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# State-led gentrification and impacts on residents and community in Glen Innes, Auckland

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography, The University of Auckland, 2015.

## **Abstract**

Auckland's suburb of Glen Innes is currently undergoing redevelopment that can be described as state-led gentrification. As the central government owns a significant portion of the housing stock, the State at both a central and local government level is heavily involved within this gentrification process. At a time when Auckland is facing a purported housing shortage, Glen Innes' central location – approximately a 16-minute drive from Auckland's CBD and the suburbs close proximity to the popular Eastern Bay beaches has repositioned the area as prime real estate. This thesis explores the processes and implications of state-led gentrification underway in Glen Innes through an exploration narratives provided by local residents. Drawing on Henri Lefebvre's (1968) 'right to the city' argument as a theoretical framework the thesis considers the way the right to a community, sense of place and belonging has been repositioned as a right reserved for urban elite within a neoliberal city. There are currently two development projects working simultaneously in the area, the Tāmaki Redevelopment Company (a partnership between Housing New Zealand and Auckland Council) and Creating Communities (a private development company contracted out by Housing New Zealand). To date, 156 households have been relocated from their Housing New Zealand homes to make way for new housing developments in the area. While some of these tenants have been relocated within the Tāmaki area, a number of these residents have been displaced from their communities completely. Alongside this redevelopment in Glen Innes, New Zealand's state-housing policy has undergone radical restructuring with the passing of the Social Housing Reform Act 2014. This shift in policy not only supports the gentrification of Glen Innes but is also paving the way for similar redevelopments throughout New Zealand in the near future. The thesis demonstrates that the state-led gentrification currently un-folding in Glen Innes, displacing a sizable proportion of the community at a rapid rate, has had a significant impact on those left behind. It is argued that this situation differs from previous Auckland examples of gentrification as the State is playing an active role in transforming entire neighbourhoods rather than facilitating the upgrade of individual houses and neighbourhoods. Further, the displacement of Housing New Zealand's tenants is disrupting communities that have been well established over time. The thesis demonstrates the significance of these processes for understanding the structure of urban life in contemporary Auckland, the place of society's most vulnerable and the implications for the most basic urban rights of community and belonging.

Key words: state-housing, state-led gentrification, right to the city, Glen Innes

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## **Chapter One: Introduction**

#### 1.1 Rationale

Since 2010 Auckland's inner Eastern suburb of Glen Innes has been undergoing a process of radical redevelopment. This redevelopment can be considered to be a form of state-led gentrification since the New Zealand government is involved at both a central and local government level through the activities of Housing New Zealand (HNZ) and Auckland Council. The reason Glen Innes is of particular interest is its status as a suburb where a particularly high proportion of the housing stock is owned by the State (Scott, *et al.*, 2010). As the majority landowner, the New Zealand government is therefore heavily involved as a key player in the residential redevelopment projects underway, at the same time as being landlord to most local residents who have been deemed to be in need of housing assistance. A consequence of the 'Tāmaki Regeneration' is that HNZ tenants living in these redevelopment areas are required to leave their homes and in some cases the neighbourhood altogether.

Auckland faces a significant housing shortage suburbs such as Glen Innes that are within close proximity to the CBD are becoming increasingly desirable and therefore the land is becoming more valuable. This is reflected in property prices for houses nearer the city centre. In 2014 inner city suburbs such as Ponsonby, Parnell, Mt Eden, Herne Bay, St Mary's Bay, Westmere and Epsom had an average house price of \$1.25 million compared to \$614 000 across Auckland (Wilson, 2014). These rising property prices are beginning to work their way out of the city centre to include outer city suburbs such as; Western Springs, Owairaka, New Windsor, Avondale, New Lynn and Glen Eden and is beginning to include former state-housing suburbs such as Glen Innes and Mangere Bridge (Wilson, 2014).

The current redevelopment projects commenced in 2010 prior to the recent changes to New Zealand's state-housing policy. However, these changes to policy support state-led gentrification projects. Since both central and local government are

involved within what is called the 'Tāmaki Regeneration' it is not surprising national policy works to support these types of state-initiated redevelopment projects. With the Social Housing Reform Act (Housing Restructuring and Tenancy Matters Amendment, 2013) (SHRA). coming into effect in April 2014, similar housing projects to the Glen Innes redevelopment are likely to occur within state-housing developments throughout the country – especially in New Zealand's urban centres, Auckland, Christchurch and Wellington, where current housing shortages demonstrate a scarcity of land and housing stock.

Just as the residential redevelopment of Glen Innes is a political project, so too is this thesis. My interest in Glen Innes as a case study, and in changes to state-housing policy more generally, have emerged out of my own sense of solidarity with tenants and personal involvement with various activist groups such as Auckland Action Against Poverty that have been set up to oppose the recent changes to welfare policy in New Zealand. Indeed, over the term of the current government (2008-present) New Zealand has seen the largest changes to welfare since the 1991 cuts with all benefits renamed and conditionality, obligations and sanctions increased. The New Zealand government's most recent changes to housing policy reducing the State's role in the provisioning of housing by shifting HNZ's responsibility's to the not-for-profit sector is a further example of this reduction in welfare.

This thesis explores the implications these policy changes and state-led gentrification projects have on community. It aims to consider these community impacts from a resident's perspective. As Butler and Hamnett (2009) point out, often gentrification research focuses on community effects from the perspective of the developers. Keeping this in mind, the key thesis objective is to convey understanding of community impacts from the perspective of local residents.

#### 1.2 Context: New Zealand policy changes

In April 2014 the National-led government implemented the SHRA (2014). This act fundamentally changed New Zealand's state-housing policy. The shift in policy alters the provisioning of housing in three key ways. First, it allows the State to reduce its role as a housing provider by shifting this responsibility towards the not-for-profit and charity sectors. Secondly, this transition removes the notion of a 'house for life' previously available to state-house tenants. Thirdly, decisions around eligibility and housing allocation are no longer made locally through HNZ rather these decisions are made centrally though the Ministry of Social Development (MSD)(New Zealand Government, 2013).

Previous state-housing policies provided a security of tenure (Murphy, 2004) that allowed a sense of community and sense of belonging to become established within state-housing areas (Morrison, 1995). This shift in policy repositions sense of community, sense of belonging and attachment to place as a privilege reserved for those who can afford to own their own home. By contrast, those renting in the private market or living in social housing are subject to heightened transience that undermines community formation. This transience is particularly problematic for those who are most likely to be residing in state or social housing as this is usually societies most vulnerable including, sole parents, elderly and people with disabilities who rely on social support networks that life in a community had previously provided (Keen and Ruel, 2013).

Increased transience for those on the lower-end of the socio-economic spectrum is particularly problematic within New Zealand's urban centres — especially Auckland (Johnson, 2013). Auckland's 'housing crisis' is due to a shortage of available housing to accommodate a growing population. Lack of housing options for Aucklanders has resulted in rising rents and property prices making housing increasingly unaffordable for beneficiaries and low-wage workers (Johnson, 2013). For this group, state-housing provisioning and community networks have become increasingly important. However policy changes are removing stability and pushing societies most

vulnerable towards the periphery where land values are lower and therefore more affordable. As a result, established communities and support networks are disrupted. Furthermore, this is likely to further contribute to the socio-spatial polarisation of Auckland city that began emerging in the 1990s as a result of earlier housing reforms (see Friesen, 2009; Morrison, 1995). Originally state-housing was intended to provide a sense of security to those who could not afford homeownership, however, an outcome of the most recent change in housing policy is to provide a sense of security *only* to those that can afford it.

#### 1.3 Contextual introduction: Glen Innes, Auckland

Glen Innes provides a useful case study within which to explore the implications of recent changes to housing policy and the impact these policies may have on community dynamics. Glen Innes is a 16 minute drive from Auckland's CBD and until recently HNZ owned 60 percent of the suburb's housing stock. The suburb was developed as a focus for state-housing in the 1950s and since then its residents have been predominantly Māori and Pacific people (Scott, et al., 2010). At the time of the suburbs development rural Māori were migrating to the cities for work. Further Pacific people were migrating to New Zealand to provide cheap labour in the booming manufacturing industries (Scott, et al., 2010). In addition to newly arriving migrants moving to Glen Innes a number of Pacific migrants were relocated to the area from Auckland's inner city suburb, Freeman's Bay around the time (Scott, et al., 2010). Since 2010 there have been two redevelopment projects simultaneously underway in Glen Innes – The Tāmaki Redevelopment Company (TRC) (a partnership between HNZ and Auckland Council) and Creating Communities (CC) (a private development company contracted out by HNZ). CC's redevelopment requires 156 state-house tenants to be relocated from their homes, some to locations within the Tāmaki area and some out of the suburb completely. Although these projects were well underway prior to the SHRA (2014) its ensuing implications support these preexisting development projects since it allows for the State to reduce its role as a housing provider. The reforms also provide leeway for 'house for life' tenancy agreements to be reconsidered in three years time once tenancies

come up for renewal, eventually freeing up more land for further development projects.

#### 1.4 Theoretical framework

New Zealand's SHRA (2014) follows international trends in housing policy that gradually reduce the role played by the State in the provisioning of housing. This shift is informed by neoliberal ideology and aims to gradually reduce the place of the state as a provider of social welfare (Wolch, 1990). The not-for-profit or charity sector is then increasingly required to pick up where the State left off in the provisioning of housing (Czisheke, et al., 2012; Mullins et al., 2012). As HNZ is gradually relieved of its role in state-housing provisioning this situation can then lead to the freeing-up of land that was previously unattainable for the private market or private developers (Watt, 2009; 2013). As state-owned housing stock previously prevented the gentrification of desirable neighbourhoods, changes in policy can facilitate urban redevelopment projects. The Tāmaki Regeneration Project currently occurring in Glen Innes is a clear example of this type of state-led gentrification. As Smith (2002) argues, state-led gentrification involves the State working in partnership with private development companies. In the context of Glen Innes HNZ is working together with the private development company Creating Communities.

Displacement is a key component of the gentrification process (Smith, 2002). This pushes the neighbourhood's previous occupants out of the neighbourhood to make way for incoming wealthier residents. I argue in the thesis that this displacement can be understood in terms of Lefebvre's (1968) right to the city argument (cited in Merrifield, 2002). According to Lefebvre (1996), workers, and more generally marginalised populations, are constantly pushed out of the city centre towards the periphery and the bourgeois occupy the gentrified urban core. This then creates a city divided by class. Lefebvre's right to the city argument challenges socially unjust policies that privilege the wealthy while further marginalising the poor. Neoliberal urban policies such as the SHRA (2014) prioritise profit over all other forms of rights (Harvey, 2003; 2008; 2012) by enabling the State and private

developers to profit from gentrification projects such as the Tāmaki Regeneration Project. In the context of Glen Innes I argue, through analysing field-based evidence, that profit and the private sector is prioritised over peoples right to community, a sense of place and belonging.

#### 1.5 Research Design

This thesis adopts a qualitative approach to researching the impacts of state-led gentrification in Glen Innes. Semi-structured and unstructured interviews were conducted between July and November 2014 drawing on a range of perspectives including key informants, residents and protesters (see Appendix 1). Relevant media articles were also used as supporting evidence to accounts provided in interviews with key informants and residents.

In addition, this research used a form of participant observation. Throughout 2014 I attended regular meetings and supported protests and events held by the Tāmaki Housing Group (THG). While my involvement with the housing group was not intended as a method of data collection *per se*, my participation in the group informed this research is several key ways. Firstly, attending regular meetings and protests provided me with opportunities to observe aspects of the Glen Innes community because it provided me with a reason to regularly spend time in the community. It is important to note, however, that while these occasions were not used as a form of direct data collection, observations made during this time in the neighbourhood provided complementary data to the information collected throughout the interview process. Interviews with key informants and narratives provided by residents and protesters supported by media articles and participant observation allowed this thesis to draw some key conclusions on displacement impacts on communities.

#### 1.6 Organisation of thesis

This thesis is organised into six further chapters. Chapter two introduces the theoretical framework and reviews four key themes identified of relevance from within the literature: the 'shadow state' and international trends in state-housing policy; gentrification; and displacement and community implications. Henri Lefebvre's 'right to the city' argument is then introduced as a theoretical approach to gain insight to gentrification and changes to social housing policy.

