to ERMA**: 46%
- **Ability to reject the use of GM plants and animals when ERMA is processing applications**: 28%

* Of the 51% of respondents who do not want Council to set rules (37%) or have no preference (14%), 55% (or 28% of the total surveyed) want the ability to reject the use of GM plants and animals when ERMA is processing applications.

Base = Residents of Northland area aged 18+ (n= 1200).
Whether Residents Believe Their Council Should Have the Right to Prohibit GM Plants and Animals From the District?

- **Believe Council should have the right to prohibit GM plants and animals from district**: 53%
- **Prohibit the use of GM plants and animals when setting rules itself**: 25%
- **Ability to reject the use of GM plants and animals when ERMA is processing applications**: 28%

* Of the 46% of respondents who want Council to set rules, 55% (or 25% of the total surveyed) want GM plants and animals prohibited.

** Of the 51% of respondents who do not want Council to set rules, 54% (or 28% of the total surveyed) want the ability to reject the use of GM plants and animals when ERMA is processing applications.

Base = Residents of Northland area aged 18+ (n=1200).
Whether Residents Favour Regulation to Make Users of GM Plants and Animals Legally Responsible for Environmental/Economic Harm?

- **Favour regulation of at least the strength of users being made legally responsible**: 67%
- **Want Council to set rules to either prohibit GM plants and animals or make users legally responsible**: 37*
- **Want central government to change the law to make users of GM plants and animals legally responsible**: 30**

*Of the 46% of respondents who want Council to set rules, 81% (or 37% of the total surveyed) want GM plants and animals either prohibited (55%) or the user made legally responsible for harm (26%)

**Of the 51% of respondents who do not want Council to set rules (37%) or have no preference (14%), 59% (or 30% of the total surveyed) want the law changed to make users of GM plants and animals made legally responsible for harm

Base = Residents of Northland area aged 18+ (n=1200).
What Are Resident’s General Attitudes to GMO?
I am now going to read out some general statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

**General Attitudes To GMO in Northland Area (1)**

**NZ should only produce food that is GM free**
- **Agree**: 56%
- **Disagree**: 31%
- **Neither** or **Don’t know**: 11%
- **Significantly more likely**
  - Females (63%)
  - Maori (68%)
- **Less likely to agree**
  - Males (49%)

**GM will provide economic benefits for district**
- **Agree**: 25%
- **Disagree**: 47%
- **Neither** or **Don’t know**: 20%
- **Significantly more likely**
  - Males (32%)
  - NZ European (29%)
- **Less likely to agree**
  - Females (19%)

**Significant demographic skews:**
- **More likely to agree**
  - NZ should only produce food that is GM free:
    - Females (63%)
    - Maori (68%)
- **Less likely to agree**:
  - Males (49%)
- **More likely to disagree**:
  - Males (38%)
- **Less likely to disagree**:
  - Females (24%)
  - Maori (18%)

*Base = Residents of Northland area aged 18+ (n= 1200).*
General Attitudes To GMO in Northland Area (2)

I am now going to read out some general statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

GM plants and animals will harm the local tourism industry
- Agree: 41%
- Disagree: 35%
- Neither: 17%
- Don't know: 7%

Need to leave open option for GM crops and animals in future
- Agree: 62%
- Disagree: 30%
- Neither: 8%
- Don't know: 1%

Significant demographic skews:

Less likely to disagree:
- Maori (26%)

More likely to agree that need to leave option open for GM:
- Male (73%)
- 18-39 yrs (68%)

Less likely to agree:
- Female (51%)
- Maori (54%)

More likely to disagree:
- Females (37%)

Less likely to disagree:
- Males (21%)
- 18-39 yrs (23%)

Base = Residents of Northland area aged 18+ (n=1200).
I am now going to read out some **general** statements about GM plants and animals.

For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

**General Attitudes To GMO in Northland Area (3)**

### Significant demographic skews:

#### GM plants and animals will harm the local food industry

- **More likely to agree** that GM will harm the local food industry:
  - Females (57%)

- **Less likely to agree**:
  - Males (45%)

#### Should be able to produce GM plants and animals if they choose

- **More likely to agree** that should be able to produce GM:
  - 18-39 yrs (28%)

- **More likely to disagree**:
  - 55 yrs+(75%)

- **Less likely to disagree**:
  - 18-39 yrs (60%)

---

*Base = Residents of Northland area aged 18+ (n= 1200).*
Genetically Modified Organisms Survey

Results Prepared For Auckland Regional Council

November 2009
Summary of Results for Auckland Regional Council (1)

- 68% of residents favour their local Council having a role in regulating the use of GM plants and animals, either by setting local rules or when ERMA is processing GMO applications.

- 40% of residents aged 18+ believe that their Council should not set rules for the local use of GM plants and animals. However, there are also 40% who believe their Council should set rules, whilst 18% have no preference.

- Amongst those residents who believe their Council should set rules, 39% would prefer that the Council prohibit the use of all types of GM plants and animals, whilst 32% believe that GM plants and animals should be allowed, but the user should be made legally responsible for any economic/environmental harm caused. 27% favour the option of prohibiting for food production, but allowing GM for other uses.

- 64% of ARC residents favour regulation of GM plants and animals of at least a strength that would make GMO users legally responsible for any environmental or economic harm – either by local regulation or through changes to national legislation.

- 44% of residents believe their Council should have the right to prohibit GM plants and animals from the district, either by setting local rules or when ERMA is processing GMO applications.
Summary of Results for Auckland Regional Council (2)

- The main reasons given for wanting their Council to set rules for the local use of GM plants and animals are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q3 Reason for choosing this option</th>
<th>All Options</th>
<th>All types prohibited</th>
<th>User legally responsible</th>
<th>Food prohibited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Users of GM should be made accountable/held responsible for their</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actions/consequences if something goes wrong/pay for damage</td>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against GM / don’t believe in GM / shouldn’t mess with nature / GM</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should be banned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough is known about (consequences of) GM / not enough research</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has been done / worried about dangers of GM / need more information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made available to the public</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sounds like better/best option / sounds right</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council to make the rules / police the rules / monitor GM activities</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ have a say in controlling GM locally</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Overall, amongst those residents who believe their Council should **not** set rules or have **no preference**, there is a strong desire for Councils to lobby central government to:

  - Give local communities the ability to reject the use of particular GM plants and animals in the district when ERMA is deciding on the applications (49% agree)
  - Have the law changed so that users of GM plants and animals are legally responsible for any environmental or economic harm caused (62% agree)
Summary of Results for Auckland Regional Council (3)

- In general, Auckland Regional Council residents agree that:
  - NZ should only produce GM free food (50% agree)
  - Should leave the option open for GM production in the future (66% agree)
- And disagree:
  - GM will harm the local tourism industry (42% disagree)
  - People should be able to produce GM plants and animals if they choose (56% disagree)
- Reactions are more mixed on the question of whether:
  - GM will harm the local food industry (41% agree and 37% disagree)
  - GM plants and animals will provide economic benefits for the district (41% agree and 35% disagree)
- There are a number of significant demographic differences across these general attitudes to GM plants and animals (See Slides 20-22 for details of these demographic differences)
Background and Objectives
Background

• In 2004, the district councils of the Northland Peninsula formed an inter-council working party to investigate the risks associated with the outdoor use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and the options available to local bodies for managing these risks.

• As part of their investigation into this area, the participating councils received in 2005 a report that scoped the risk and response issues. It was the view of a number of councils, that the community be consulted with regard to their view on whether there should be more regulation at a local level when it comes to the outdoor use of GMOs.

• As a part of this consultation, it was decided that a survey should be undertaken to gauge resident’s opinions on this matter.

• Councils participating in the survey are Whangarei District Council, Rodney District Council, Kaipara District Council, Far North District Council, Waitakere City Council and Auckland Regional Council.
Research Objectives

- The overall objective for the research is to obtain resident’s opinion on the question of how local government should respond to the risks arising from GMO land use activities.

- Specifically the councils wish to:
  - Understand whether they should set regulations at the local level to act in addition to those at a national level and, if so, what form these should take
  - Determine the reasons for preference of different options for additional regulations
  - Among those who do not feel the councils should set additional rules, determine whether the councils should continue to lobby government to give communities more influence over the regulation of GM crops and animals
  - Measure residents’ attitudes in general towards GM with regards to food, crops and animals

- Further to the above objectives, there is also a desire to establish whether there are any particular groups in the community whose opinions on this issue differ significantly to that of the combined community.
Research Methodology
Research Methodology (1)

- The survey was conducted using CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) and fieldwork took place from July 21st to August 18th 2009.

- The survey was conducted amongst residents aged 18+ living in Auckland Regional Council area.

- The total combined sample size for this survey was n=1301, which has a maximum margin of error of +/- 2.7% at the 95% confidence level. All significance testing has been done at the 95% confidence level.

- Department of Statistics’ data was used to weight the results to be representative of each of the sub-council areas, in terms of gender, age, ethnicity and number of people aged 18+ in household. In addition, each council area was weighted to represent the proportion that its population represents of the total combined ARC area surveyed, as per below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARC</th>
<th>%ge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rodney District</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Shore City</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitakere City</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auckland City</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manukau City</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papakura District</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin District</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Research Methodology (2)

- Sample sizes quoted in this report are based on *weighted* numbers. However, for slides 14 and 17, sample sizes quoted for the individual council areas are based on *unweighted* numbers.

- This report contains the results for the **Auckland Regional Council** area, comprising of:
  - Rodney District
  - Waitakere City
  - North Shore City
  - Auckland City
  - Manukau City
  - Papakura District
  - Franklin District
Survey Results
Whether There Should be Regulation or Not?
Whether Councils in Auckland Regional Area Should or Should Not Set Rules For The Use of GM Plants and Animals in the District?