Chapter Three presents a brief overview of New Zealand's state-housing history, focusing on four key periods of change: 1905, 1930s, 1990 and the early 2000s. This historical overview provides contextual understanding for the recent SHRA (2014), which is outlined later in the chapter. Glen Innes is then introduced as a case study and the current redevelopment projects are explained in detail. The THG is also introduced as an expression of the resistance movement opposing both the redevelopment of Glen Innes and the SHRA (2014).

Chapter Four introduces the research methods used in this thesis including semi-structured and unstructured interviews and textual and media analysis. I also discuss my personal involvement with the THG and explore the ways this involvement informed and shaped my research. I then critically reflect on my role as an academic attempting to merge this research with my activist commitments. Following on from this, I explain how the data was analysed before reflecting on my position as a white, middle class academic and how this may have impacted upon my research findings.

In Chapter Five I draw on media data and interviews with both key informants and residents to explore the way in which the gentrification process is currently unfolding in Glen Innes. I then consider the ways in which third-wave gentrification is enacted by HNZ acting on behalf of the State.

Chapter Six draws on Henri Lefebvre's (1968) 'Right to the City' concept to explore the implications of displacement. Resident narratives are used to explore these implications on both those that have been displaced and the effects this displacement has had on those left behind in their community. This chapter also explores some of the consequences gentrification and displacement has had on the local primary and secondary schools.

In Chapter Seven an overall summary of the preceding chapters is presented before drawing out key findings. I then reflect on the methods used throughout this project as well as my involvement with the THG. I reflect upon areas overlooked in this research due to the scope and size of the project. Lastly, I suggest some potential areas for future research as housing reforms begin to play out at a national level and the gentrification of Glen Innes carries on.

## **Chapter Two: Literature review**

#### 2.1 Introduction

Internationally, governments are increasingly playing a key role within the gentrification process (Murphy, 2008; Rérat, et al., 2010; Smith, 2002, Watt, 2009). Prior to the neoliberal reforms of the 1990s the State acted to prevent parts of the city from becoming gentrified through regulating the housing market with stateowned houses (Lees, 2012). However, after the 'neoliberal turn', changes to welfare state policies have reduced the government's role in the provisioning of housing (see Chapter Three). This reduced role is supported by changes to housing policy. A recent trend internationally is further reducing the State's role in the provisioning of housing and shifting responsibilities towards the not-for-profit sector (Blessing, 2012; Czisheke, et al., 2012; Mullins et al., 2012). Shifts in urban policy such as the move from state to social housing can act to facilitate state-led gentrification projects (Smith, 2002). A key aspect of gentrification is the displacement of low-income residents (Davison and Lees, 2000 cited in Lees et al, 2010). This displacement of marginalised groups being pushed to the city's outskirts or other lower value areas in pursuit of profit can be understood drawing on Lefebvre's right to the city argument (Lefebvre, 1996). The right to the city draws attention to particular entitlements that have diminished in a climate of privitisation that prioritises profit over people (Harvey, 2008; 2012), including the right to community, social support networks that are fundamental to a sense of belonging and well-being.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical background to the changes within welfare state policy and the way these shifts in policy impact upon people and place. This chapter will address four key themes. In the first section I will explore Wolch's (1990) concept of the 'shadow state' and the transition from state-housing provisioning to social housing. I will argue that while this transformation initially includes the charity sector, following international trends, social housing organisations are increasingly adopting market-based approaches to welfare provisioning. The second section will examine the different stages of gentrification

and argue that the State is increasingly playing a role in the gentrification of neighbourhoods. Thirdly, I consider the way gentrification removes from marginalised groups the right to the urban core and the right to community by privileging the private market in the pursuit of capital accumulation (Harvey, 2012). Lastly, I will look at some of the known impacts the gentrification process has had such as loss of community based support networks and community cohesion (Keene and Ruel, 2013; Reid, 2013). Displacement and loss of community and sense of belonging can cause residents to experience feelings of grief for loss of homes and their community (Slater, 2013).

#### 2.2:1 The 'shadow state,' neoliberalism and the gradual privitisation of welfare

In 2014 significant changes were made to New Zealand's state-housing policy. Further details of these policy changes will be outlined in Chapter Three. However, the fundamental shift from 'state' to 'social' housing follows similar trends emerging internationally within public housing policy. These shifts in policy are informed by neoliberal ideologies that encourage welfare-states to gradually withdraw from their role in housing provisioning. This retreat is also facilitated by non-government, not-for-profit or charity organisations filling the gap left behind by the State. This new relationship between the volunteer sector and the State is described by Wolch (1990) as the 'shadow state' and has been shown to further contribute to the neoliberalisation of society through increased emphasis on individual and community rather than state responsibility (Larner, 2009a).

There is no singular definition for neoliberalism, however this thesis will draw on Wendy Larner's (2009b) description of neoliberalism as a shift towards a market orientated approach with minimal state intervention. The neoliberal agenda brought about significant changes to welfare from a Keynesian approach of redistribution (of wealth) to a focus on economic growth. In short, neoliberalism is a political ideology that privileges profit over social well-being. With this change an emphasis is placed on individual choice, personal responsibility and competition. These changes are implemented through urban policy and over the last 30 years this ideology has been

normalised and has since become deeply engrained within urban policy decisions (Larner, 2009b) including New Zealand's recent adjustments to state/social-housing policy.

The transition from state to social housing in the New Zealand context can be considered in terms of restructuring of welfare assistance and a push towards the third sector for support that was previously provided by the State. The 'third sector' is defined by Crampton et al., (2001) as organisations that are non-government and non-profit. These organisations have social aims rather than the market oriented approach of the private sector and tend to involve local community in some way. The restructuring of welfare assistance can be seen to reframe issues such as unemployment, underemployment and poverty as the problem of the individual rather than of society (DeVerteuil, 2006). As the responsibility is shifted and resolution neglected rather than resolved the State's reluctance to intervene has resulted in increased pressure on not-for-profit, volunteer and charity based organisations for the provisioning of basic needs such as shelter and food (Crompton et al., 2001; Fyfe, et al, 2003; Conradson, 2008; Warrrington, 1995). Coinciding with the gradual erosion of welfare services, the third sector has expanded, enabling the state to step back from its role in welfare provisioning (Elwood, 2004; Larner and Craig, 2005; Trudeau, 2008). In its new role as a welfare provider the third sector has been described by Wolch (1990) as the 'shadow state' as the volunteer sector is increasingly required to pick up what is left unattended by the State.

The third sector's position as a welfare provider is still regulated by the State. Governments maintain a level of involvement under this restructuring, however, as Kearns and Joseph (2000) note, the State's involvement is shifted to a management role - controlling the way the third sector operates, in two key ways. Firstly, within the New Zealand context, partnerships are established between local government and community groups, local institutions such as schools and hospitals, (education and healthcare) and local iwi (Larner and Butler, 2005; Larner and Craig, 2005). These new partnerships allow the State access to local communities in ways that

were previously unattainable from a centralised government (Elwood, 2004; Larner and Craig, 2005; Trudeau, 2008).

Secondly, central government maintains control over the day-to-day operations within these third sector organisations both directly and indirectly through contracts and funding grants (Czischke, et al., 2012; Kearns and Collins, 2000; Kearns and Joseph, 2000). Government initiated contracts allow the State a level of direct control because it is the State who sets terms and requirements that organisations are expected to fill (rather than other stakeholders, such as the organisations themselves or the groups whose needs are being provided for). This culture of 'contracting out' creates a new element of competition within the third sector (Kearns, 1998; Kearns and Collins, 2000). This competition then acts to significantly alter the way these third sector groups and organisations operate, the way in which they are run and the types of activities they are engaged in (Larner and Butler, 2005). Prior to these shifts (in policy) not-for-profit organisations were predominantly volunteer-based, grassroots and usually with social justice aims (Beaumont, 2008; Larner and Butler, 2005). However, competing for contracts has contributed to the professionalisation of the sector. As Kearns (1998) claims, competing for contracts has meant that more focus is placed on self- promotion and public relations. Further, more time and energy is tied up in bureaucratic processes such as writing reports and funding applications rather than providing necessary services. Since contracts are limited within a fast growing industry, organisations are also forced to compete with one another and this acts to remove a culture of networking and information sharing therefore hindering the overall effectiveness of some of these services (Kearns, 1998).

#### 2.2:2 The third sector reinforcing neoliberal ideology

The professionalisation of the sector also acts to reinforce the neoliberal agenda in several ways. Firstly, the government's involvement through partnerships and 'contracting out' has repositioned grassroots community based organisations to operate as semi-government organisations (Beaumont, 2008). However, unlike the government, the third sector is not held accountable to the public through democratic processes (Wolch, 1990). Secondly, not-for-profits, grassroots or community groups had sometimes previously acted as spaces for resistance or spoke out in opposition against socially unjust government policies (Fyfe, et al., 2003; Wolch, 1990). However, with the rise of the shadow state more of these groups are financially dependent on the government through funding grants or contracts and consequently less likely to publically oppose government policies (Fyfe, et al., 2003). Thirdly, as Milligan et al., (2011) note, throughout the course of an activist's career there is likely to be movement back and forth between the sectors, third sector organisations and more locally based grass roots groups. Time spent by community activists in roles within government controlled organisations can inform the types of activities they become involved in therefore constructing a particular type of activist.

Lastly, limited funds mean the third sector is only able to support those in need who are in short term or emergency situations rather than providing long-term on-going support (Conradson, 2008; Fyfe, et al, 2005). This crisis-orientated approach to welfare in the form of food banks and emergency housing means that the inequalities produced by neoliberal policies that prioritise profit over social well-being appear less severe. This form of poverty management is described by Wacquant, (1999:1643) as "'Mop[ping] up' the most glaring consequences of poverty and to cushion...its social and spatial impact" (cited in DeVerteuil, 2006:118). The third sector acting as the shadow state and providing urgent support to the most needy masks many of the broader picture causes of problems associated with inequality and changes to welfare provisioning. Through hiding these problems the shadow state enables the welfare state to further decline (Fyfe, et al, 2005). By

'mopping up,' issues of inequality become less visible and therefore people are less likely to resist or oppose changes to welfare.

#### 2.2:3 Housing and the 'shadow state'

New Zealand's Social Housing Reform Act 2014 follows international trends occurring within public housing policy in European and American cities since the 1990s (Czisheke, et al., 2012; Warrington, 1995). With this shift in policy more responsibility is placed on the not-for-profit sector to provide housing for lowincome earners (Czisheke, et al., 2012; Mullins et al., 2012). Newly emerging housing providers can be considered in terms of the 'shadow state'. However, in Australia where the shift to social rather than state-housing occurred in 2009, the social housing sector has inflated into a site for 'big business' (Blessing, 2012). Housing focused organisations are increasingly using a market-based approach to withdraw funding (Bratt, 2012). As the State retreats by reducing funding, these social housing providers tend to adopt a 'hybrid' operating approach (Blessing, 2012; Bratt, 2012; Czisch et al., 2012; Gilmore and Milligan, 2012). The term hybrid is used to explain the cross-over between state, market and the third sector employed by these organisations. Shadow state providers maintain a not-for-profit approach with social goals (Warrington, 1995). Market principles are increasingly used in operation. Further, profit is reinvested into more housing – so while the goal may not be economic growth with a profit focus, the sector still has growth as a goal (Blessing, 2012). As housing has moved towards a hybrid model incorporating approaches across the three sectors the state has gradually begun to withdraw further. Blessing (2012) argues hybridity acts as a transition model as housing provisioning shifts from public to private.

State or publically owned housing stock previously provided low cost or affordable housing to society's lowest income earners including; solo parents, pensioners, long-term unemployed, and disabled people (see Chapter Three). However, the shift towards privatisation in which hybrid social housing providers have adopted some characteristics of the private market has led to the prioritisation of lower to middle

income earners by housing providers (Gilmore and Milligan, 2012; Warrington, 1995). This shift in priority occurs as those on the middle of the socio-economic spectrum can afford to pay higher rent, then allowing for providers to invest in increasing housing stock and allow organisations to expand. As Warrington (1995) claims this type of semi-private housing provisioning then targets a particular type of ideal tenant – usually nuclear families which can then further marginalise those that were prioritised under previous state-housing policies.