Thinking about your district and the (AS APPROPRIATE) Council, which one of the following options do you prefer?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample size</th>
<th>Should not set rules</th>
<th>Should set rules</th>
<th>No preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males n = 624</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females n = 677</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-39 yrs n = 611</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-54 yrs n = 390</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 yrs + n = 300</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ European n = 638</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori n = 104</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnicity n = 559</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban n = 1028</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi rural n = 182</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural n = 78</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= significantly higher than total sample at 95% confidence level
= significantly lower than total sample at 95% confidence level

Base = Residents of Auckland Regional Council area aged 18+ (n= 1301).
### Whether Each Sub-Council Area Should or Should Not Set Rules For The Use of GM Plants and Animals in the District?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Auckland Regional Council (n = 1301)</th>
<th>Rodney District Council (n= 401)</th>
<th>Waitakere City Council (n= 400)</th>
<th>North Shore City Council (n= 100)</th>
<th>Auckland City Council (n= 100)</th>
<th>Manukau City Council (n= 100)</th>
<th>Papakura District Council (n= 100)</th>
<th>Franklin District Council (n= 100)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Should not set any rules</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should set rules</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No preference</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thinking about your district and the (AS APPROPRIATE) Council, which one of the following options do you prefer?

**Base = Residents of Each Sub-Council Area aged 18+ .**

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What Level of Rules Should Councils Set and Why?
Of Those Who Want To Set Rules (40%), What Level of Rules Should Councils in the Auckland Regional Area Set in Relation to The Use of GM Plants and Animals in the District?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample size</th>
<th>All Prohibited</th>
<th>Legally Responsible</th>
<th>Food Prohibited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>n = 198</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>n = 322</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-39 yrs</td>
<td>n = 255</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td><strong>42%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-54 yrs</td>
<td>n = 140</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td><strong>21%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 yrs +</td>
<td>n = 125</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td><strong>21%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ European</td>
<td>n = 265</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori</td>
<td>n = 47</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td><strong>42%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnicity</td>
<td>n = 208</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>n = 400</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi rural</td>
<td>n = 90</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>n = 30</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Significantly higher** than total sample at 95% confidence level
- **Significantly lower** than total sample at 95% confidence level

Base = Residents of Auckland Regional Council aged 18+ who want council to be able to set rules (n= 520).
Of Those Who Want To Set Rules (40%), What Level of Rules Should Each Sub-Council Area Set in Relation to The Use of GM Plants and Animals in the District?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Auckland Regional Council (n = 520)</th>
<th>Rodney District Council (n = 160)</th>
<th>Waitakere City Council (n = 188)</th>
<th>North Shore City Council (n = 27*)</th>
<th>Auckland City Council (n = 49)</th>
<th>Manukau City Council (n = 30*)</th>
<th>Papakura District Council (n = 37*)</th>
<th>Franklin District Council (n = 48)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All types of GM production prohibited</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make user legally responsible</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM for food prohibited, but other uses allowed</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None/Don’t know</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thinking about your district and the (AS APPROPRIATE) Council, which one of the following options do you prefer?

* = Caution: low sample size

*Base = Residents of each Auckland Regional Council aged 18+ who want their council to be able to set rules*
## Reasons for Saying Council Should Be Able to Set Rules At Various Levels?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q3 Reason for choosing this option</th>
<th>All Options</th>
<th>All types of GM prohibited</th>
<th>User made legally liable</th>
<th>GM prohibited for food</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Users of GM should be made accountable/held responsible for their actions/consequences if something goes wrong/pay for damage</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against GM / don't believe in GM / shouldn't mess with nature / GM should be banned</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enough is known about (consequences of) GM / not enough research has been done / worried about dangers of GM / need more information made available to the public</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sounds like better/best option / sounds right</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council to make the rules / police the rules / monitor GM activities / have a say in controlling GM locally</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm pro GM (for research) / not against GM / don't think it should be prohibited / open mind</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't want GM in/near food / don't want to eat GM food / prefer organic food</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okay to use GM in Forestry/or medical research/pharmaceuticals</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM needs to be regulated/monitored/well controlled</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review from time to time in light of new information about GM</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's about the environment / concerned about the planet/environment/people</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against cruelty to animals / don't believe in animal testing / don't want animals GM modified</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People should have a choice/their say about GM</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't need GM plants/animals/products / not necessary to have anything modified</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council should be accountable/responsible for harm caused by GM products / rate payers shouldn't have to pay</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't trust big companies/Council/ERMA - more interested in GM for profit gain/making money than the good of the people/environment</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ's has a natural environment / clean green image / should become GE/GM free / should go natural</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Government must make rules/have clear mandate / ERMA to make final decision</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council to work with Owners/Users of GM for benefit of area/prevent harm to nearby area</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't trust Council/ERMA to do their job properly / worried about organisations/companies having no legal liability for harm or damage caused</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May be needed in pharmaceuticals/may have benefits in medicine</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM is OK if it's not used on humans / GM products for human consumption not OK</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very difficult to enforce legal liability (on users of GM products) / damage may be too far gone/irreversible / should be more preventative actions</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know / not sure</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Whether Councils Should Lobby Central Government Regarding GMO?
Of Those Who Do Not Want the Council To Set Rules or Have No Preference (58%), Whether Councils in the Auckland Regional Council Area Should Lobby Central Government Regarding Regulation of GMO Plants and Animals?

Instead of setting additional rules, there are other ways that your local council could be involved in regulating the use of GM plants and animals. I am going to read out some of these and for each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the council doing this.

Base = Residents aged 18+ who do not want their council to set rules for GMO or have no preference (n = 754).
Of Those Who Do Not Want the Council To Set Rules or Have No Preference (53%), Whether Rodney District Council Should Lobby Central Government Regarding Regulation of GMO Plants and Animals?

Instead of setting additional rules, there are other ways that your local council could be involved in regulating the use of GM plants and animals. I am going to read out some of these and for each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the council doing this.

Base = Residents aged 18+ who do not want RDC to set rules for GMO or have no preference (n= 229).
Of Those Who Do Not Want the Council To Set Rules or Have No Preference (73%), Whether North Shore City Council Should Lobby Central Government Regarding Regulation of GMO Plants and Animals?

Instead of setting additional rules, there are other ways that your local council could be involved in regulating the use of GM plants and animals. I am going to read out some of these and for each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the council doing this.

Base = Residents aged 18+ who do not want their council to set rules for GMO or have no preference (n= 73).
Instead of setting additional rules, there are other ways that your local council could be involved in regulating the use of GM plants and animals. I am going to read out some of these and for each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the council doing this.

Base = Residents of Waitakere City aged 18+ who do not want WCC to set rules for have no preference (n= 208). © Colmar Brunton 2009  |  Slide 23
Of Those Who Do Not Want the Council To Set Rules or Have No Preference (49%), Whether Auckland City Council Should Lobby Central Government Regarding Regulation of GMO Plants and Animals?

Instead of setting additional rules, there are other ways that your local council could be involved in regulating the use of GM plants and animals. I am going to read out some of these and for each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the council doing this.

Base = Residents aged 18+ who do not want their council to set rules for GMO or have no preference (n= 49). © Colmar Brunton 2009 | Slide 24
Of Those Who Do Not Want the Council To Set Rules or Have No Preference (68%), Whether Manukau City Council Should Lobby Central Government Regarding Regulation of GMO Plants and Animals?

Instead of setting additional rules, there are other ways that your local council could be involved in regulating the use of GM plants and animals. I am going to read out some of these and for each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the council doing this.

= significantly higher than other answer options

Base = Residents aged 18+ who do not want their council to set rules for GMO or have no preference (n= 68).
Of Those Who Do Not Want the Council To Set Rules or Have No Preference (61%), Whether Papakura District Should Lobby Central Government Regarding Regulation of GMO Plants and Animals?

Instead of setting additional rules, there are other ways that your local council could be involved in regulating the use of GM plants and animals. I am going to read out some of these and for each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the council doing this.

Base = Residents aged 18+ who do not want their council to set rules for GMO or have no preference (n= 61). © Colmar Brunton 2009 | Slide 26
Of Those Who Do Not Want the Council To Set Rules or Have No Preference (51%), Whether Franklin District Should Lobby Central Government Regarding Regulation of GMO Plants and Animals?

Instead of setting additional rules, there are other ways that your local council could be involved in regulating the use of GM plants and animals. I am going to read out some of these and for each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the council doing this.

Base = Residents aged 18+ who do not want their council to set rules for GMO or have no preference (n= 51).
Whether Residents Want Their Local Council to Have a Role in Regulating the Use of GM Plants and Animals?

Favour Council having a role in regulating use of GM plants and animals: 68%

Council to regulate by setting rules itself in addition to ERMA: 40%

Ability to reject the use of GM plants and animals when ERMA is processing applications: 28% (65% of the 58% who do not want Council to set rules or have no preference)

* Of the 58% of respondents who do not want Council to set rules (40%) or have no preference (18%), 49% (or 28% of the total surveyed) want the ability to reject the use of GM plants and animals when ERMA is processing applications.

Base = Residents of Auckland Regional Council area aged 18+ (n=1301).
Whether Residents Believe Their Council Should Have the Right to Prohibit GM Plants and Animals From the District?

44% Believe Council should have the right to prohibit GM plants and animals from the district.

Prohibit the use of GM plants and animals when setting rules itself: 16%.

Ability to reject the use of GM plants and animals when ERMA is processing applications: 28%.

* Of the 40% of respondents who want Council to set rules, 39% (or 16% of the total surveyed) want GM plants and animals prohibited.

** Of the 58% of respondents who do not want Council to set rules, 49% (or 28% of the total surveyed) want the ability to reject the use of GM plants and animals when ERMA is processing applications.

Base = Residents of Auckland Regional Council area aged 18+ (n= 1301).
Whether Residents Favour Regulation to Make Users of GM Plants and Animals Legally Responsible for Environmental/Economic Harm?

- 64% favour regulation of at least the strength of users being made legally responsible.
- 28% want Council to set rules to either prohibit GM plants and animals or make users legally responsible.
- 36% want central government to change the law to make users of GM plants and animals legally responsible.

* Of the 40% of respondents who want Council to set rules, 71% (or 28% of the total surveyed) want GM plants and animals either prohibited (39%) or the user made legally responsible for harm (32%)

** Of the 58% of respondents who do not want Council to set rules (40%) or have no preference (18%), 62% (or 36% of the total surveyed) want the law changed to make users of GM plants and animals made legally responsible for harm.

Base = Residents of Auckland Regional Council area aged 18+ (n= 1301).
What Are Resident’s General Attitudes to GMO?
I am now going to read out some **general** statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

**NZ should only produce food that is GM free**
- Agree: 50%
- Disagree: 38%
- Neither: 10%
- Don't know: 2%

**GM will provide economic benefits for district**
- Agree: 41%
- Disagree: 37%
- Neither: 18%
- Don't know: 4%

= significantly higher than other answer options

**Significant demographic skews:**

**More likely to agree that NZ should only produce food that is GM free:**
- Females (57%)
- Other ethnicity (60%)
- Semi rural/rural (59%)

**Less likely to agree:**
- Males (43%)
- NZ European (40%)

**More likely to disagree:**
- Males (46%)
- NZ European (44%)

**Less likely to disagree:**
- Females (30%)
- Maori (23%)
- Semi-rural (31%)

**More likely to agree that GM will provide benefit to economy:**
- Males (47%)
- 18-39 yrs (51%)

**Less likely to agree:**
- Females (36%)
- 55 yrs+ (23%)
- Maori (26%)
- Semi rural/rural (26%)

**More likely to disagree:**
- 55 yrs+ (49%)
- Semi rural/rural (47%)

**Less likely to disagree:**
- 18-39 yrs (29%)

Base = Residents of Auckland Regional Council aged 18+ (n= 1301).
I am now going to read out some general statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

**GM plants and animals will harm the local tourism industry**

- Agree: 34%
- Disagree: 21%
- Neither: 42%
- Don’t know: 3%

More likely to agree:
- 40-54 yrs (40%)
- Semi rural/rural (42%)

Less likely to agree:
- NZ European (28%)

Significant demographic skews:

**Need to leave open option for GM crops and animals in future**

- Agree: 66%
- Disagree: 26%
- Neither: 7%
- Don’t know: 1%

More likely to agree:
- Male (76%)
- 18-39 yrs (73%)

Less likely to agree:
- Female (56%)
- 55 yrs+ (54%)
- Maori (54%)
- Semi rural/rural (58%)

More likely to disagree:
- Females (33%)
- 55 yrs+ (35%)
- Semi rural/rural (34%)

Less likely to disagree:
- Males (17%)
- 18-39 yrs (18%)

= significantly higher than other answer options

**Base = Residents of Auckland Regional Council aged 18+ (n= 1301).**
General Attitudes To GMO in Auckland Regional Council Area (3)

Significant demographic skews:

More likely to agree that GM will harm the local food industry:
- Females (47%)
- Semi rural/rural (49%)

Less likely to agree:
- Males (35%)

More likely to disagree:
- 18-39 yrs (42%)
- 40-54 yrs (24%)
- Semi rural (28%)

More likely to agree that should be able to produce GM:
- 18-39 yrs (41%)
- Other ethnicity (45%)

Less likely to agree:
- Females (29%)
- 55 yrs+ (21%)
- NZEuropean (24%)
- Maori (22%)
- Semi rural/rural (27%)

More likely to disagree:
- Females (61%)
- 55 yrs+ (74%)
- NZEuropean (64%)
- Maori (72%)
- Semi rural/rural (66%)

Less likely to disagree:
- 18-39 yrs (47%)
- Other ethnicity (43%)

I am now going to read out some general statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.
General Attitudes To GMO in the Rodney District

NZ should only produce food that is GM free

GM will provide economic benefits for district

GM plants and animals will harm the local tourism industry

Need to leave open option for GM crops and animals in future

GM plants and animals will harm the local food industry

Should be able to produce GM plants and animals if they choose

I am now going to read out some general statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

Base = Residents of Rodney District aged 18+ (n= 401).
General Attitudes To GMO in North Shore City

I am now going to read out some **general** statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

Base = Residents of North Shore City aged 18+ (n= 100).
General Attitudes To GMO in Waitakere City

NZ should only produce food that is GM free: 53% Agree, 28% Neither, 13% Disagree, 6% Don’t know.

GM will provide economic benefits for district: 30% Agree, 40% Neither, 22% Disagree, 9% Don’t know.

GM plants and animals will harm the local tourism industry: 37% Agree, 41% Neither, 14% Disagree, 8% Don’t know.

Need to leave open option for GM crops and animals in future: 66% Agree, 22% Neither, 7% Disagree, 4% Don’t know.

GM plants and animals will harm the local food industry: 47% Agree, 33% Neither, 15% Disagree, 6% Don’t know.

Should be able to produce GM plants and animals if they choose: 30% Agree, 60% Neither, 6% Disagree, 3% Don’t know.

I am now going to read out some general statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

Base = Residents of Waitakere City aged 18+ (n= 400).
General Attitudes To GMO in Auckland City

I am now going to read out some general statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

**NZ should only produce food that is GM free**
- Agree: 50%
- Disagree: 40%
- Neither: 11%
- Don't know: 0%

**GM will provide economic benefits for district**
- Agree: 56%
- Disagree: 34%
- Neither: 10%
- Don't know: 1%

**GM plants and animals will harm the local tourism industry**
- Agree: 25%
- Disagree: 48%
- Neither: 27%
- Don't know: 0%

**Need to leave open option for GM crops and animals in future**
- Agree: 62%
- Disagree: 30%
- Neither: 7%
- Don't know: 1%

**GM plants and animals will harm the local food industry**
- Agree: 39%
- Disagree: 34%
- Neither: 27%
- Don't know: 1%

**Should be able to produce GM plants and animals if they choose**
- Agree: 41%
- Disagree: 47%
- Neither: 12%
- Don't know: 0%

= significantly higher than other answer options

Base = Residents of Auckland City aged 18+ (n=100).
General Attitudes To GMO in Manukau City

NZ should only produce food that is GM free
- Agree: 55%
- Disagree: 33%
- Neither: 11%
- Don't know: 1%

GM will provide economic benefits for district
- Agree: 33%
- Disagree: 42%
- Neither: 22%
- Don't know: 3%

GM plants and animals will harm the local tourism industry
- Agree: 47%
- Disagree: 35%
- Neither: 16%
- Don't know: 2%

Need to leave open option for GM crops and animals in future
- Agree: 70%
- Disagree: 21%
- Neither: 8%
- Don't know: 0%

GM plants and animals will harm the local food industry
- Agree: 42%
- Disagree: 36%
- Neither: 17%
- Don't know: 5%

Should be able to produce GM plants and animals if they choose
- Agree: 32%
- Disagree: 57%
- Neither: 11%
- Don't know: 1%

= significantly higher than other answer options

I am now going to read out some general statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

Base = Residents of Manukau City aged 18+ (n= 100).
General Attitudes To GMO in Papakura District

I am now going to read out some general statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

- NZ should only produce food that is GM free
  - Agree: 42%
  - Disagree: 45%
  - Neither: 12%
  - Don’t know: 1%

- GM will provide economic benefits for district
  - Agree: 39%
  - Disagree: 34%
  - Neither: 24%
  - Don’t know: 3%

- GM plants and animals will harm the local tourism industry
  - Agree: 34%
  - Disagree: 44%
  - Neither: 14%
  - Don’t know: 7%

- Need to leave open option for GM crops and animals in future
  - Agree: 23%
  - Disagree: 69%
  - Neither: 23%
  - Don’t know: 6%

- GM plants and animals will harm the local food industry
  - Agree: 39%
  - Disagree: 36%
  - Neither: 18%
  - Don’t know: 6%

- Should be able to produce GM plants and animals if they choose
  - Agree: 30%
  - Disagree: 62%
  - Neither: 9%
  - Don’t know: 0%

= significantly higher than other answer options

Base = Residents of Papakura District aged 18+ (n= 100).
General Attitudes To GMO in Franklin District

I am now going to read out some general statements about GM plants and animals. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you agree, neither agree nor disagree or disagree with the statement.

- NZ should only produce food that is GM free
  - Agree: 48%
  - Disagree: 39%
  - Neither: 7%
  - Don't know: 6%

- GM will provide economic benefits for district
  - Agree: 33%
  - Disagree: 36%
  - Neither: 29%
  - Don't know: 2%

- GM plants and animals will harm the local tourism industry
  - Agree: 26%
  - Disagree: 45%
  - Neither: 25%
  - Don’t know: 4%

- Need to leave open option for GM crops and animals in future
  - Agree: 69%
  - Disagree: 25%
  - Neither: 6%
  - Don’t know: 1%

- GM plants and animals will harm the local food industry
  - Agree: 39%
  - Disagree: 38%
  - Neither: 19%
  - Don’t know: 4%

- Should be able to produce GM plants and animals if they choose
  - Agree: 22%
  - Disagree: 61%
  - Neither: 11%
  - Don’t know: 6%

= significantly higher than other answer options
Home to over 1.3 million people and the fastest growing region in New Zealand, the Auckland region is culturally diverse and dynamic. On these pages you can find more about the people of the Auckland region and how you can be involved in making our region a great place to live.

insight + inspiration
Inter-council Working Party on GMO Risk Evaluation and Management Options,
Comprising:
Auckland City Council
Far North District Council
Kaipara District Council
Northland Regional Council
Rodney District Council
Waitakere City Council
Whangarei District Council

21 December 2006

Hon David Benson-Pope
Minister for the Environment
Parliament Buildings
Wellington

Dear Minister

In 2003, local government sought changes to the Hazardous Substance and New
Organisms Act (HSNO) that would allow it to meet its responsibilities under other
statutes\(^1\) when addressing GMOs. At the same time, a range of community groups
submitted in respect of the bill seeking various additional safeguards and protections.