#### 2.3 Gentrification: towards a definition

Since the 1990s the gentrification process has been altered due to the changing role of and increasingly neoliberal outlook of the State (Murphy, 2008; Rérat, et al., 2010; Smith, 2002, Watt, 2009). A key characteristic of gentrification since the 1990s is that the process is increasingly supported through urban policy (Smith, 2002). Therefore, recent changes to state/public housing policy play a key role in shaping gentrification projects. The New Zealand government's recent shift from state to social housing with the SHRA (2014) (see Chapter Three) is one example of a policy that supports gentrification. Previously, state or public housing limited the extent to which certain parts of cities could be gentrified (Lees, 2012). However, as shown above, social housing internationally is transitioning from the State to the third sector and incorporating characteristics of the private market (Blessing, 2012). This gradual withdrawal by the government then allows for the sale of state-housing – freeing up parts of the city for the private sector to develop (discussed in Chapter Five). A trait closely associated with third wave gentrification is the active role played by the State (Murphy, 2008; Rérat, et al., 2010; Smith, 2002, Watt, 2009). Before discussing third wave or state-led gentrification this section will briefly outline the key theoretical debates that have taken place amongst urban scholars on the concept of gentrification over the last 50 years.

The term gentrification was originally coined by sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 to describe changes occurring in London's inner city working class suburbs (Atkinson, 2004; Butler and Hamnett, 2009; Howe, 2009; Smith, 2002). The word is derived

from the term 'gentry' meaning the wealthy elite or the upper classes (Oxford English Dictionary, 2014) and 'fi-cation,' which is the noun used for making or becoming (Collins Dictionary, 2014). Therefore, when the term gentrification is used to describe urban change at the neighbourhood level, it is referring to an area being made into a zone for those more wealthy or elite than current tenants to inhabit. Gentrification takes different forms depending on the political, economic, cultural and social climate at a specific place and time, and often each theoretical framework has been influenced by a specific case study (Lees, 2000 cited in Rérat et al., 2010). No city or suburb is gentrified in the same way. Regardless of the way in which gentrification manifests itself it is always focused around the commodification of space (Larsen and Hansen, 2008; Lees, 2012) and the displacement of those who were previously residing in the neighbourhood.

A shift in thinking around the notion of gentrification has occurred since its original definition. Initially, gentrification was understood as a process carried out by individual properties owners and a desire to live closer to the city centre (Watt, 2009). However, definitions of gentrification have also been modified in connection to their political economy, the role of nation states and changing social welfare systems (Atkinson, 2004; Hedin *et al.*, 2011; Smith, 2002). Since neoliberalism has become embedded within political-economic life in many western contexts gentrification has been increasingly shaped by a neo-liberal agenda. Indeed, scholars such as Neil Smith (2002) go so far as to argue that gentrification is the neoliberalisation of urban spaces.

Although gentrification has been defined in numerous ways over the last 50 years, there are four key aspects that urban scholars tend to agree upon. First, gentrification involves the reinvestment of capital. Second, urban spaces are upgraded (usually by high income earners). Third, neighbourhoods are dramatically changed as a result of this reinvestment. Lastly, the process always creates displacement of low-income groups who were previously residing in the area (Davison and Lees, 2000 cited in Lees *et al*, 2010). Third wave gentrification is occurring more frequently as part of a broader neoliberalisation of cities as the

separation between the state and the market becomes increasingly blurred.

Moreover, despite past definitions closely aligning gentrification processes to inner city suburbs, as urban populations grow, gentrification is occurring further out from the city centre. Many residents who were displaced or pushed to the periphery in early stages of gentrification are now once again being pushed to the city's outskirts.

#### 2.4 Production or consumption?

The gentrification process has changed over time and been modified in relation to particular local contexts. As such, urban scholars often attempt to categorise gentrification in terms of waves: first wave, second wave and third wave. The various stages of gentrification will be discussed in more detail later in this section.

Straddling these waves is a key debate amongst gentrification scholars, most notably Neil Smith and David Ley, concerning the significance of production and consumption drivers in gentrification processes. Neil Smith (1996; 2002) argues that gentrification is the movement of capital rather than people – driven by the political economy acting to commodify space. While David Ley (1994) places more emphasis on gentrifers themselves and argues that changes in consumption practices have created the desire for a new service class to live closer to the city centre.

After World War II, the rise of vehicle ownership and the development of motorways and roads facilitated a middle class shift to the suburbs (Latham, 2000). According to Ley (1994) gentrification is the movement of the middle class back to the city. Whereas Neil Smith (1996; 2002) claims this is a movement of capital rather than people. In order to consider these opposing views it is important to first ask, who is the gentry? Ruth Glass's definition claims the gentry is the middle or upper class, however, later definitions have expanded on this and termed this mobile gentry 'the yuppie' (young urban professionals) (Cauldfield, 1989; Wyly and Hammel, 1999). This group is middle class, usually well educated, and often includes couples that have opted to not have children (Cauldfield, 1989; Wyly and Hammel, 1999). Also contributing to the gentrification of inner city suburbs are students, artists and the queer community. The production of gay neighbourhoods occurs in a different

manner to 'yuppie' neighbourhoods. While many gay couples tend to have disposable income that matches that of the yuppie, the move to the city is often a result of marginalisation from the 'nuclear family suburban' lifestyle. While Ley and Smith tend to agree upon who makes up the gentry, the debate in scholarship arises in regard to what motivates this group to move to the city.

For David Ley (1994), this movement is a result of changes to industry, in particular the service class that has risen as part of the shift from manufacturing to service industries. With this new class, came a change in culture. Ley's (1994) argument places an emphasis on the gentrifers; a new emerging class that tends to have higher levels of education and resists the nuclear family norm closely associated with the suburbs. Furthermore, this new group, with more disposable income are attracted to inner city living due to the consumption and leisure opportunities available in bars, restaurants, theatres and cafes that living within close proximity to the city allows access to (Jager, 1986).

As Jager (1986) argues, for the 'new middle class' consumption is crucial in the creation of class distinction. Consumption choices become important in distancing and distinguishing middle class earners from lower income earners. This consumer differentiation is often done through reconstructing and orienting particular products and services towards the new middle class since elite consumption practices are still out of reach for this group (Jager, 1986). Social differentiation is then created through consumption practices, which include investment in housing (including renovations), food choices and leisure activities such as dining in restaurants and taking part in café culture (Jager, 1986; Mansvelt, 2005). These practices then become part of a middle class identity that is further performed through consumption practices (Mansvelt, 2005). According to Jager (1986) place also becomes significant in this strive for a class-based division. Places and neighbourhoods get constructed as a commodity. This commodification of suburbs then plays a role within the gentrification process.

As mentioned above, Neil Smith (1996; 2002) claims gentrification is a movement of capital rather than people. Smith (2002) agrees that the gentrification process is carried out by middle class urban dwellers, however, for Smith (1996; 2002) this movement is motivated by profit rather than consumer preference. Smith's (1979) rent gap theory explains that once an area of the city is no longer worth investing in, landlords or property owners will simply disinvest and move to other parts of the city that can promise a greater return on their investment. This process creates uneven development since services and infrastructure are then channeled to wealthier parts of the city. Since housing is an asset, middle class gentrifers choose neighbourhoods where property values are likely to increase over time.

Production and consumption practices both tend to contribute to the gentrification process. Disinvestment followed by reinvestment in an area by property developers or landlords attracts new interest in the neighbourhood. However, this investment only becomes profitable by attracting the middle class buyers into the area. Consumption spaces that are desirable to the middle class homeowners are crucial within the gentrification process for several reasons. Firstly, cafés, restaurants, upmarket shops act to distinguish the neighbourhood as middle class but also to distance the suburb from its former working class history. Secondly, these new retail spaces play a significant role in the displacement process since as the neighbourhood begins to transform former residents no longer feel at home in the area, thus contributing to indirect displacement. Chapter Five will demonstrate the way both production and consumption are simultaneously contributing to the gentrification of Glen Innes.

#### 2.5:1 Stages of gentrification

The gentrification process is constantly reinventing itself as part of wider changes to the political economy and social norms (Hackworth and Smith, 2001). Urban scholars have identified three waves of gentrification. The first wave begins in the 1950s and lasts until the global recession in 1973 (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Smith, 2002). Post 1973 and throughout the 1980s is considered the second wave of gentrification (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Smith, 2002). Third wave or state-led gentrification became prominent in the 1990s (Hackworth and Smith, 2001). Lees (2008) claims that after the 2007 sub-prime crisis the United States has shown signs of a fourth wave, however, this is less widely agreed upon (cited in van Gent, 2013). At a glance, these stages of gentrification appear temporal. However, gentrification is shaped by the political economy and therefore the processes of gentrification often shift alongside social and cultural changes as well as changes occurring within the global economic system. The wave model provides a broad explanation for different types of gentrification, although these definitions are often critiqued for being too general and ignore locally specific contexts (Lees et al, 2010). Nonetheless, the various waves can provide a useful lens from which to further assess particular case studies.

#### 2.5:2 First wave - the 'back to the city' movement

First wave gentrification describes urban change at the neighbourhood level, usually occurring prior to 1973 (Hackworth and Smith, 2001). This is the type of gentrification that was originally described by Ruth Glass in 1964 (Smith, 2002). These changes were carried out by the middle class's buying up of property, which consequently displaced the neighbourhood's previous working class occupants (Atkinson, 2004; Butler and Hamnett, 2009; Howe, 2009; Smith, 2002). First wave gentrification was defined by Ruth Glass as follows:

One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes—upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages—

two rooms up and two down—have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period—which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation—have been upgraded once again ... Once this process of "gentrification" starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed (Glass, 1964 cited in Smith, 2002:438).

Gentrification during this period was largely carried out by individual actors (the middle class) and tended to be sporadic (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Smith 1996; Smith, 2002). As Neil Smith (1996) notes, at this time gentrification was framed as a positive contribution to the urban environment, as working class neighbourhoods were perceived as sick, decaying and closely associated with poverty. While the postwar era saw a movement of the middle classes to the suburbs, gentrification brought the middle classes 'back to the city.' In addition, during this period there was a growing middle class and an overall shift from renting to private property ownership amongst this group (O'Hanlon and Hamnett, 2009). This can be considered in terms of a Keynesian welfare state that prioritised affordable housing for working class families, encouraging class mobility. Reinvesting in inner city suburbs that had been run down due to landlords' disinvestment was often cheaper than building or buying new property in the suburbs (Smith, 1976). Or alternatively, as Ley (1994) would argue, changes to family structure, more women engaging in paid work and the post-industrial city created the desire for middle class workers to live closer to the city centre.

Auckland's inner city suburb of Ponsonby provides a useful example of the first wave of gentrification. Prior to World War II Auckland's inner city suburbs were mostly occupied by Pākeha, middle class workers. However, after the war, new motorways and high rates of vehicle ownership accommodated a middle class shift to the suburbs (Latham, 2000; Lees and Berg, 1995; Friesen, 2009). Those left behind or recently arriving in the city were Māori migrating from rural areas and Pacific Island

immigrants, arriving in New Zealand to work in the manufacturing industry (Latham, 2000; Lees and Berg, 1995; Friesen, 2009). Since the 'white flight' of the post war period meant those left in the inner city were usually low-income working class, Ponsonby shops and houses declined. Smith (1996; 2002) would argue this is a result of disinvestment of capital, now being reinvested in outer city suburbs by middle class workers.