In absence of reforms being enacted to meet local government’s concerns, and public
disquiet remaining strong,\(^2\) the public has directed its dissatisfaction and anxieties
over genetic modification to local government. Local authorities on the Northland
Peninsula have been subject to significant and continuous lobbying by their
communities since the moratorium on general releases of GMOs to the environment
was lifted in 2003. This has resulted in large numbers of submissions to Annual Plans,
Long Term Council Community Plans (LTCCPs), and District Plans, together with
petitions to councils, lobbying of councillors, and constant communication with staff.
This lobbying has not abated over time, but rather has increased and remains
significant.

Local authorities on the Northland Peninsula have responded to these community
concerns by forming an Inter-council Working Party on GMO Risk Evaluation and
Management Options (the Working Party). As the name suggests, the Working Party
is charged with evaluating risks to local bodies and their communities on the
Northland Peninsula from outdoor uses of genetic modification together with response
options to those risks, including regulation of GMO land uses under the Resource

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\(^1\) Responsibilities under the Local Government Act and Resource Management Act were those
highlighted by LGNZ in its submission.

\(^2\) The vast majority of public submissions (92\%) to the Royal Commission on Genetic
Modification were opposed to the release of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) to the
environment and most expressed strong opposition (65\%). Report of the Royal Commission
on Genetic Modification, 2001, Appendix 3, p. 68.
Management Act 1991 (RMA). Please note that the Working Party is only concerned with outdoor uses of GMOs, including field trials and releases to the environment.

The Working Party currently comprises: Far North District Council, Kaipara District Council, Rodney District Council, Whangarei District Council, Waitakere City Council, Auckland City Council, and the Northland Regional Council, with North Shore City Council soon to consider membership. Local Government New Zealand (LGNZ) has also participated in the commissioning of reports, though is not a member of the Working Party as such.

The Working Party is proceeding to a new stage in its examination of options for local authority management of GMO activities. As a part of this consideration, the constituent councils would like to ensure they fully understand the Government’s position on related issues and would appreciate your assistance in responding to a series of questions outlined below.

Background

The role local government should take in the regulation of GMOs was a focal point of submissions to proposed amendments to HSNO in 2003. LGNZ and a number of local authorities presented submissions to Parliament contending that, at very least, there was a lack of clarity as to the roles and responsibilities of local government with respect to GM regulation. In particular, it was argued by LGNZ that the responsibilities placed on local government were not matched by provisions that would allow local government to influence GMO activities.

Parliament’s Education and Science Select Committee reviewed these submissions and determined that no material change was required to the bill. This, however, was based on a split opinion. Government members declared that the regulatory regime was clear and they did not see a role for local government. In contrast, during Parliamentary debates on the bill, representatives from National, New Zealand First and the Greens repeatedly voiced concerns about the interrelationship between HSNO and the RMA, and the position in which they saw local government.

The effect of the subsequent changes to HSNO was to pave the way for release of GMOs while leaving local government with no means to influence the assessment or management of GMOs at the national level. Local authorities would have no more influence on decisions by ERMA than any other submitter or individual before the Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA) with respect to a particular application (beyond assured notification of the proposed activity). As a result, Northland Peninsula councils commissioned a series of reports to investigate the nature and extent of risks local authorities could nonetheless expect to face from outdoor activities involving GMOs and the response options available to address those risks.

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3 The New Organisms and Other Matters (NOOM) Bill
5 Through amendment to HSNO to provide for conditional release applications.
Risks and Deficiencies in National Regulatory Regime

A series of risks to councils and their constituents were identified and can be classed under three general headings.6

Environmental risks include:
- Adverse effects on non-target species, including indigenous flora and fauna;
- GM plants becoming invasive and disrupting ecosystems;
- Altered genes transferring to other organisms; and
- Development of herbicide or pesticide resistance creating ‘super-weeds’ or ‘super-pests’.

The more complex GMOs pose additional risks simply because past experience provides little basis for predicting their effects.

Economic risks include:
- Loss of income (and/or legal action) through contamination (or even perceived contamination) of non-GMO food products triggering market rejection of produce;
- Negative effects on marketing and branding opportunities, including damage to regional marketing initiatives such as the ‘Naturally Northland’ brand, and damage to tourism;
- Costs associated with environmental damage, such as cleanup costs for invasive weeds and pests in reserves, parks, and open space.

Socio-cultural risks include:
- Effects on Maori cultural beliefs (the concepts of whakapapa, mauri, tikanga, and kaitiakitanga, for example);
- Ethical concerns, such as mixing genes from different species and use of human genes;
- Effects or perceived effects on human health of food derived from GMOs.

Against these risks, there are important deficiencies in the national level regulation of GMOs. A key gap is that there is no liability under HSNO for damage arising as a result of an activity carried out in accordance with an approval from ERMA. Common law actions will very rarely be an effective remedy so affected parties will tend to bear any losses arising from unexpected events and ineffective regulation of GMOs. While economic damage resulting from GM contamination will in the first instance fall on individual constituents, such damage can occur across wide groupings of producers and thus become a community concern. Councils may also be exposed to damage and financial costs.

Further, there is no requirement under HSNO for applicants to prove financial fitness and no requirement for bonds to be posted in order to recover costs should damage occur. In consequence, parties who may cause damage but do not have sufficient resources to cover resulting costs are not held financially accountable and, once again, costs will tend to fall on affected parties (private persons, communities and local authorities).

Another important deficiency is that HSNO makes the exercise of precaution a matter for ERMA’s discretion. Precaution is an option, not a requirement. This results in a lack of surety of outcome for local government on two levels:

- Whether ERMA will agree with and act at all on specific concerns that may be held by a council and its community; and
- Whether, for the risks ERMA concurs need addressing, it will exercise the same degree of caution as would a council and its community.

The reports prepared for the Working Party identified a range of response options that could be put in place through changes to each council’s District Plan. Northland Peninsula councils have developed general policies through their Long Term Council Community Plans (LTCCP) to guide their assessment, generally requiring precaution with respect to the management of GMO risks and many stating that liability concerns are to be resolved before any GMO release occurs. These policies are detailed in Attachment 1.

Prior to a number of the councils represented on the Working Party engaging in community consultation on particular response options identified in the Risks and Response Options Report, we would appreciate answers to the following questions. (Please note that some of the questions posed below imply responses by Government that are to an extent alternatives.) At the point responses are received, the intention is to report this correspondence through each constituent council on the Working Party.

Questions

1. The Working Party wishes to be formally advised whether the Government is willing to amend HSNO to provide for the following:

   a) ERMA would be required to recognise in its decisions, the policy statements on GMO activities issued by local authorities. That is, if a local body issued a conforming policy statement, ERMA could only authorise a release within that local authority’s jurisdiction if conditions were placed on the approval that gave full effect to the authority’s current policy.

   b) If a local authority makes a submission to ERMA with respect to a particular application before it, the local authority may stipulate conditions to attach to an approval granted by ERMA applicable within that authority’s district.

The rationale for this amendment to HSNO is to provide a simpler means for local government to achieve the same regulatory effect as is currently available to it under the RMA. It would provide a simpler means of achieving the desired outcomes set by a community, while also giving greater certainty to ERMA applicants.

It is recognised that procedures would need to be developed to ensure that local authorities notified ERMA of policies described in (a), and that both these and those put forward under (b) would need to be of a form that was consistent with ERMA’s powers and responsibilities, and so “conforming”.

The specific question we seek an answer to is, pre-supposing satisfactory arrangements in respect of such detail, is the Government willing in principle to make such an amendment to HSNO to apply to GMO outdoor activities?

2. A recent Crown Law opinion on GMO matters considered only one type of financial risk that GMO activities present to communities – that of a council’s legal liability for environmental damage. Among the risks not considered was the risk of councils facing environmental cleanup costs and constituents facing losses from GM contamination. This was in spite of the Far North District Council having sought to have these issues included in Crown Law’s terms of reference when the Ministry was consulting on its scope.

Is the Government willing to amend HSNO such that a party is liable in damages for any loss or damage caused by any act or omission resulting from an outdoor GMO activity, irrespective of whether that party is operating under an ERMA approval?

3. At present, no Government agency is obliged to eradicate or control a GMO that is approved for some form of outdoor use by ERMA and subsequently causes harm. This results in a financial exposure for local government if central government elects not to undertake control measures.

Is the Government willing to amend HSNO such that if central government elects not to undertake control measures on a GMO that has been released and causes demonstrable adverse effects that were not provided for at the time the outdoor use was approved, the Government will reimburse local government for actual and reasonable cleanup measures that may be required?

4. At present there is no requirement under HSNO for a party applying for ERMA approval for the outdoor use of a GMO to prove financial fitness in the event of harm arising.

Is the Government willing to amend HSNO so that a party applying to ERMA for approval for the outdoor use of a GMO must demonstrate and maintain a minimum level of financial fitness in the event of harm arising and recompense being sought?

5. Section 108 of the RMA provides for a local authority to require a bond so as to address long term effects of a resource consent granted. Some doubt exists as to whether ERMA has sufficient statutory authority to impose bonds under HSNO s38D. As the previous Minister for the Environment gave an assurance that ERMA had such powers, could you please clarify whether the Government believes ERMA has the necessary powers to impose bonds under HSNO s38D?

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7 Crown Law opinion of 8 August 2003, provided to Ministry for the Environment.
If the Government does not believe ERMA currently has sufficient statutory authority to impose a bond, is it willing to amend HSNO to provide explicit provisions for ERMA to be able to require a bond, similar to those set out in RMA s108A?

6. Is the Government, in principle, willing to enter into an indemnity deed with any local authority seeking this, such that the deed would provide for reimbursement to councils and/or their constituents as a result of any or all of the following:
   a) The need to clean up after a GMO activity approved by ERMA, but which nonetheless has caused adverse environmental harm beyond the site of the authorised activity;
   b) Directly attributable financial losses to third parties resulting from GMO outdoor activities;
   c) Legal actions taken against councils directly as a result of GMO outdoor activities.