However, the 1970s once again brought a shift in the demographic of those living in inner city suburbs such as Ponsonby (Latham, 2000; Lees and Berg, 1995; Friesen, 2009). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s young professionals (or 'Yuppies') were looking at buying their first homes and were attracted to cheap house prices. According to Latham (2000) early gentrifers in Ponsonby were not the wealthiest group, but rather modest income earners such as nurses, university lecturers, students and architects, attracted to the inner city suburbs due to affordable housing prices in addition to an alternative lifestyle from the suburban, nuclear family norm. Areas like Ponsonby appealed to this group due to its close proximity to the city centre, which facilitated the consumption culture of restaurants, cafés and bars. Gay communities were also moving into inner city suburbs such as Ponsonby and the nearby suburb of Grey Lynn, further contributing to the gentrification process. The gentrification of Auckland's inner city suburbs occurred gradually throughout the 1970s and 1980s. One by one the houses were bought and renovated by middle class residents moving in. Eventually the landscape reflected this changing demographic with once run-down abandoned shop fronts slowly replaced with trendy cafes, bars and restaurants (Latham, 2000).

#### 2.5:3 Second Wave – gentrification, the welfare reforms and polarisation

During its second wave, gentrification had become commonplace in most urban centres (Hackworth and Smith, 2001). The social, political and economic restructuring of cities contributed to this trend (Smith, 1996). The 1970s saw a shift away from manufacturing as the primary industry in many urban centres (Butler and Hamnett, 2009; Howe, 2009; Watt, 2013). This shift brought about an increase in service sectors meaning more people were employed in managerial and professional roles (Butler and Hamnett, 2009; Smith, 1996; Watt, 2013). Changes to industry consequently brought a change in class structures – this facilitated growth in the middle class (Butler and Hamnett, 2009; O'Hanlon and Hamnett, 2009; Smith, 1996; Watt, 2013). Another factor that contributed to changing class structures was changing gender roles; more women engaging in the paid workforce led to increases in household incomes for some families (Smith, 1996). These changes contributed to cities becoming spaces of consumption rather than production. Cities had now become a more desirable place for middle class workers to reside.

Political resistance and opposition to gentrification was the strongest during the second stage of gentrification (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Smith, 1996; Smith, 2002). This is perhaps because this phase was more intense than the last one as it brought with it high levels of displacement which, in the United States in particular, resulted in increased homelessness, making the impact of gentrification more visible (Smith, 1996). While first wave of gentrification tended to be sporadic, by the second wave gentrification had become commonplace. The shift to inner city suburbs had become the norm for middle class workers.

Second wave gentrification was most prominent during the 1980s and 1990s, coinciding with welfare reforms that gradually removed the 'safety net' and reduced the State's role in housing provisioning. This meant the State became involved in the gentrification process. As Lees and Berg (1995) point out, Auckland saw an increased spatial polarisation between rich and poor throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Areas of

Auckland's inner city such as Ponsonby, Freeman's Bay, Herne Bay and Parnell had been areas that were occupied by state-housing tenants. During the first wave of gentrification in Auckland, inner city state-housing tenants were protected under security of tenure. However, changes to state-housing policy in the early 1990s introduced market rent. Since the middle class desire to live close to the city centre had become the norm, this brought about an increase in rents and property prices. Increased rent and rates left those within the lower income bracket, including statehousing tenants, little choice but to relocate. This meant the demographic of inner city suburbs was now primarily white middle class while Māori and Pacific Island residents (who during this period were mostly low-wage workers) were pushed to the periphery where market rents and property prices were more affordable. Lees and Berg (1995) explain that between 1986 and 1991 there was an ethnic change within Auckland with Maori and Pacific Island populations moving to then outer city suburbs such as Penrose, Glen Innes, Pt. England, Oranga/Te Papa, Mt Wellington, Tamaki, Otahuhu, Mangere and Wesley, which also saw a related decrease in Pākeha populations.

#### 2.5:4 Third Wave/ State-led gentrification – neoliberal urban policy

The most notable aspect of third wave gentrification is the changing role played by the State (Murphy, 2008; Rérat, et al., 2010; Smith, 2002). Prior to the 1990s the State played a minimal role in gentrification and in fact in many cases actually prevented areas of the city from becoming gentrified (Watt, 2009). Social housing owned by local governments meant desirable parts of the city were kept out of reach from the private market (Watt, 2009). However, neoliberal governance and changes to social welfare meant these properties were now made available to private investors (Watt, 2009; Watt, 2013). Under State-led gentrification private property developers and local governments work together to profit from the gentrification of neighbourhoods (Smith, 2002). Individual actors are still involved in the third stage of gentrification through creating a demand (Rérat, et al., 2010). The changing role of the State in the gentrification process meant that by the 1990s gentrification strategies had become embedded in local and national urban policy

(Smith, 2002). As a result the third wave of gentrification, unlike previous waves, tends to be more planned (Smith, 2002; van Gent, 2013). Third wave gentrification and neo-liberal ideology are closely entwined (Lees, 2012). As Neil Smith (1996) puts it, although gentrification exists prior to privatisation, the gentrification process thrives in a climate of privatisation. According to Lees (2012) the influence of neoliberalism means this stage, unlike the previous stages, is difficult to resist.

Auckland's CBD has two current examples of third-wave gentrification. Collins (2010) argues that New Zealand's migration and education policy led to an increase in the number of international students in Auckland, which altered the urban landscape resulting in the 'studentification' of the CBD. The influx of international student migration in the early 2000s resulted in the development of low-cost, low quality, high-rise apartment buildings, a growth in educational facilities, and changes to consumption spaces in central Auckland. Auckland Council imposed minimal planning restrictions on these new development projects, thus providing favourable conditions for private developers and international investors in this process (Collins, 2010). A second example of state-led gentrification is the redevelopment of Auckland's Viaduct Harbour (Murphy, 2008). The gentrification of Auckland's waterfront can be considered as an extension of the gentrification of the nearby previously mentioned suburb of Ponsonby (Murphy, 2008). However, in this example the State played an active role in the early stages of the Viaduct's redevelopment. Auckland city invested \$120 million of public funds into redeveloping the Viaduct Harbour to host the America's Cup in the year 2000. The Viaduct Harbour was then transformed into a site of elite consumption, up-market restaurants and tourism. This initial investment by the State stimulated private investment in the Viaduct, which included the development of exclusive apartment buildings (Murphy, 2008).

While other types of gentrification are still occurring, state-led gentrification has become increasingly common within the neoliberal city. New Zealand's recent changes to state-housing policy reflect global trends of the state playing an active role within the gentrification process. The New Zealand government has recently made changes to its housing policy to remove security of tenure from state-owned

houses. This allows for residents to be evicted more easily, facilitating the sale of houses or land in desirable parts of the city. As the population of Auckland continues to grow outward, areas that were once nearer to the periphery of the city are becoming increasingly desirable for middle class workers. Auckland's inner East suburbs of Glen Innes, Panmure and Point England (suburbs where many of those displaced in the first wave of gentrification retreated to) have become recent targets of gentrification through the Tāmaki Regeneration Project (see Chapters Three and Five).

### 2.6 Displacement

A direct result of gentrification is the displacement of a neighbourhood's previous occupants. As Neil Smith (1979; 1996) argues the process of gentrification is a movement of capital rather than people. Neil Smith's (1979) rent gap theory is a useful way of thinking about how capital is moved around in the gentrification process. According to Smith (1979), landlords who invest in properties receive a return in the form of rent. Often the landlord has less incentive to carry out necessary repairs since this reduces profit margins. Landlords tend to maintain houses to the minimal level necessary to allow for rent to be collected (Smith, 1979). In a declining market landlords will simply disinvest in their properties if the maintenance costs outweigh the rental price (Smith, 1979). This, according to Smith (1979), is when gentrification occurs since shells can be sold cheaply and rejuvenated or in some cases simply rebuilt when the land is perhaps worth more. Since gentrification occurs in declining markets – those being displaced tend to be low-income vulnerable groups such as women, sole parents, the elderly, unemployed or underemployed. As Shaw (2000) argues, there is often also a link to ethnicity. Displacements then act to further marginalise this group since community and social networks are particularly important to low-income earners (Chapter Six). Further, low-income earners have fewer affordable options available to them on the housing market.

Displacement occurs in the gentrification process in a number of ways and residents can be displaced either directly or indirectly (Watt, 2009). Low income residents may be directly pressured to leave their homes through housing demolitions, increases in rent (or rates), or eviction by the landlord (Atkinson, 2004; Rérat, et al., 2010; Watt, 2009; Watt, 2013). Since gentrification is a process that works its way outwards from the city centre (Smith, 2002) rent and property prices may also increase in neighbouring suburbs (Atkinson, 2004), thus making remaining in the general area difficult for low-income groups. However, displacement may also occur more subtly, when their family and friends are priced out of the area, residents may choose to leave due to a loss of sense of community, neighbourhood resources and social networks (Atkinson, 2004; Rérat, et al., 2010; Watt, 2009; Watt, 2013). The latter form of displacement is often referred to as 'displacement pressure' (Atkinson, 2004). This can occur in a number of ways. Firstly, new shops, businesses and facilities geared towards middle class occupants may make the neighbourhood less liveable for low-income residents (Watt, 2013). Another aspect of displacement may occur through political representation. Middle class gentrifers tend to have more political agency and therefore have more control over local political agendas, this can act to further marginalise the low-income occupants (Atkinson, 2004). Middle class gentrifers then become the 'voice' of the neighbourhood. This allows gentrifers to serve their own interests in ways that may not necessarily benefit or represent everyone in the community.

The costs associated with the gentrification process are often hidden, as negative impacts such as displacement are not easy to measure (Atkinson, 2004; Howe, 2009; Lees, 2012). This is especially true for factors such as loss of home, sense of place, community and neighbourhood (Atkinson, 2004) that contribute to displacement pressure. Another aspect that makes displacement less obvious is that it is often mediated by welfare systems in ways that can lessen the severity of gentrification's impacts. This was the case with gentrification in Auckland's inner city neighbourhoods since the lowest income earners being displaced were often statehousing tenants. The State then often assisted with the relocation of this group (Atkinson, 2004; Lees, 2012) moving residents into new social housing built on the periphery.

This is especially true for state-led gentrification since the State's heavy role requires local governments to consider what to do with those displaced (Lees, 2012). However, this relocation is problematic in the sense that moving residents out of the area (often to the outskirts of the city where land is less valuable) means displacement effects such as loss of community, sense of belonging and place are unseen. The hidden nature of this does mean that state-led gentrification is less likely to be opposed or resisted by tenants. As previously mentioned, the second wave met the highest level of resistance since it produced an influx of homelessness (especially in the United States where there is less social welfare support available) (Atkinson, 2004). However, the State's mediation role in the third wave of gentrification means these social costs can remain hidden to the wider public and local governments can continue to frame gentrification in a positive light using language such as urban renewal.

# 2.7 The language of gentrification

As mentioned above, second wave gentrification met significant levels of resistance. Negative impacts such as the growth of homelessness through displacement had become apparent and well-known (Smith, 1996; Smith, 2002). Anti-gentrification movements emerged during this period, such as squatting (Smith, 2002). In response to this resistance, new discourses used in urban policy attempt to mask negative impacts and frame gentrification in a positive light (Atkinson, 2004; Smith, 1996; 2002). Since the term gentrification has become increasingly recognised as having negative connotations, terms such as rejuvenation and regeneration are used within urban policy (Smith, 2002). Gentrification is presented as a solution to urban problems such as overpopulation, poor amenities, and poverty (Atkinson, 2004). Social mixing or mixed income housing is one way gentrification is reframed as a positive solution to urban problems (Atkinson, 2004).

Further, urban regeneration (gentrification) is often presented as a solution to problems related to poverty and class inequality. Rather than addressing these issues at their core, social mixing and social balance is framed by governments and

developers as a logical answer. Social mixing is then discussed as a social benefit associated with regeneration projects (Atkinson, 2004; Lees, 2012; Smith; 2002; van der Graff, and Velboer, 2009). Governments and developers then make a case for gentrification through claiming that the de-ghettoization of inner city suburbs by placing 'high achieving' middle class residents will provide a positive influence on existing residents and therefore reduce social problems such as crime and drug use (van der Graff and Valboer, 2009). However, as both Atkinson (2004) and Smith (2002) point out, this is not necessarily the case since the white middle class residents tend to take control of local neighbourhood politics. This can mean ethnic minorities and low-income residents are underrepresented in local politics and as a result there is likelihood that this group will become further marginalised (Smith, 2002; van der Graff and Valboer, 2009). Additionally, social mixing will supposedly provide ethnic minorities and low-income earners with educational and employment opportunities they were not previously exposed to (van der Graff and Velboer, 2009). However, there is very little evidence that suggests this type of social mixing actually occurs at neighbourhood level (Lees, 2012; van der Graff, and Velboer, 2009). Social mixing does not necessarily improve class inequalities but rather simply redistributes poverty, making class inequality appear less obvious.

'Pepper potting' applied a similar logic to social mixing and was used in early state-housing developments. New Zealand's earlier state-housing policies placed a number of state-houses in wealthier neighbourhoods in the hope that Māori families could be assimilated into Pākeha culture (Morrison, 1995). Under the housing reforms of the 1990s these houses were sold to the private market (see Chapter Three). However, as these state-houses were sold, 'pepper potting' was no longer considered a successful approach in overcoming social problems (Morrison, 1995). Furthermore, it is important to note, social mixing only tends to occur within inner city neighbourhoods with a high population of ethnic minorities (van der Graff, and Velboer, 2009). As Shaw (2000) argues the gradual influx of white middle class residents to Sydney's suburb of Redfern – a public housing settlement established for displaced Aboriginal populations can be considered 'white washing' rather than encouraging social mixing. Urban decay, issues of colonisation and poverty that were previously visible in Redfern are then covered up by renovation and rejuvenation as

white gentrifers move into the neighbourhood. Further, as Smith (1996 cited in Shaw, 2000) points out, gentrification in areas where indigenous populations reside can be considered as a land grab or a new form of urban colonisation.

Goetz (2013) argues public or state-housing is delegitimised through particular discourses. These discourses are constructed to justify policy changes such as a shift from state to social housing. Goetz (2013) identifies three key narratives used. Firstly, through pathologising state housing by portraying housing stock as decaying, obsolete and closely associated with crime, poverty and drugs. By presenting state-houses as sick and decaying the public sector can construct removal or rebuilding as a positive solution (see Chapter Five). Secondly, framing state-housing areas as communities of concentrated poverty can then allow for mixed housing, social mixing or mixed income housing to be framed as a benefit to the impoverished community. Thirdly, positioning housing stock as obsolete can also justify the sale or removal of state-houses. This argument frames the houses as no longer suited to provide for a families' needs. Houses are deemed incorrectly sized for the communities' needs and therefore no longer an efficient use of space.

### 2.8 Gentrification and place-creation

The re-naming of places is another way in which language is used to justify the gentrification process. Language plays a key role in place creation. As Kearns *et al.*, (2003) argue, through naming, a set of norms is imprinted on the landscape. These norms may reflect power dynamics such as class, ethnicity, gender and colonial or religious relations. Further, place names come with a set of meanings attached to them. Berg and Kearns (1996), for example, have contrasted different Auckland suburbs, Remuera, Mission Bay and Parnell as neighbourhoods that portray elite landscapes of white heteronormative families, and suburbs such as Mangere, Otahuhu and Papatoetoe that depict working class, low socio-economic communities with a high proportion of Pacific Island and Māori residents. The

renaming of a suburb within the gentrification process can be a powerful tool in place-(re)creation as this can distance a neighbourhood from the negative connotations attached to the suburb's previous name (Berg and Kearns, 1996; Kearns *et al.*, 2003). Further, reintroducing original Māori names can reflect current race relations. Throughout the 1990s original Māori names were revived as part of the land rights movement. However, this renaming met a level of resistance from a number of local Pākeha and as Berg and Kearns (1996) note, the controversy around reintroducing original Māori names carries racist undertones. Reintroducing Māori place names has also received support by sympathetic Pākeha (Berg and Kearns, 1996).

Real estate agents and property developers often use place names to reconstruct place. Media such as real estate advertisements are then used as a tool to reinforce these new meanings (Opit and Kearns, 2014). Another strategy used in place creation is the through evoking the coast. As Collins and Kearns (2008) point out the coast within the New Zealand context has become increasingly associated with wealth and represents exclusion. Therefore by referencing the coast in place names, neighbourhoods are reconstructed as elite landscapes, increasing land values (Collins and Kearns, 2008; Opit and Kearns, 2014). However, Opit and Kearns (2014) also claim that using affordability simultaneously with symbols of the coast to market a place, such as Hobsonville, can play on a sense of nostalgia for a time in New Zealand's history when the coast was accessible to the majority of New Zealand and represented the nation as a 'classless' society.

# 2.9 The right to the city

State-led gentrification projects have been supported by shifts in urban policy such as the transition from state to social housing. These policies are driven by neoliberal ideology that prioritises profit over people. As shown in the previous section, a key aspect of the gentrification process is the displacement of marginalised groups from their communities. The right to the city argument provides a useful lens through which to consider the way in which these policy shifts and gentrification processes impact on people and the communities they are displaced from.

The right to the city argument has been adopted by a number of critical urban theorists. While approaches and definitions have varied, right to the city scholarship has re-emerged around the idea that the city under neoliberalism has reached a point of crisis (Harvey, 2008). Right to the city scholarship initially emerged from the work of French Marxist Philosopher, Henri Lefebvre. While the 'Right to the City' was written in Paris in 1968, Lefebvre was not directly involved in the May Day uprising – student and worker occupations of Paris institutions in 1968. Lefebvre however, supported the events of May Day, claiming this was an example of workers taking back a city that was rightfully theirs (Merrifield, 2002). 'The strength of the return of workers pushed to the outskirts and peripheries, their re-conquest of the city ...[of] this oeuvre which had been torn from them' (Lefebvre, 1996 cited in Merrifield, 2002:85). Although Lefebvre supported the protestors, he was critical of the timing. Further, Lefebvre was widely critiqued by his peers for his lack of involvement within the May Day occupations (Merrifield, 2002). Lefebvre's work on the right to the city emerged out of the gentrification or urban renewal of central Paris by the bourgeoisie, which pushed workers out of the city to the outskirts (Merrifield, 2002). For Lefebvre, the right to the city is the right to access the gentrified city centre, but this extends to accessing urban life. Lefebvre's notion of right to the city has since been used as a way to discuss a range of urban issues such as gentrification, immigration, housing, citizenship, public space, social exclusion and as a critique of urban policies (Attoh, 2011).

# 2.10 Defining the 'city' - the core and periphery

Central to Lefebvre's argument is the redefinition of the term city. Lefebvre (1996) reconceptualises this term in two key ways. Firstly, Lefebvre (1996) uses the term 'city' in reference to the 'old city.' By this Lefebvre (1996) means the city prior to industrialisation. Within the pre-industrial city, the city is considered in binary opposition to the village much like the rural/urban is often used dichotomously. After industrialisation, Lefebvre (1996) argues the nature of cities changed significantly, which meant cities could no longer be defined in terms of geographical boundaries. Rather, the city absorbs everything in pursuit of capital accumulation (Lefebvre, 1996). As industry moved into city centres, capitalists, banks, markets and workers followed, resulting in a concentrated urban core (Lefebvre, 1996). As capitalism extends outwards the urban absorbs the rural – the rural providing necessary recourses for urban life. The rural and urban have become entwined, therefore rather than using the term 'city', Lefebvre (1996) uses the term urban fabric or urban systems to describe this urban extension. The urban, according to Lefebvre (1996) is made up of society, the state and the city. Influenced by Lefebvre's work, Peter Marcuse (2009) and Andy Merrifield (2011) also recognise the sprawling nature of cities and no longer refer to the city but rather the urban or urban fabric. For Merrifield (2011) rural and urban boundaries have become increasingly blurred as the rural and urban merge politically and economically. Merrifield (2011) argues that the constant extension of the urban in search of capital accumulation in a globalised political economy has resulted in the breakdown of nation states and national boundaries.

The second way Lefebvre (1996) uses the term city is in reference to an urban core. This centralised urban core is where the majority of economic exchanges and political decision making processes are carried out. Further, the core is a key site for activities such as tourism, consumption, institutional centres, knowledge and training, leisure and culture. The core or city centre is thus where the majority of wealth and resources are channeled. In opposition to the core, each city has a periphery (Lefebvre, 1996). The urban elite tends to reside within close proximity to

the gentrified urban core, whereas those on the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum tend to be pushed towards the periphery (Merrifield, 2002). Due to this spatial polarisation of wealth, the core is privileged over the periphery in terms of investment and access to resources (Merrifield, 2011). This uneven distribution of wealth creates two worlds – the centre as a site of concentrated affluence while the outskirts become a site of marginalisation (Merrifield, 2011). For Lefebvre, the right to the city is the right to engage in life at the urban core (Merrifield, 2002; 2011).

Merrifield (2011) argues that there are multiple cores and peripheries, as people tend to create their own centres based on social relations, support networks, housing, places of work and community ties. Therefore, the displacement of people from their communities can be considered as exclusion from their societies. This social exclusion is further reinforced since those most likely to be displaced are those unable to afford private property ownership or increasing market rents, therefore through class status and an eroding welfare system they are constantly pushed to the outskirts and/or parts of the city that have been financially disinvested.

The right to the city has become an umbrella term for the reassertion of a number of rights that have been removed or diminished for the majority of the population in the pursuit of profit that drives neoliberalism (Marcuse 2009). These rights include; socioeconomic rights, the right to the city as a collective – including the right to publically protest, the right to housing (or quality affordable housing), transportation, liberty rights, the right to access recourses, the right to public space, the right to freedom from surveillance, the right to political inclusion, the right to community (Attoh, 2011), the right to a government that communicates and includes its citizens in political processes, and the right to access the city centre (Marcuse, 2009). Additionally, for David Harvey (2003; 2008; 2011) this inclusion in democratic decision-making includes the right to change and shape the city. While this seems to be an extensive list, the notion of the right to the city is not limited solely to these rights. However, for the purpose of this thesis the right to the city is considered in terms of the right to participation and appropriation, including the right to remain in

place, that is, in the suburbs and neighbourhoods where communities and support networks have been established. Those who are living in state-housing are in the most vulnerable positions in the sense of being unable to afford home ownership or market rent to remain in place and therefore are the most likely to be pushed to the outskirts. In the case of New Zealand's current welfare system this is most likely to be society's most vulnerable – the long term unemployed, including: those on sickness and disability benefits, sole parents (predominantly women) and the elderly.

### 2.11 Accumulation by dispossession

The city under neoliberalism prioritises profit over all other rights (Harvey, 2003; 2008; 2012). The displacement of low-income earners from their communities is an example of property rights taking preference over people's right to remain in place. This privileging of private property rights excludes those who are unable to own their own homes and therefore displacement and the right to remain in place is often conceptualised in terms of a class struggle (Brenner et al., 2009; Harvey 2003; 2008; 2012). Capitalism is oriented around one goal, the accumulation of more capital, however, in order to achieve this, a scarcity of resources is required (Harvey, 2003; 2008; 2012). If a particular resource is not considered to be scarce it is no longer profitable and hence can undermine capitalist processes. In order to prevent this from happening, surplus capital must be absorbed. Harvey (2008) claims cities have always played a crucial role in the absorption of surplus capital. This is achieved through reinvesting in infrastructure or redevelopment of parts of the city. Urban restructuring that is focused on absorbing surplus whilst generating a profit is termed by Harvey (2008) 'creative destruction'. This process always contains a class dimension since it is the underprivileged – who are marginalised from political power – that suffer first throughout this process.

The neoliberal city considers the best use of land to be the use that produces the highest profit margins. However, this profit is often derived from displacing previous communities in a process David Harvey (2003; 2008) refers to as 'accumulation by dispossession'. Through restructuring or reinvesting in areas, low-wage workers,

single parent families or unemployed are priced out of an area through increased property prices, rates or market rents (Harvey, 2008). The displaced are then left with little choice but to move to parts of the city (usually on the outskirts) where property prices are lower (Harvey, 2008). State-housing conflicts with this process in a number of ways since it firstly absorbs and redistributes the surplus capital. However, at the same time this lessens the scarcity of housing and lowers rental or property prices in a particular area therefore mitigating some effects of the logic of capital accumulation.