7. In its present form, HSNO s7 states:

   “All persons exercising functions, powers, and duties under this Act, ... shall take into account the need for caution in managing adverse effects where there is scientific and technical uncertainty about those effects.” [Emphasis added]

Is the Government willing to amend HSNO to make it mandatory for ERMA to observe the precautionary principle when exercising functions, powers, and duties, rather than leaving this as a matter of discretion for ERMA?

8. The Royal Commission on Genetic Modification recommended:

   that the methodology for implementing section 6(e) of the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act 1996 be made more specific to:
   ...
   • allow for specified categories of genetically modified crops to be excluded from districts where their presence would be a significant threat to an established non-genetically modified crop use.

While the Government’s response to the Commission’s report noted “that individual producers will be able to produce to standards of their choice, additional to any controls imposed by ERMA, as their specific markets demand”¹⁰, in light of experience gained since 2003 with GMO contamination, would the Government support the change to ERMA’s decision-making methodology to include that recommended by the Royal Commission as noted above?

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9 Recommendation 13.1 (Benefit assessment)
9. The Royal Commission on Genetic Modification also raised the possibility of regional genetic modification-free zones and stated that such a proposal might be achievable under the RMA.¹¹

*Genetically modified and non-genetically modified crops might be permitted or prohibited on a crop-by-crop and region-by-region basis. This would require a genetically modified crop to be designated as a different use from a non-genetically modified crop of the same species... It may also be that over a period of time an aggregation of genetic modification or non-genetic modification uses became characteristic of particular regions and that identifiable regional differences emerged. These distinctions in land use might be written into regional or district plans.*

Does the Government recognise advantages to establishing exclusion zones for some or all GMOs, both to protect existing non-genetically modified produce from actual or perceived contamination, and to protect and enhance marketing advantages, including those relating to tourism?

Is the Government willing to amend HSNO to enable local government to establish exclusion zones for some or all GMOs under that Act? Alternatively, does Government support local authorities establishing such exclusion zones under the auspices of the RMA? Territorial authorities would achieve this by according specified (or all) GMO outdoor land uses ‘prohibited activity’ status under their district plan in specified areas or throughout the district as a whole.

10. The submissions by Maori, both oral and written, received through the Maori consultation programme of workshops and hui conducted as part of the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification were overwhelmingly opposed to genetic modification.¹²

Given the strong resistance to GM from tangata whenua and the high proportion of Maori on the Northland Peninsula, does the Government envisage any scope for local government to exercise local or regional regulation of outdoor GMO activities to take account of the views of tangata whenua?

If so, is the Government willing to amend HSNO to enable this?

Alternatively, does the Government see regulation under the RMA as an appropriate mechanism for exercising local and/or regional management of GMO activities for cultural reasons?

11. Dr Royden Somerville QC, in his legal opinion for the Councils on the Working Party,\(^{13}\) maintained that both the Local Government Act 2002 (LGA) and the RMA impose a 'duty of care' on local authorities when making decisions that affect their constituents. Failure to exercise that duty of care may have adverse consequences for a local authority. For example, Dr Somerville stated:

"Because the council is a public authority and is obliged to act in the public interest when exercising its statutory duties, it can be subject to judicial review proceedings in the High Court for the way in which it exercises any discretion it has to act or not to act".

and

"Public authority liability is a complex subject and in my opinion, one cannot assume that the district council would be immune from liability as a result of the way in which it exercises its statutory duties under the RMA, and particularly if it has made commitments to manage GMO-related land use activities in its long-term council community plan promulgated under the Local Government Act 2002".

Will the Government agree to meet the costs faced by any council that:

a) Is subject to a successful judicial review for not exercising its duty of care under the RMA or LGA if it did not intervene to manage the effects of GMO land uses under the RMA and/or LGA and suffered costs as a result? or
b) Suffered claims against it for damage occurring as a result of not exercising its duty of care under the RMA or LGA in the management of effects of GMO land uses under the RMA and/or LGA?

We sincerely appreciate your willingness to give consideration to these questions and if there are any matters you would like to discuss arising from this letter, please direct these in the first instance to Dr Kerry Grundy, Coordinator and Chair of the Inter-council Working Party on GMO Risk Evaluation and Management Options at Whangarei District Council, Private Bag 9023, Whangarei. We would very much appreciate a response within the next month.

Yours Sincerely

Dr Kerry Grundy

\(^{13}\) Opinion on land use controls and GMOs, 31 March 2005, p.4-5.
Attachment 1: Relevant Policies of Northland Peninsula Councils

Whangarei District Council:

“Council will liaise with other members of the Inter-council Working Party on GE to progress regional investigations into land uses involving GMOs. Council will adopt a precautionary approach to the management of biotechnology in general and to GMO land uses in particular. It will continue to investigate ways of maintaining the district’s environment free of GMOs until outstanding issues such as liability, economic costs and benefits, environmental risks, and cultural effects are resolved.”

Kaipara District Council:

“That Kaipara District Council reaffirms its commitment to a precautionary approach to the management of GMOs in the environment.

That Kaipara District Council takes every opportunity to lobby and work with the Government to address the issue of regulatory gaps in the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act 1996 and the resulting environmental, economic and liability risks which are faced by local government in respect of the field release of genetically modified organisms.”

The Council’s 2006/16 LTCCP process reaffirmed “support for a precautionary approach towards GE” as one of the “Community Outcomes Priority” in Appendix B of the plan.

Rodney District Council:

“That the Council supports a joint collaborative approach to investigating a regulatory response to the field release of GMO’s and that subject to the participation of all contributing Councils, that a process of public consultation as defined in the briefing paper on GE initiative including a telephone poll and a notification and submission process be supported.”

“That the Council continues to take every opportunity to lobby the Government to address the issue of regulatory gaps in the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act 1996 and the resulting environmental, economic and liability risks which are faced by local government in respect of the field release of genetically modified organisms.”

The RDC 2006/16 Long Term Plan identifies as a key project: “investigate options for community management of genetically modified organisms and adopt a precautionary approach to field trialling or use of genetically modified organisms.”

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14 Whangarei District Council, Long Term Council Community Plan 2006-2016, p.123. The LTCCP also notes that genetic engineering was one of the issues that the community indicated as significant during consultation on the LTCCP (p.6).
15 Kaipara District Council, resolution of 26 July 2006.
16 Kaipara District Council, Long Term Council Community Plan 2006-2016, Appendix B.
17 Rodney District Council, resolutions of 1 December 2005.
Far North District Council:

“The release of GMO’s to the environment has been identified by the community as an important issue in submissions, received to both RMA and LGA planning processes. … The findings of the working party’s study and the Crown Law opinions are not consistent and therefore do not fully resolve questions of FNDC liability. Because of this, council remains concerned that the potential exists for council and/or its communities to face issues of liability (both environmental and financial) relating to the outdoor release of GMO’s. Because council is also of the view that management of GMO release and associated risks is appropriately the role of central government, council will continue to advocate that the government move to clarify and address issues of liability related to GMO release.”

“under these circumstances it is inappropriate for council to seek local solutions to the issue of potential and uncertain liability. Council at this time does not therefore intend to utilise district plan provisions to limit or manage the release of GMO’s.”

Waitakere City Council:

“Strong Innovative Economy

He tupuranga kaha ihi wana

The vision: Waitakere is a place of innovative economic activities, providing local, quality work and development options for its people. Environmentally responsible businesses are supported and flourishing.

Summary: This platform is about promoting local enterprise, jobs and economic growth in high quality town centres designed for the task. It includes promoting research and development; identification and development of business clusters (organics, film, etc.); working with businesses to improve the environment; being GE free in field and food; increasing the city’s profile as a good place to do business; working with other councils to develop the regional economy; maintaining our environmental advantages.”

Auckland City Council:

“That Auckland City adopt a precautionary approach to the management of biotechnology in general and to Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO) land uses in particular. That Auckland City investigate ways to maintain the Isthmus and Hauraki Gulf Islands environment, free of GMO's until outstanding issues such as liability, economic costs and benefits, environmental risks, and cultural effects are resolved.”

19 Far North District Council, resolution of 7 June 2006.
20 Waitakere City Council, Long Term Council Community Plan 2006-2016.
21 Auckland City Council, resolution of 22 June 2006.
Northland Regional Council:

The Northland Community Plan includes the following statement: “No GE applications to be approved by ERMA in Northland until the risk potential has been adequately identified and evaluated, and a strict liability regime put in place by ERMA”. It also lists as priorities for 2007 – 2009:

- “Participate in a Northland inter-council working group to discuss a common approach to the management of genetically modified organisms in Northland.
- Support a precautionary approach to genetic engineering by the Environmental Risk Management Authority”.

The council also lists as a level of service: “Provide a contingency fund for expert assessment of applications for outdoor trials or use of genetically modified organisms in Northland as notified by ERMA”.

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22 Northland Regional Council, Long Term Council community Plan 2006-2016, p. 41, 43, 76.
Dear Dr Grundy

Thank you for your letters of 21 December 2006 and 1 March 2007 concerning Local Government and management of genetically modified organisms (GMOs). I am aware of the ongoing discussion among northern councils in this regard and the work of the Inter-Council Working Party and am pleased to clarify the Government’s position on the matters you raise.

The Government’s position that genetically modified organisms (GMOs) are strictly controlled by national legislation, the Hazardous Substance and New Organisms Act 1996 (HSNO), has not changed. The Government’s view on the interface of the HSNO Act, the Resource Management Act (RMA) 1991 and the Local Government Act (LGA) 2002 as they relate to GMOs is consistent with the two Crown Law Office opinions the Ministry for the Environment obtained in August 2003 and November 2004. These opinions are available on the Ministry for the Environment website at

www.mfe.govt.nz/issues/organisms/regulation/crown-law-opinion.html; and

In 2003, following extensive consultation and consideration of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification, significant amendments were made to the HSNO Act. The Government is not currently proposing any further legislative amendments in relation to GMO outdoor activities.

As provided for in the 2003 amendments, the Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA) is required under the HSNO Act to notify any local authorities that it considers are likely to have an interest in a particular application. While there is no obligation on councils to participate, the issues raised in your letter highlight the need for councils to engage with ERMA to ensure that the specific local interests can be
appropriately taken into account when applications for outdoor GMO use are considered.

ERMA is an independent, quasi-judicial body responsible, under the HSNO Act, for considering applications for the release of any GMO. I consider that it would be difficult for councils to identify issues associated with GMOs that would not be adequately and most appropriately addressed by the HSNO Act and the Environmental Risk Management Authority.

The HSNO Act contains strict civil liability provisions for any breach of the Act. It also contains a civil penalty regime, whereby the Crown can take proceedings against persons breaching the Act, regardless of whether harm is caused.

Therefore in response to your first three questions, the Government has no intention to amend these provisions further at this stage.

Your fourth and fifth questions refer to the financial fitness of applicants to ERMA and the ability for ERMA to impose bonds under the HSNO Act.

In recent years Ministers have considered in detail whether it would be appropriate to require ERMA to impose insurance or bond requirements, as a condition of approving release of a new organism to address liability concerns. Such an amendment was not supported.

Assessing when and how to use such discretion and the amount of any insurance or bond would, generally, be a highly speculative exercise. It would involve consideration of a range of difficult issues that ERMA may not be well placed to undertake. There is a risk that socially beneficial activities might be deterred and capital would be tied up when it could be put to more productive uses.

Your sixth and eleventh questions refer to indemnity deeds and possible claims against councils.

Under both the Resource Management Act (RMA) 1991 and the Local Government Act (LGA) 2002, regional councils and territorial authorities have independent statutory roles and are required to exercise a duty of care in the performance of their statutory responsibilities. It is not appropriate for Government to dictate the manner in which individual councils may wish to exercise that duty of care. I consider it is equally inappropriate for Government to enter into indemnity deeds with Councils to indemnify them against potential costs that might be incurred by Councils through the exercise of those independent roles, or in relation to potential law suits that may arise in respect of a Council’s independent statutory roles and responsibilities.

As noted above, the legislation provides for compensation in respect of losses incurred through official enforcement actions. Such compensation could be available to local authorities that met the specified criteria.

The requirement for precaution under the HSNO Act is a statutory obligation; the Authority is obligated to apply this approach, taking into account related uncertainties
and risks. Only the level of caution considered appropriate is open to discretion, as ERMA assesses risks and levels of scientific uncertainty on a case-by-case basis.

The HSNO Act has a number of safeguards to ensure the appropriate level of precaution in ERMA’s decision-making process. For example, the minimum standards in section 36 of the Act specify that ERMA must decline a release application if it is likely to cause any significant adverse effects on native species, natural habitats, human health, New Zealand’s inherent genetic diversity, or cause disease or be a vector for disease (unless that is the purpose of the application). In addition, section 38 of the Act requires ERMA to decline a release application if the risks outweigh the benefits or insufficient information is available to enable ERMA to assess the adverse effects of the GMO.

Your eighth and ninth questions refer to options for preventing GMO use in specified areas, in particular, in relation to options for amending the Methodology.

The HSNO Act is a risk management regime, managing risk by focusing on the effects of hazardous substances and new organisms. The purpose of the Act is to protect the environment, and the health and safety of people and communities, by preventing or managing the adverse effects of hazardous substances and new and genetically modified organisms. The Methodology outlines how the Authority will act when it encounters scientific and technical uncertainty and details how uncertainty will be addressed.

The Methodology Order is subordinate to the primary legislation (the HSNO Act). Hence the Methodology Order can neither expand on nor limit the provisions of the primary legislation.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that ERMA may impose controls such as an obligation to comply with relevant codes of practice or standards (e.g. to meet particular coexistence requirements) and controls aimed at limiting the proximity of a conditionally-released organism to other organisms, including, but not limited to, those which could be at risk from the conditionally released organism.

It is already possible for local authorities to use mechanisms under the Resource Management Act (RMA) 1991 to address land use relating to GMOs. However, such restrictions must meet the purposes of that Act and must be imposed consistent with the Act’s requirements, notably the necessity test under section 32.

Finally, you raise concerns over the need to take account of the views of tangata whena.

In 2003 the HSNO Act was amended to better provide for consideration of Maori perspectives in decision-making under the Act. First, the Act was amended to add knowledge of the Treaty of Waitangi and tikanga Maori to the knowledge and experience that the Minister considers when appointing members of the Authority.

To further improve knowledge of Treaty of Waitangi and tikanga Maori elements in decision-making by ERMA, provision was made to formalise in statute the role of the ERMA’s Maori advisory committee, Nga Kaikaiti tikanga Taiao. Nga Kaikaiti
Tikanga Taiao’s role is to provide advice and assistance to ERMA to contribute to the quality of the Authority’s policy and decision-making from a Maori perspective.

Additionally, applicants are required to consult with Maori before they lodge an application with ERMA. In particular, applicants that wish to use genetic modification processes on native species or use human genes are required to consult with Maori and to provide information on the potential effects on Maori.

Ministers have agreed that the terms of reference of Nga Kaihautu Tikanga Taiao should be reviewed on a regular basis. Should local authorities consider that the perspectives of their Maori constituents are not being provided for adequately in ERMA’s decision-making process, they should discuss such concerns directly with ERMA.

In conclusion, I can but reiterate that at this point in time there is no Government intention to amend the legislation further in relation to the matters you raise. As you will know, however, all Government policies are monitored for their effectiveness and this also applies in this matter.

I trust this letter has clarified the Government’s position on the matters you raise. If you need further information on this matter you may like to contact Riki Ellison, Manager of the Environmental Stewardship Team at the Ministry for the Environment (telephone 04-439-7400 or email riki.ellison@mfe.govt.nz).

Yours sincerely

[Signature]

Hor. David Benson-Pope
MINISTER FOR THE ENVIRONMENT
Inter-council Working Party on GMO Risk Evaluation and Management Options

Auckland Regional Council
Far North District Council
Kaipara District Council
Northland Regional Council
Rodney District Council
Waitakere City Council
Whangarei District Council

11 June 2010

Hon Nick Smith
Minister for the Environment
Parliament Buildings
Wellington

Dear Minister

Council’s of Northland and Auckland recently conducted a detailed public opinion survey of attitudes to genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and the management of them within the Northland and Auckland regions. This is the latest step in an initiative being pursued to address strong community concerns relating to GMOs. I write to detail the results of the polling, outline their place in the overall initiative, and seek your response to a series of questions to inform our next steps.

By way of background, local government sought changes to the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act 1996 (HSNO) in 2003 when it was being recast to facilitate conditional release of GMOs. In particular, it was submitted that changes to the amending legislation were required to at least allow councils to meet their responsibilities under other statutes when addressing GMOs.1 They currently have no more influence on decisions made by the Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA) than any other submitter or individual.

The councils of the Northland and Auckland regions have been subject to significant and continuous lobbying by their communities since the moratorium on GMO release was lifted in 2003. This has resulted in large numbers of submissions to annual plans, long-term council community plans, and district plans, together with petitions to councils, lobbying of councillors, and constant communication with staff.

In response, an Inter-council Working Party on GMO Risk Evaluation and Management Options (the Working Party) was formed to evaluate the risks to local bodies and their communities from the outdoor use of GMOs together with response options to those risks. The Working Party comprises the councils listed at the top of

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1 Responsibilities under the Local Government Act and Resource Management Act were those highlighted by LGNZ in its submission.
this letter, along with Auckland and North Shore City Councils as observers. It has commissioned a series of reports to investigate the nature and extent of risks posed by GMOs and the mechanisms available to address these. A particular gap in the legislation the reports identified was the lack of liability under HSNO for damage arising as a result of an activity carried out in accordance with an ERMA approval (as further detailed in Appendix 1). Also identified were a range of response options that could be put in place through changes to the relevant councils’ planning documents under the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA).

A poll of residents conducted as part of the assessment of these options surveyed each constituency separately and yielded the following results (see Appendix 2 for details):

- More than two thirds of the residents in each area want councils to have a role in regulating the use of GM plants and animals, either by setting local rules or acting through the ERMA process. (Support by area ranged from 66% to 76%.)

- Around two thirds favour regulation of at least a strength that would make users of these GMOs legally responsible for any environmental or economic harm - either through local regulation or by way of changes to national legislation. (Support by area ranged from 63% to 72%.)

- Around half the residents want councils to have the right to prohibit GM plants and animals, either by setting local rules or allowing communities, through their councils, the right to reject use of a particular GMO in its area when ERMA is processing applications. (Support by area ranged from 44% to 55%.)

The purpose of the poll was to gauge the degree to which communities are willing to accept risks associated with the outdoor use of GMOs, and to test options for responding to these risks. We took considerable care to frame the questions neutrally and the communities have clearly responded that they want fundamental change to the management of GMOs that addresses their concerns, particularly over liability, and/or allows for councils to have a role in the regulation of GMOs.

These changes can be secured by local government under the RMA or through central government amending HSNO. The Working Party seeks an understanding of the Government’s position on such changes to HSNO, particularly those described in the following questions.

Councils clearly do not wish to duplicate Government reforms that would address community concerns so it is hoped that this prior consultation will identify those measures the Government intends to act on independently. To this end, the Working Party would appreciate it if you would answer each of the questions below that address key issues before it.
Questions:

Please note that some of the questions below canvas responses that are to an extent alternatives such that it is unlikely to be optimal to pursue all of these together.2

1. Amending HSNO for ERMA to Recognise Local Government Policy

Is the Government willing to amend HSNO to provide for the following: (Note that while it is recognised any such change would likely be at a time ERMA was subsumed into the new Environmental Protection Authority (EPA), the current decision-making authority, ERMA, is referred to in this and subsequent questions for simplicity.)

a) ERMA would be required to recognise in its decisions, the policy statements on GMO activities issued by local authorities. That is, if a local body issued a conforming policy statement, ERMA could only authorise a release within that local authority’s jurisdiction if conditions were placed on the approval that gave full effect to the authority’s current policy.

b) If a local authority makes a submission to ERMA with respect to a particular application before it, the local authority may stipulate conditions to attach to an approval granted by ERMA that is applicable within that authority’s district.