# 2.12 Community impacts of dispossession

Moving people involuntarily from their homes or neighbourhoods is wrong. Regardless of whether it results from government or private market action, forced displacement is characteristically a case of people without the economic and political power to resist being pushed out by people with greater resources and power, who think they have a 'better' use for a certain building, piece of land, or neighborhood. The pushers benefit. The pushees do not (Hartman, Keating and LeGates, 1982: 4-5 cited in Slater, 2009: 386).

Displacement or relocation of state or public housing residents can have a significant impact on communities. As Keene and Ruel (2013) point out, relocation can fracture well-established social ties and community support networks. This break-up of communities can be particularly problematic for aging populations, women, sole parents, and those living with disabilities that are most likely to be residing in state-housing communities. As Keene and Ruel (2013) notes, for many vulnerable populations such as older people, the community can act as an extended family and support network, which is crucial for well-being, especially for those with health conditions. For example, aging residents are less mobile and more dependent on family members living close by or neighbours for necessary transport, such as trips to the doctor (Keene and Ruel, 2013). Often state-housing tenants have lived in the area for generations with adult children and grandchildren remaining in the neighbourhood. Older residents with health concerns may also require checking in on from family

and friends in event of a potential fall or stroke (Keene and Ruel, 2013). Women are also a vulnerable group affected by the break-up of communities. As Reid (2013) argues, loss of community and support networks can leave women vulnerable to domestic violence. Further, sole parents may rely on well-established community support for child-care assistance (Reid, 2013).

State-housing residents can also have strong feelings of place-attachment (Slater, 2013). Strong ties to place have often been well established over years of tenancy. Destroying these communities through displacement can have devastating effects for the former residents (Slater, 2009). Strong ties to place can result in a range of emotions when residents are displaced including pain, bitterness, feelings of disruption, and grief. As a number of old public or state-houses are considered obsolete by developers and the State, many are torn down and replaced completely. This can invoke feelings of grief from the previous occupants, grieving for the loss of their former homes (Slater, 2009). Relocation can also be traumatic for those displaced and many residents experience grief post relocation. Further, evicted residents often experience physical trauma and nervous breakdowns, feelings of isolation, and feeling like outsiders in their new and old neighbourhoods. Slater (2009) also claims that older tenants who have been relocated are particularly traumatised by the move and details tenants who passed away soon after relocation occurred.

Gentrification has a significant impact on local schools and these effects extend beyond the schools to have an effect on community cohesion (DeSena, 2006). Local schools play a key role in community beyond their educational activities. Schools act as quasi-public spaces where parents meet up, exchange information and provide one another emotional support (Witten *et al.*, 2001; Witten *et al.*, 2007). School grounds also function as a community resource, a space to hold public meetings, and swimming pools and sports fields are used recreationally by local residents (Witten *et al.*, 2001; Witten, *et al.*, 2007). As DeSena (2006) argues, gentrification can disrupt this community cohesion since gentrifers with higher incomes often move into the area but send their children to private schools or public schools with a

better reputation in nearby neighbourhoods. Gentrifers' decisions on education contribute to the break down in community connectivity in two key ways. Firstly, since schools act as social spaces for parents to connect and network, sending children to schools outside of the community further contributes to an us/them binary between the gentrifers and lower-income residents (DeSena, 2006). Further exacerbating this segregation, children are separated based on class and ethnicity, ethnic minorities from lower incomes are left behind while middle class, usually white, children are sent to private schools. Secondly, since gentrifers are unlikely to enroll their children in local schools, this results in a drop in student numbers at local schools as former students are displaced from the neighbourhood. This decline in student numbers can eventually result in the closure of local schools (DeSena, 2006; Witten, et al., 2001). School closures have negative impacts on community cohesion since a key meeting place is removed from the community, further contributing to the break down of community support networks (Witten, et al., 2001). Closures also have negative impact on children who are required to move schools. Relocating children has been known to disrupt academic studies. Further, moving schools can be stressful as students may lose friends in the transition, and making new friends and fitting into a new school can be challenging (Witten et al., 2001). The closure of schools can also lead to further displacement in the area, as families may need to move to other suburbs for children to attend other schools.

# 2.13 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced four themes within the literature that will shape the research for the remainder of this thesis. First, this chapter has positioned changes within New Zealand's state-housing policy within international policy trends. These trends involve a shift towards a 'shadow state', with the State reducing its role in welfare provisioning (Wolch, 1990). In terms of housing, a 'hybrid' approach is used which includes adopting operational models used within both the third and private sectors (Blessing, 2012). Secondly, the State has become a key player within the gentrification of neighbourhoods. The government's role in this process is supported by urban policy. The reduction in public housing stock frees up land for the private

market (Lees, 2012). Thirdly, Henri Lefebvre's right to the city argument provides a useful framework to consider the way in which neoliberal policies privilege the accumulation of capital over all other rights. Lastly, gentrification projects and displacement have significant consequences for community cohesion. The disruption of community, family and social ties can have a detrimental impact on both those displaced from and those left behind in gentrified neighbourhoods.

These theoretical approaches are useful in considering the current redevelopment project unfolding in Glen Innes, Auckland. While changes to state-housing policy were implemented after the renewal had already begun, these shifts in policy support long-term aims of the redevelopment. As gentrification displaces people from their homes and communities, the right to the city literature allows the rights that are revoked within these projects to be explored – an aspect that is often ignored by developers and policy makers. The remainder of this thesis will consider the changes to New Zealand's state-housing policy, discuss the methodology used in this research, and explore the processes of displacement. The next chapter will outline New Zealand's state-housing history and the particular ideologies that have informed changes to housing policy, along with some of the key impacts associated with the different housing policies. Glen Innes and its redevelopment will also be discussed as a case study for this research project.

# Chapter Three: New Zealand's state housing history: recent changes to policy and Glen Innes, Auckland

#### 3.1. Introduction

In April 2014 New Zealand's National-led government implemented a number of significant changes to the nation's state-housing policy. These changes will ultimately reduce the number of state-owned houses and allow the government to gradually withdraw from its role in housing provision. This situation will initially shift the State's responsibility to the third sector (not-for-profit/charity organisations) with the aim of eventually including the private market in the provisioning of 'social' housing. There are a number of key implications associated with this new housing model for New Zealand's most vulnerable groups such as sole parents, poorer retirees, the unemployed and long-term beneficiaries. Firstly, more dependence on the private sector will lead to increases in rental prices and further entrench housing-related poverty (Johnson, 2013). Secondly, renewable tenancies and instabilities within the private rental sector will increase transience amongst those at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum. This transience will result in loss of community and social support networks for these people. And, lastly, these changes are likely to result in uneven spatial effects as low income earners are pushed to the outskirts of New Zealand's urban centres where land values and, in turn, rents are slightly lower, therefore making employment opportunities less accessible (as jobs tend to be clustered more centrally).

In 2013, access to housing in New Zealand was at a point of crisis, with over 30 percent of the population struggling to find quality, affordable housing (Johnson, 2013). Indeed, New Zealand rated second (to Greece) within the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) for the highest levels of disposable income spent on housing (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). There were also over 10, 000 eligible people on waiting lists for occupancy of the 69, 000 state-owned houses (Housing New Zealand, 2013). In an attempt to deal with this housing shortage, the

Social Housing Reform Bill 2013 was passed into law in November 2013 and came into force in April 2014 (New Zealand Government, 2013). Although it was claimed the reforms would address the current housing affordability crisis, the Act does not mention increasing housing stock (Housing Restructuring and Tenancy Matters Amendment, 2013). Rather, at the time of writing, these reforms are set to dramatically change the way in which New Zealand's state-owned housing is managed and distributed. These changes are aimed at reducing the role played by Housing New Zealand (HNZ) and shifting responsibilities to the third sector as 'social housing providers.' The purpose of this chapter is to situate this thesis in relation to these shifts in housing policy and their implications for residents in Glen Innes. In order to gain insight into the significance of the current changes, a brief historical overview of New Zealand's complex state-housing history is first presented.

The New Zealand government has played a role in providing housing since the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, prior to the welfare state being established. The shifts in policy since then and the changing level of state intervention can be aligned with broader shifts within the global political economy and the particular ideologies that inform them. This chapter will survey the changes over time examining five key periods in New Zealand's state-housing history: the early 1900s, the 1930s, the 1990s the early 2000s and, most recently, 2014 - with the SHRA (2014). The implications of these policy changes will be explored throughout this chapter. The recent changes will then be considered in the context of Glen Innes where redevelopment projects have been underway since 2010. These projects were initiated by central and local government, working in partnership with a private development company.

# 3.2. The Liberal Government 'experimental years' of state housing 1905-1934

The New Zealand government became half-heartedly involved in the provisioning of housing in 1905, with the passing of the Workers Dwelling Act. Housing had reached a point of crisis as New Zealand's population was rapidly growing, placing pressure on Wellington's inner city housing stock. Other major urban centres, such as Auckland were not facing similar housing issues at this time. This housing shortage had become problematic for the Liberal Government of the time - for a number of reasons. Firstly, the high cost of rent and 'slum like' conditions were negatively impacting upon New Zealand's international reputation as a 'classless' society' and had the potential to deter new migrants (Ferguson, 1994). Overcrowded conditions had become a public health issue. 'Moral unrest' associated with overpopulated cities had also become a concern. Lastly, the 'garden city' had become a popular concept that led to the development and idealisation of suburban living (Ferguson, 1994). In accordance with this trend, worker housing was built in newly developing suburbs in the hope of moving workers out of the inner city.



**Figure 3.1:** First worker's house in Petone 1910 designed for married workers with children (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2014).

The 1905 Workers Dwelling Act was designed to provide affordable rental accommodation to low-wage workers (Ferguson, 1994; Schrader, 2005). The first state-owned rental houses under this Act were built in Petone (on the outskirts of Wellington) in 1906 (Ferguson, 1994; Schrader, 2005). Since the houses were reasonably far from the city centre, where land values were lower, workers often had to commute considerable distances. Additional transport costs meant the new houses proved to be no more affordable for low-income workers than the rentals already available (Schrader, 2005). Therefore, the state's early intervention into the provisioning of rental housing was considered unsuccessful. It is important to point out that this early workers' housing assistance was geared toward Pākeha, middle class, nuclear families (see figure 3.1) rather than those on the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum such as single women and retirees (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2014). (The majority of Māori were living rurally at this time as the rural-urban migration of Māori did not occur until after World War Two (Barcham, 1998).) Further, as noted, the suburbs at this time were framed as the ideal place for the

middle classes to reside (Ferguson, 1994). Therefore, workers who could afford to commute were shifting out to the suburbs while those on lower incomes (e.g. women) or unemployed remained in the city centre. As a result, the central city during this period had increasingly become a site of social marginalisation.

At this time the government was also more actively involved in supporting home ownership through providing low interest loans to workers (Murphy, 2003; Schrader, 2005; Thorns, 1986). However, these loans were only made accessible to a particular kind of worker, excluding those who were deemed unreliable to pay back the loan. This criterion excluded Māori, single women and retirees, whilst favouring the Pākeha man with the nuclear family as the ideal homeowner. Despite caution with lending criteria, high levels of unemployment during the Great Depression meant many workers defaulted on their mortgages, placing pressure on emergency housing assistance (Ferguson, 1994). The State was forced to take further action in the provisioning of affordable housing, setting the background for a more serious effort made by the First Labour Government.

# 3.3. The First Labour government, Keynesian economics, the early welfare state and housing

During 1934-36, New Zealand was recovering from economic hardship brought on by the Great Depression, which hit its lowest point in 1933 (Wright, 2009). A nation ready for change elected the First Labour Government in 1935, which brought about a radical restructuring of the economy. New Zealand, like many developed nations affected by the Depression, was influenced by Keynesian economics – the idea that government spending will stimulate economic growth and therefore create jobs leading to full employment (Reich, 2008). This ideology shaped the early development of a welfare state, which was established in 1938 with the passing of the Social Security Act, which included the universal provisioning of housing, healthcare and education. More specifically, Keynesian economics shaped the State's role in the provisioning of housing in two key ways. Firstly, under Keynesianism, the welfare of workers was considered to be as important as economic growth (Reich, 2008). In accordance with Keynesian logic, the provisioning of affordable quality housing for workers was considered a priority under the First Labour Government. Secondly, there was an underlying belief that the economy should run at a deficit during economic downturns in order to stimulate economic growth (Reich, 2008). The building of state-homes through the construction industry provided jobs and therefore stimulated the economy, in addition to providing affordable, quality rental housing for many workers.