The rationale for this amendment to HSNO is to provide a simpler means for local government to achieve the same regulatory effect as is currently available to it under the RMA. It would provide a simpler means of achieving the form of outcome supported by two thirds or more of the residents in each Northland/Auckland jurisdiction, while also giving greater certainty to ERMA applicants.

It is recognised that procedures would need to be developed to ensure that local authorities notified ERMA of policies described in (a), and that both these and conditions put forward under (b) would need to be of a form consistent with ERMA’s powers and responsibilities.

The specific question we seek an answer to is, pre-supposing satisfactory arrangements in respect of such detail, is the Government willing in principle to make such an amendment to HSNO to apply to GMO outdoor activities?

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2 A very similar set of questions was put to the previous administration in 2006. We believe it is important to put these questions again not just because the current administration may well have different policies but also because of the experience gained in assessing GM trials and the economic prospects of GM in the interim.
2. **Strict Liability Under HSNO**

The Crown Law opinion[^1] on GMO matters that the Ministry for the Environment (MFE) often relies on considered only one type of financial risk that GMO activities present to communities – that of a council’s legal liability for environmental damage. Among the risks not considered was the risk of councils facing environmental cleanup costs and constituents facing losses from GM contamination. This was in spite of the Far North District Council having sought to have these issues included in Crown Law’s terms of reference when the Ministry was consulting on its scope.

The recent poll found strong support for those undertaking GMO activities in the outdoors to be held strictly liable for any harm caused. Is the Government willing to amend HSNO such that a party is liable in damages for any loss or damage caused by any act or omission resulting from an outdoor GMO activity, irrespective of whether that party is operating under an ERMA approval?

3. **Reimbursement of Councils for GMO Cleanup Costs**

At present, no Government agency is obliged to eradicate or control a GMO that is approved for some form of outdoor use by ERMA and subsequently causes harm. This results in a financial exposure for local government if central government elects not to undertake control measures.

Is the Government willing to amend HSNO such that if central government elects not to undertake control measures on a GMO that has been released and causes demonstrable adverse effects, the Government will reimburse local authorities for actual and reasonable cleanup measures that are required?

4. **Government Indemnity for Councils**

Is the Government, in principle, willing to enter into an indemnity deed with any local authority seeking this, such that the deed would provide for reimbursement to councils and/or their constituents as a result of any or all of the following:

- a) The need to clean up after a GMO activity approved by ERMA, but which nonetheless has caused environmental damage beyond the site of the authorised activity;
- b) Directly attributable financial losses to third parties resulting from GMO outdoor activities; and
- c) Legal actions taken against councils directly as a result of GMO outdoor activities?

5. Making Precaution Mandatory for ERMA

In its present form, HSNO s7 states:

“All persons exercising functions, powers, and duties under this Act, ... shall take into account the need for caution in managing adverse effects where there is scientific and technical uncertainty about those effects.” [Emphasis added]

Is the Government willing to amend HSNO to make it mandatory for ERMA to observe the precautionary principle when exercising functions, powers, and duties, rather than leaving this as a matter of discretion for ERMA?

6. Excluding Specific GM Crops from a District

The Royal Commission on Genetic Modification recommended:

that the methodology for implementing section 6(e) of the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act 1996 be made more specific to:

• allow for specified categories of genetically modified crops to be excluded from districts where their presence would be a significant threat to an established non-genetically modified crop use.

While the Government’s response to the Commission’s report noted “that individual producers will be able to produce to standards of their choice, additional to any controls imposed by ERMA, as their specific markets demand”, in light of experience gained since 2003 with GMO contamination, would the Government support the change to ERMA’s decision-making methodology to include that recommended by the Royal Commission as noted above?

7. Regional Exclusion Zones

The Royal Commission on Genetic Modification also raised the possibility of regional genetic modification-free zones and stated that such a proposal might be achievable under the RMA:

Genetically modified and non-genetically modified crops might be permitted or prohibited on a crop-by-crop and region-by-region basis.

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4 Note that ERMA stated in 2002 that: “The wording in the Act is very permissive, such that the Authority would be acting lawfully in deciding that caution was not warranted, provided it explained why. In practice, the Authority has generally exercised caution”. ERMA, Approach to Risk, December 2002, p 3.
5 Recommendation 13.1 (Benefit assessment)
This would require a genetically modified crop to be designated as a different use from a non-genetically modified crop of the same species... It may also be that over a period of time an aggregation of genetic modification or non-genetic modification uses became characteristic of particular regions and that identifiable regional differences emerged. These distinctions in land use might be written into regional or district plans....

a) Does the Government recognise advantages to establishing exclusion zones for some or all GMOs, both to protect existing non-genetically modified produce from actual or perceived contamination, and to protect and enhance market positions developed by non-GM producers, including those relating to tourism?

b) Is the Government willing to amend HSNO to enable local government to more readily establish exclusion zones for some or all GMOs under that Act? Alternatively, does Government support local authorities establishing such exclusion zones under the RMA?

8. Local or Regional Management for Cultural Objectives

The submissions by Maori, both oral and written, received through the Maori consultation programme of workshops and hui conducted as part of the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification were overwhelmingly opposed to genetic modification.8

Given the strong resistance to genetic modification from tangata whenua, what scope does the Government envisage for local authorities to exercise local or regional regulation of outdoor GMO activities to take account of the views of tangata whenua?

a) Is the Government willing to amend HSNO to enable this?

b) Alternatively, does the Government see regulation under the RMA as an appropriate mechanism for exercising local and/or regional management of GMO activities for cultural reasons?

9. Council’s Duty of Care and Compensation for Costs

Dr Royden Somerville QC, maintained in his legal opinion9 that both the Local Government Act 2002 (LGA) and the RMA impose a 'duty of care' on local authorities when making decisions that affect their constituents. Failure to exercise that duty of care may have adverse consequences for a local authority. For example, Dr Somerville stated:

"Because the council is a public authority and is obliged to act in the public interest when exercising its statutory duties, it can be subject to judicial review proceedings in

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9 Opinion on land use controls and GMOs, 31 March 2005, p.4-5.
the High Court for the way in which it exercises any discretion it has to act or not to act". … "Public authority liability is a complex subject and in my opinion, one cannot assume that the district council would be immune from liability as a result of the way in which it exercises its statutory duties under the RMA, and particularly if it has made commitments to manage GMO-related land use activities in its long-term council community plan promulgated under the Local Government Act 2002".

Will the Government agree to meet the costs faced by any council that:

a) Is subject to a successful judicial review for not exercising its duty of care under the RMA or LGA if it did not intervene to manage the effects of GMO land uses under the RMA and/or LGA and suffered costs as a result? or

b) Suffered claims against it for damage occurring as a result of not exercising its duty of care under the RMA or LGA in the management of effects of GMO land uses under the RMA and/or LGA?

The Working Party sincerely appreciates your willingness to consider these questions and if there are any matters on which you would like clarification, please direct enquiries to me in the first instance.

Yours sincerely

Dr Kerry Grundy
Chairman
Inter-council Working Party on GMO Risk Evaluation and Management Options
Whangarei District Council
Private Bag 9023, Whangarei
09 430 4200
Appendix 1: Risks and Deficiencies in National Regulatory Regime

Nature and Scope of Risks

A series of risks to councils and their constituents were identified in reports commissioned by the Working Party and can be classed under three general headings.10

Environmental risks include:
- Adverse effects on non-target species, including indigenous flora and fauna;
- GM plants becoming invasive and disrupting ecosystems;
- Altered genes transferring to other organisms; and
- Development of herbicide or pesticide resistance creating ‘super-weeds’ or ‘super-pests’.

The more complex GMOs pose additional risks simply because past experience provides little basis for predicting their effects.

Economic risks include:
- Loss of income (and/or legal action) through contamination (or even perceived contamination) of non-GMO food products triggering market rejection of produce;
- Negative effects on marketing and branding opportunities, including damage to regional marketing initiatives such as the ‘Naturally Northland’ brand, and damage to tourism;
- Costs associated with environmental damage, such as cleanup costs for invasive weeds and pests in reserves, parks, and open space.

Socio-cultural risks include:
- Effects on Maori cultural beliefs (the concepts of whakapapa, mauri, tikanga, and kaitiakitanga, for example);
- Ethical concerns, such as mixing genes from different species and use of human genes;
- Effects or perceived effects on human health of food derived from GMOs.

Against these risks, there are important deficiencies in the national level regulation of GMOs. A key gap is that there is no liability under HSNO for damage arising as a result of an activity carried out in accordance with an approval from ERMA. Common law actions will very rarely be an effective remedy so affected parties will tend to bear any losses arising from unexpected events and ineffective regulation of GMOs. While economic damage resulting from GM contamination will in the first instance fall on individual constituents, such damage can occur across wide groupings of producers and thus become a community concern. Councils may also be exposed to damage and financial costs.

Further, there is no requirement under HSNO for applicants to prove financial fitness and no requirement for bonds to be posted in order to recover costs should damage

occur. In consequence, parties who may cause damage but do not have sufficient resources to cover resulting costs are not held financially accountable and, once again, costs will tend to fall on affected parties (private persons, communities and local authorities).

Another important deficiency is that HSNO makes the exercise of precaution a matter for ERMA’s discretion. Precaution is an option, not a requirement. This results in a lack of surety of outcome for local government on two levels:

- Whether ERMA will agree with and act at all on specific concerns that may be held by a council and its community; and
- Whether, for the risks ERMA concurs need addressing, it will exercise the same degree of caution as would a council and its community.