The First Labour Government was committed to providing adequate housing to all New Zealanders regardless of their class status and housing was reframed as a basic human right (Kearns, et, al, 1991; Robinson, 1998). As a result, state-house tenancies were considered to be 'for life' in order to allow for a security of tenure for workers who were unable to purchase their own home. New Zealand's first state-house under Labour's housing vision was built in Miramar, Wellington in 1937 and, by 1950, Labour had built 3000 new homes (Ferguson, 1994; Schrader, 2005). While there was a clear focus on affordability during this time, owner occupancy was still considered the ideal, and assistance with low interest loans was still provided

(Thorns, 2000).

The universal provisioning of housing provided a number of benefits to the majority of the population beyond just those living in state-houses. The government's large involvement within the rental market meant that it could play a role in setting a nationwide ideal rent at 25% of a tenant's income (Thorns, 1986; Murphy, 2004). Since state-housing accounted for a significant proportion of the rental market, this policy acted by extension to set rents on the private property market. The policy also acted to keep quality to a certain standard since private landlords had to compete with the high quality of housing upheld by the government. State-housing also enabled renters a security of tenure, regardless of a change in circumstance (Murphy, 2004).



**Figure 3.2:** Pākeha nuclear family in their state home in Nae Nae, Wellington 1945 (Source: Ministry for culture and heritage, 2014).

The years between 1936 and 1970 are often described as the 'golden years' for state-housing in New Zealand (Ferguson, 1994). The New Zealand government successfully provided affordable, quality housing to many low-income workers throughout this period via state-housing and low interest mortgages (Thorns, 2000). It is important to note that, although many New Zealanders benefited from Labour's housing vision, this assistance was still geared towards a white middle class, nuclear family as the ideal state-house occupant (Murphy, 2000) (as shown in figure 3.2). It is in this context that Castles (1996:101) refers to early welfarism as a 'wage earners' welfare state'. Under this framework, welfare was administered through the Pākeha, male breadwinner - as single women, Māori (who owned land) and many other non-Pākeha migrants were initially excluded from receiving welfare - and it assisted those

with jobs through universal benefit entitlements. This situation further marginalised those who were ineligible for help, such as single women, Māori, older people and the unemployed.

### 3.4. The 'roll back' of neoliberalism and state housing reforms

The 1980s brought about a radical change to both New Zealand's political economy and its welfare system, including the way state-housing was administered. The Fourth Labour Government was elected in 1984, which 'rolled back' the neoliberal agenda through policy changes. The terms 'roll back' and 'roll out' have been used by Peck and Tickell (2002) to describe the changing forms of neoliberalism. The 'roll back' phase has been considered by Peck and Tickell (2002:384) as the 'active destruction and discreditation' of Keynesian welfare policies, whereas the 'roll out' phase occurred later, in the early 2000s, in an attempt to deal with some of the shortcomings created by the more harsher aspects of neoliberal policies (Peck and Tickell, 2002). The changes to policy made under the 'roll back' phase aligned with those of many other advanced capitalist nations; globally there was a shift in political economic ideology from Keynesianism to neoliberal politics (Murphy, 2004). As Morrison (1995) points out, similar reforms occurred in both Britain under the Thatcher government and the United States under Reagan.

At its core, neoliberalism prioritises profit over people and, in terms of the welfare state (including housing), offers an overarching narrative of choice, efficiency, self-reliance and fairness (Murphy and Kearns, 1994; Murphy, 1997; Robinson, 1998). While the roll back phase of the neoliberal agenda took place under the Fourth Labour Government, changes to state-housing policy were implemented under the subsequent National government in 1991. The housing reforms of the 1990s are widely considered to be the most significant change to housing policy since the state-housing programme was developed in 1935 and occurred within a broader restructuring of the welfare state (Morrison, 1995; Murphy and Kearns, 1994; Murphy, 1997; 2004; Thorns, 1986; 2000). During this period, the State began to reduce its role in the provision of housing. The reforms introduced three key

adjustments: first, the Housing Corporation (previously managing New Zealand's 70,000 State houses) was restructured to run as a commercially-driven enterprise and expected to run at a profit and, with this change, was renamed Housing New Zealand (HNZ) (Murphy and Kearns, 1994; Murphy, 1997; 2004; Thorns, 2000). Secondly, the provisioning of rental properties shifted from universal access to a needs-based approach. Neoliberal logic claims that the state should not be involved in family matters (including housing, which falls within the domestic sphere), as this is perceived as creating a level of dependence on the State. Henceforth, statehousing was only provided for those facing 'serious housing need.' This brought about a shift away from universal provisioning, such that housing was only provided for those who were considered to be "in crisis," or those who were unemployed, retirees, single parents and people unable to work due to illness or disabilities (Thorns, 1986; 2000; Murphy and Kearns, 1994; Murphy, 2000; 2004). Lastly, market rents replaced income-related rents within the state-housing sector (Thorns, 2000). This change meant that state-housing tenants were no longer paying rent as a percentage of their income and were now subjected to changes within the market. Introducing market rents was supposedly designed to drive down rents across the board, as, the argument went, the market would now be more competitive. But, as a result, HNZ tenants faced drastic rent increases of up to 106 percent in some areas (Cheer et al., 2002; Murphy, 2004). In actual fact, this change was designed to encourage state-housing tenants into the private market, through reducing the State's monopoly of the rental sector (Murphy and Kearns, 1994). This shift brought about problems of affordability for low-income groups but allowed the private sector to flourish (Morrison, 1995; Murphy, 2003). A further contributing factor to rent increases throughout the 1990's was that HNZ sold 16 percent of its stock (Murphy, 2004). Consequently, rental accommodation became unaffordable for those on low or modest incomes.

These radical shifts in housing provision had uneven spatial impacts that reflected earlier geographies of housing policy. The notion of 'pepper potting' had previously influenced housing policies. This was the idea that Māori and Pacific households could be assimilated into Pākeha culture by creating mixed communities (Morrison,

1995). Since pepper potting occurred within wealthier inner city suburbs, the introduction of market-based rent meant these areas were no longer affordable to recipients of low-incomes. Therefore, state-houses in these suburbs were then considered as a surplus and could be sold on the private market (Murphy, 2004). State-housing tenants and low-income workers were pushed to the periphery where accommodation costs were significantly lower (Friesen, 2009). This situation resulted in a socio-spatial polarisation of urban centres. To further contribute to this sociospatial marginalisation, new state-house developments were built in outer city suburbs where land values were much lower (Morrison, 1995). Since the majority of low-income earners tended to be Māori and Pacific Island households, this situation resulted in ethnic clustering at the outskirts (Morrison, 1995; Friesen, 2009). Another reason for this spatial segregation was that those situated on the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum often faced discrimination on the private rental market. Sole parents, elderly people, those with disabilities and members of ethnic minorities were less likely to be able to compete for tenancies in popular inner city neighborhoods even if they could afford them (Kearns et al, 1991; Murphy and Kearns, 1994; Murphy, 1997; 2003; 2004). As a result, low-income groups on the private market and state-housing tenants were relocated to outer city suburbs where accommodation costs were lower.

The reforms also resulted in a more transient population, especially amongst HNZ residents. While it was claimed that no one was forced to move (Murphy and Kearns, 1994), increases to rents meant it was often an economic necessity to move. According to Murphy (1997; 2003; 2004), after the reforms, a state-housing tenancy lasted an average of five years, displacing people from their communities and support networks when they moved. As Morrison (1995) points out, this was especially problematic for Māori and Pacific communities where social support networks and institutions had been well established within neighborhoods. Families with school-aged children were also affected by this increased mobility, as moving often required a change of schools (Robinson, 1998). The neo-liberal logic of efficiency meant that three or four bedroom state houses designed for the nuclear family, occupied by 'empty nesters' and retirees, were not seen as the most effective

use of space (Murphy, 1997; 2004; Thorns, 2000). Market rents meant that such a relatively large house was no longer an economically viable option for a retiree. This situation meant that pensioners became another group pushed out of their communities and displaced from their support networks. This displacement, caused by increased rents in inner city neighborhoods, can be understood as part of a process of 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey, 2003; 2008; 2012) because people are required to move out of their communities in order for landlords (which in this case is HNZ) to profit from higher land values through increased rent.

### 3.5. The 'roll out' of neo-liberal policies: Affordability at a crisis point.

By the late 1990s the housing reforms were becoming associated with rapid increases in housing-related poverty, placing a strain on other areas of social welfare. In order to deal with the increase in rents associated with the 1991 restructuring, the 'accommodation supplement' was introduced as a form of support for those within a defined low-income bracket (Morrison, 1995; Thorns, 2000). The accommodation supplement was provided as a subsidy for those whose rents were higher than 25% (30% for mortgages) of their income, but this payment would only cover 65 % of the remaining cost, meaning tenants were required to cover the 35% shortfall (Murphy and Kearns, 1994; Murphy, 1997; Robinson, 1998). Since this calculation failed to take into account available income after paying rent, this placed a huge financial strain on those on the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum (Murphy and Kearns, 1994). The gap between the financial need required for a person to be eligible for the accommodation supplement, and what the supplement actually paid - combined with a rapid rent increase - created significant 'housing-related poverty', a condition apparent in the increasing demand on food banks and other social support services throughout the 1990s (Morrison, 1995; Murphy, 2003). As Cheer et al., (2002) argue, while low-income tenants tend to prioritise accommodation costs, limited incomes only go so far; therefore sacrifices are often made of other basic necessities such as utilities, health care and food (Cheer et al., 2002). For recipients of limited incomes, budgeting decisions tend to be made on a week-to-week basis and, according to Cheer et al. (2002), bills are prioritised based on necessity and level

of urgency (bills on their final notice paid first). What is left over once rent and urgent bills are paid is then allocated for food.

Throughout the 1990s, in addition to housing-related poverty, another issue associated with unaffordable rental accommodation was overcrowding with extended family members or several families living in a household - often in substandard conditions with some occupying sheds or garages in order to cover high rental cost (Cheer et al, 2002). A knock on effect of both overcrowding and insufficient funds for food can result in various health issues (see Cheer et al., 2002). Low-income earners struggling to make ends meet as a result of rent increases and shortfalls in the accommodation supplement meant that extra welfare assistance was often required (Murphy, 2004; Thorns, 2000). Drawing on additional support meant that the government was subsidising rent increases for both private landlords and HNZ (Murphy, 2004; Thorns, 2000). In the case of HNZ tenants the extra assistance provided by Work and Income (WINZ) (the government welfare agency) meant the government was simply shifting funds from one department to another (Murphy, 2004; Thorns, 2000). This inefficient use of government spending paved the way for further changes to state-housing policy in the late 1990s, discussed below.

At the end of the 1990s and early 2000's, the State began to undo some of the harsher aspects of its neoliberal housing policies. As previously mentioned, Peck and Tickell (2002) term this stage of the neoliberalism as the 'roll out' phase. Policy changes were implemented in response to some of the 'failings' of previous neoliberal policies (Peck and Tickell, 2002). An example of these types of failings is the housing-related poverty created by neoliberal housing policies – previously noted as a result of the introduction of market rents. However, as Peck and Tickell (2002) point out, the roll out of neoliberal policies addressed some of the problems at the same time as expanding and strengthening the neoliberal agenda. In accordance with these changes, HNZ was issued a new mandate that required greater levels of social concern and removing the focus on profit (Murphy, 2003). As a result, a number of changes were implemented such as an increase in the

accommodation supplement and the reintroduction of income-related rents for HNZ tenants on benefits. Since, as noted, state-house rents were increasing to match the market, the accommodation supplement for state tenants was simply shifting funds from one state sector to another. Further, in 1997 the National Party called for a 'rent freeze', however this only applied to state-house rents (Murphy, 2004). For those renting within the private market, the National-led government increased the accommodation supplement by a modest 5% (Murphy, 2004). In 2000, under the Labour-Alliance coalition government, income-related rents were restored for those living in state-houses who were receiving social security benefits (Murphy, 2004). The reintroduction of income-related rents for state-house tenants meant that long-term beneficiaries were less likely to be affected by changes in the rental market. Therefore, many of those in state-houses were no longer required to move out of economic necessity, a change which enabled a sense of community in state-housing neighborhoods.