The reports prepared for the Working Party identified a range of response options that could be put in place through changes to each council’s district plan. Northland and Auckland councils have developed general policies through their long term council community plans to guide their assessment, generally requiring precaution with respect to the management of GMO risks and many stating that liability concerns are to be resolved before any GMO release occurs.\(^{11}\)

**Economic Risks and Liability**

Those who develop or use GMOs have the potential to generate economic risks that extend well beyond their own operations. While they are the only ones bearing losses arising from failure of the end product to sell or if it carries a defect, GMOs have a well demonstrated ability to cause economic harm far beyond the entities that undertake the original land use. Such impacts on third parties are termed “spillover” effects. A major source of risk in this regard is that cultivation of GM crops will cause economic damage through contamination of non-GM crops. This can take place physically or arise as a result of market perceptions.

**Physical Contamination:** At its simplest, this can be contamination of a single crop or a single company’s production. In New Zealand, the Gisborne-based company Sunrise Coast experienced this in August 2003 when corn it grew for processing into a product for the Japanese market was rejected. Routine testing by the Japanese pizza maker that was to purchase the product showed trace contamination of 0.05%. This resulted in rejection of the entire line and the company estimates its losses were close to $500,000. In the US, a judgment against Bayer in April 2010 saw it ordered to pay damages of $2 million to two farmers that had their rice crops contaminated with Bayer's LibertyLink rice. This is the first of more than 1,000 cases being taken by affected farmers and seems set to rival the StarLink corn contamination incident that cost Adventis around $1 billion. An estimate of the financial harm caused by Bayer's LibertyLink rice has put total costs at between $741 million and $1.3 billion.

**Perceived Contamination:** Perceptions of contamination can be as damaging as contamination itself. This form of market rejection need not be based on doubt about

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\(^{11}\) Policies in place as of 2006 were detailed in *Community Management of GMOs: Risks and Response Options*, 2005, pages 1 to 3.
the adequacy of segregation systems. It may be made by market gatekeepers (wholesale buyers) who simply perceive damage to a country image (Brand New Zealand), a regional brand (Naturally Northland), or a particular exporter's brand. It may equally be as a result of end use consumers making such a judgement. Heinz Watties has stated: “The implications for any GM contamination, real or perceived, anywhere in our supply chain, or even just anywhere in NZ, are potentially damaging for all of our business, such is the level of sensitivity of many of our customers to this issue.”

Market research undertaken for the New Zealand Government by the National Research Bureau in 2003 attempted to measure the extent to which GM products could tarnish conventional foods merely by association and surveyed consumers in the UK, US and Australia. Asked whether they would buy New Zealand fruit and dairy products that were not themselves GM, between 20% and 30% said they would cease to purchase, irrespective of price, if New Zealand was at that time growing related GM products.\(^\text{12}\)

The absence of any remedy for financial harm suffered by a constituent or a council trading activity if no ERMA condition has been breached is a serious gap in the HSNO regulatory framework. Conventional farmers who incur financial losses as a result of GMO contamination could launch a common law action but MfE acknowledges these mechanisms are generally “inappropriate” and “have failed to manage pollution”. To better describe which entities carry liability in which circumstances, the table on the following page sets out a series of scenarios.

**Recent Field Trial Experience**

The reliance that can be placed on ERMA to shield non-GM producers and other affected parties from harm has been significantly eroded by recent field trial incidents. All field trials in operation in recent years have been under the auspices of CRIs and the greatest number by Crop and Food (now part of the new CRI, Plant and Food).

The most serious incident was in early 2009 when Crop and Food’s Brassica trial was halted after GM trial plants were found to be flowering in an open field. ERMA control number 1.8 for the trial stated: "Brassica oleracea plants shall be prevented from producing open flowers in the field test site”. This is to avoid GM pollen potentially mixing with conventional varieties of cabbage, leek and kale. The discovery of plants flowering led to a confidential internal report that stated: “This discovery has further reinforced our dissatisfaction with the way this trial has been conducted and justifies the immediate application to cancel the approval of the Operator … [and] suspension of all GM field trials”.\(^\text{13}\)


## Liability Scenarios

In order to clarify the extent to which liability is allocated (or not allocated) for harm resulting from GMO activities, the following identifies a series of scenario events, any parties that are strictly liable, and the ultimate risk bearers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario Event</th>
<th>Parties Strictly Liable</th>
<th>Ultimate Risk Bearer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unauthorised release</strong> – not ERMA approved (eg through imported seed contamination)</td>
<td>If unintended release, MAF tends to pick up most costs under Biosecurity Act, though the agent responsible also incurs costs. (If a deliberate release, agent faces all costs if can be identified)</td>
<td>Crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Release conducted as Authorised by ERMA. Financial damage results</strong> (eg returns lost due to GMO contamination)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Farmers and other affected parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Release conducted as Authorised by ERMA. Environmental damage results</strong> (eg superweeds needing to be controlled)</td>
<td>No liability under HSNO. Applicant may face RMA enforcement order for cleanup costs</td>
<td>Councils, farmers and other affected parties for financial losses beyond cleanup costs. If cleanup costs are not met (eg through the agent being unable to pay) affected parties may also carry these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Release conducted as Authorised by ERMA. Damage to human health results</strong> (eg contamination of food crop by pharma crop)</td>
<td>No liability under HSNO</td>
<td>Farmers, food purchasers and other affected parties, including the Crown to the extent claims are accepted by ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conditional Release not conducted as Authorised by ERMA and breach of controls causes damage</strong></td>
<td>Applicant liable under HSNO to extent harm caused by breach</td>
<td>Applicant liable for the greater of:</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- up to $10m,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- 10% of turnover, or</td>
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<td>- three times value of the commercial gain,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to the extent funds are available. Affected parties must meet costs thereafter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unconditional Release, or Field Trial not conducted as Authorised by ERMA, and causes damage</strong></td>
<td>No liability under HSNO</td>
<td>Councils, farmers and/or other affected parties for financial losses beyond cleanup costs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Colmar Brunton Research Reports

Colmar Brunton surveyed residents in each of the jurisdictions represented by the councils that are members of the Working Party – covering all of the Northland and Auckland regions. In most districts, a representative sample of 400 people was recruited. To compile regional results, additional districts were polled in the Auckland area and results were weighted by population (unless otherwise specified).¹⁴

In total, the sample covers over a third of the population of New Zealand and represents the first detailed investigation of attitudes to GMOs at the local level and to options for addressing risks. Colmar Brunton was asked to design the survey in a way that would minimise the opportunity for bias and care was taken to consider different ways of structuring the questions to best draw out the opinions of residents and test specific proposals for reform.

Attached are the aggregated survey results for the Northland and Auckland regions. These provide an overview of the more detailed district results that are also available on request.

¹⁴ The councils that funded the survey through the Working Party are: Whangarei, Far North, Kaipara and Rodney District Councils, Waitakere City Council, and Auckland Regional Council.
Dr Kerry Grundy  
Inter-Council Working Party on GMO Risk Evaluation and Management Options  
Whangarei District Council  
Private Bag 9023  
WHANGAREI 0148

Dear Dr Grundy

Thank you for your letter of 11 June 2010 regarding public opinion towards genetically modified organisms (GMOs) in the Northland and Auckland regions. I appreciate the copy of the Colmar Brunton survey results, which you attached.

The government’s position is that GMOs are most appropriately controlled by the Hazardous Substances and New Organisms Act 1996 (HSNO Act). Decisions on whether to approve a GMO are best undertaken by the independent, quasi-judicial body, the Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA). However, this does not preclude a council from restricting or preventing the use of GMOs in their region, provided that this action meets the relevant requirements of the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA).

With regard to your first question, the government does not intend to amend the HSNO Act in respect of recognising council policy. The HSNO Act was amended in 2003 to require ERMA to notify any council that it considers is likely to have an interest in a particular application. Further, councils are able to make submissions to ERMA on publicly notified applications.

To address your second and third questions, I note the Inter-Council Working Party’s continuing concern regarding the liability regime under the HSNO Act. Common law liability rules will not always effectively encourage precaution or provide for compensation. However, the same applies to a range of other activities. This was noted by the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification in 2001.

The HSNO Act contains civil liability provisions and pecuniary penalty provisions for breaches of the Act. It is considered that imposing statutory liability for all harm (where that harm that does not constitute a breach of the Act) could deter socially beneficial activities and consequently stifle innovation and economic growth. The government does not intend to amend the HSNO Act in respect of the liability regime at this time.

With regard to your fourth and ninth questions, the government considers that it is not appropriate to enter into indemnity deeds as part of a council’s operation. The government also considers it inappropriate to interfere with potential judicial reviews regarding whether a council appropriately exercised its duty of care under the RMA and any compensation issues arising out of that action.

Your fifth and sixth questions refer to the application of caution and the HSNO Methodology Order 1998. ERMA consulted on a revised Methodology Order in late 2008. Public submissions were received on many aspects including the precautionary approach and particular requirements around GMOs. Any changes to the Methodology are still under consideration. It should be noted though that, as the Methodology Order is secondary legislation, it cannot override the primary Act - including section seven (which requires the precautionary approach.) There is no intention at this time to amend section seven of the HSNO Act.
Your seventh question refers to regional exclusion zones for GMOs. The Royal Commission on Genetic Modification saw practical difficulties with implementing exclusion zones and recommended maintaining the management approaches under the HSNO Act. The government does not intend to amend the HSNO Act in this regard.

To address your eighth question, the government considers that the HSNO Act provides for comprehensive participation of Maori within the application and submission processes. Nga Kaihautu Tikanga Taiao, the Maori advisory committee to ERMA, specialises in engagement with Maori throughout the application process and on providing advice to ERMA regarding the Treaty of Waitangi.

I am confident that the HSNO Act regime provides appropriate control and management of genetic modification in New Zealand.

Once again thank you for sharing the survey results of your region’s views on GMOs.

Yours sincerely

[Signature]

Hon Dr Nick Smith
Minister for the Environment