# 3.6. 'Roll-with-it' neoliberalism - shifting from 'state' to 'social' housing

In November 2013 the Social Housing Reform Act was passed in Parliament and implemented in April 2014 (New Zealand Government, 2013). There were three key changes outlined in the bill: i) the responsibility of assessing needs and eligibility of state-housing tenants shifted from HNZ to the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) ii) 'income related rents' were extended to all social housing providers (some occupants currently pay market rent rather than a percentage of their income) and iii) tenancy reviews would now periodically assess the needs of tenants in order to determine whether or not occupants are still eligible for state or social housing leases (New Zealand Government, 2013).

These changes are geared towards shifting responsibility from the government (HNZ) to the 'third sector' and are set to fundamentally alter the nature of state-housing in New Zealand. State-owned housing previously provided stability and security for residents, which enabled a sense of community and belonging. This stability is rarely available to renters within the private property market. However, a shift to the

voluntary sector for the provisioning of affordable housing could act to reposition affordable housing to a form of charity for only those in situations considered to be 'serious need'. Furthermore, renewable tenancies that are to be reviewed every three years shifts the focus from stability of tenure to a needs basis, which will, over time, increase transience of low-income workers and the long-term unemployed. The government's reframing of long-term occupancy as a problem then positions long-term state-house residents as responsible for the affordability crisis. This ignores larger social issues that contribute to the high demand on state-housing such as such as high levels of unemployment, population growth, rising prices on a competitive rental property market and a housing stock shortage. Eligibility assessments are aimed at deterring long-term occupancy; however those considered to have a legitimate need for a longer tenure such as the elderly, disabled or residents with school-aged children were initially exempt from review process (New Zealand Government, 2013). According to the Housing Minister, Nick Smith, 'reviewable tenancies will be undertaken with common sense and care. To ensure this, the bill includes a provision to enable ministers to identify groups of people, such as vulnerable elderly or disabled tenants, who will not be subject to tenancy reviews' (Smith, November 7<sup>th</sup>, 2013, quoted in Collins, 2014a). However, in March 2014, a cabinet paper released by Paula Bennett (Associate Minister for Housing) and Smith back-tracked on this claim, stating that Cabinet had decided to 'not formally exclude any groups of people from reviewable tenancies' (Paula Bennett, 20<sup>th</sup> March 2014 quoted in Collins, 2014a). In fact, one in five of the initial tenancy reviews potentially facing eviction will be retirees or those living with disabilities (Collins, 2014a). Therefore, the switch from state to social housing is more likely to affect society's most vulnerable members in terms of pushing people out of secure tenancies and into the competitive private market.

New Zealand's recent shift from state to social housing follows similar trends occurring globally via housing policies. Nations such as Australia, the United States, the United Kingdom, Sweden and the Netherlands have all begun a gradual transfer of housing stock from government to non-government agencies (Blessing, 2012; Mullins *et al.*, 2012). This restructuring of state-housing

provisioning takes various forms in each country; however, as Mullins *et al.* (2012) point out, this new 'hybrid model' generally involves a combination of the state, the third sector and the private market working together in the management of social housing. While the State remains involved, this transformation allows it to gradually withdraw from its previous involvement in state or public housing (Mullins *et al.*, 2012).

While several countries are adopting new social housing models, Australia and the United Kingdom share a similar welfare and state-housing history to New Zealand and therefore seem the most appropriate comparisons. In fact, Housing Minister Nick Smith and Housing New Zealand chief executive Glen Sowry visited Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne in July 2013 to learn more about the growing community housing sector in Australia (National Party, 2013; One News, 2013). Both the Australian and United Kingdom models aim to provide affordable housing to those considered the most in need (Australian Government, 2014; Shelter, 2014). The houses will be owned and managed by various not-for-profit organisations which are registered as approved social housing providers (Australian Government, 2014; Shelter, 2014). Although the third sector is taking on more responsibility, the Australian state still plays a role in determining social housing occupants through setting criteria and managing the waiting lists (Australian Government, 2014; Shelter, 2014). Furthermore, the government also regulates social housing providers through funding allocation (Australian Government, 2014; Shelter, 2014).

In 2014, New Zealand began to adopt a model for social housing which is similar to Australia's and the United Kingdom's. Social housing in New Zealand is (in 2014-2015) still in the early stages of development; in this initial stage social housing can be described as a partnership between the government and the third sector. However, the private market may well become included in this partnership reflecting the 'hybrid model' discussed by Mullins *et al.*, (2012). As mentioned earlier, the Social Housing Reform Act meant that MSD took over HNZ's role of assessing eligibility and criteria of social housing tenants in addition to managing the waiting list (Ministry of Social Development, 2014). Tenants who meet the requirements set

by MSD are then referred to community housing providers (CHPs) for housing placements (MSD, 2014). HNZ's role is then reduced to a community-housing provider alongside non-government organisations (Save our Homes, 2014). Although the State's role in housing has been reduced significantly through the reallocation of housing, central government still remains involved in regulating housing through managing the waitlist, assessing criteria and, lastly, through subsidising income- related rent to the third sector (Ministry of Social Development, 2014). An important point to note is that the SHRA (2014) aims to increase the not-for-profit sector's involvement in social housing allowing for a gradual State retreat. Community-based groups (including local iwi and hapu) did provide some social housing prior to the reforms (Johnson, 2013). However, the National-led government is facilitating an expansion of the third sector's provisioning of housing.

Community-based groups becoming more involved in the provisioning of social housing is not necessarily negative. However, these groups acting in place of the State is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, even though community groups will be buying properties, this does not guarantee an overall increase in housing stock (Johnson, 2013). This is especially the case since the shift allows the government to sell a significant portion of the existing housing stock to both the third sector and on the private market (Johnson, 2013). In October 2014 New Zealand's Minister of Finance, Bill English, confirmed the government's plans to sell off some of the statehousing stock: 'Currently the Government owns around 68,000 homes, worth around \$17 billion. Around 22,000 have been identified as being in the wrong place or size which equates to around \$5 billion. Many of those could soon be sold off' (Bill English, cited in Sabin, 2014). Firstly, the government selling state- houses could actually result in an overall decrease in housing support for low-income families (Johnson, 2013). Secondly, as Johnson (2013) argues, the social housing model may not meet the needs of the future population. For example, the old state housing stock sold to NGOs is largely three or four bedroom houses, and these are not practical for accommodating a growing ageing population as baby boomers begin to retire (Johnson, 2013). As suggested in English's quote above, inappropriate housing stock is sold off. Some of this stock is then being sold to NGOs to be used for

social housing but transfer of ownership still does not overcome the issues around size. This means both the tenants and the inappropriate stock still find themselves together; just with a different landlord. Thirdly, since the government plans to spend \$2 billion on subsidies for social housing providers - accounting for the difference between income-related and market rent - this does not act to keep rising rents down (Johnson, 2013). Rent increases similar to those that occurred during the 1990s could be seen in city centres (Johnson, 2013). Furthermore, these rent increases may further marginalise low-income groups which are unable to keep up with rising rents nearer the city centre and, as a result, are pushed to the city's outskirts where rents are significantly lower (Johnson, 2013). However, this then contributes to marginalisation especially for those who are temporarily unemployed since this restricts access to the job market.

New Zealand's state-housing policy had several key periods of change between 1905, with the government's experimental intervention into state-house provisioning, and 2014 with the shift to social housing (see table 3.1). These shifts in state-housing policy can be tied to global trends and changes within the political economy. The changes in the 1990s, as noted earlier, were informed by early iterations of neoliberal ideology – described by Pick and Tickell (2002) as the 'roll back' of neoliberalism. This phase introduced new housing policies that were geared towards the privatisation of welfare and a shift away from Keynesian economics. These housing policies produced highly visible implications and, in order to for the neoliberal agenda to maintain its creditability, some of the more severe aspects of these policies were reworked during the 'roll out' phase (Peck and Tickell, 2002). These 'third way' policy changes in the early 2000s then acted to further reinforce neoliberal logic. By 2014, more than 30 years since the neoliberal agenda was initially introduced, this ideology had become deeply embedded and normalised within policy decisions (Keil, 2009). The shift to 'social housing', the incorporation of third sector organisations, and broader shifts to welfare represent a newer phase in neoliberal politics in New Zealand and other advanced capitalist Western nations.

The implications of the Social Housing Reform Act of 2014 are, in many ways, similar

to the implications of the state-housing policy changes in the 1990s. The neoliberal agenda of the 1990s encouraged HNZ to focus on profit. This had a number of implications for low-income earners, beneficiaries and retirees, such as rising rents creating housing-related poverty, loss of community networks, increased transience and spatial effects such as ethnic clustering on the city's outer suburbs where land values, and therefore rents, were slightly lower. Some of these issues were addressed in the early 2000s with the reintroduction of income-related rents. However, the changes implemented in 2014 are geared towards the semiprivatisation of state/social housing. While the 2014 changes initially include the third sector (not necessarily motivated by profit), following similar housing models used overseas (Mullins et al., 2012) the model is geared towards incorporating the private sector. Nonetheless, even while social housing is still only a partnership between the government and the third sector, similar problems as experienced throughout the 1990s are likely to unfold. One of the key reasons that effects such as increased rents, transience, and displacement of vulnerable groups will be experienced in the meantime (prior to the private sector's involvement) is because community housing providers lack the funding to purchase enough state-houses in the first instance. The plan is to charge market rent (with the government subsiding the difference) and use the eventual surplus profit to gradually increase social housing stock (Johnson, 2013). In the meantime this will result in a decrease of affordable rental properties for low-income earners unable to buy their own homes. A clear example of this gradual shift towards the private sector can be seen with 'Trust House' – a New Zealand-based licensing trust company that bought approximately 500 ex-state houses during the 1990s – which has recently expressed interest in buying another 1500 properties throughout the lower North Island. The liquor company plans to rent the ex-state houses out to its current tenants once purchased (Collins, 2014b). Since the private market has more capital available than CHPs to purchase HNZ's current housing stock as it goes on the market, it is likely that the private market will end up owning a lot of the old state housing stock. Rental agreements such as the one proposed by 'Trust House' renting to HNZ tenants will mean that state housing tenants could be pushed to the private market through housing sales.

**Table 3.1:** Summary of key changes to New Zealand's state-housing policy: 1905-2014

Government	Changes	Aims/Rationale	Focus/Actions	Implications for tenants
The experimental years and state-housing: 1905-1934 The Liberal government	The Workers Dwelling Act (1905)	To deal with issues of overcrowding in New Zealand's urban centres ('slum like' conditions, growing health concerns, moral unrest), negatively impacting on New Zealand's international reputation as a 'classless' society. Garden city/shift to the suburbs becoming a popular planning concept.	Homeownership – with low interest mortgages  Workers housing built in Wellington's outer city suburb of Petone (1906)	Benefits: Improved rates of homeownership, dealt with issues of overcrowding in inner city by shifting people to the suburbs (however, this was only for those that could afford to borrow).  Shortcomings: State housing at the outskirts considered unsuccessful due to high transportation costs. Favored the Pākeha nuclear family as the ideal homeowner/ tenant. The inner city increasingly became a site of marginalisation.
Keynesian economics and the early welfare state: 1935-1973 The first Labour Government	1935- The first Labour government elected First state-house under Labour built in Miramar, Wellington 1937 (3000 houses built by 1950) 1938 – Social Security Act passed (Welfare State established)	After the Great Depression, Keynesian Economics was introduced in many Western capitalist nations to prioritise people over profit.  Housing was reframed as a basic human right. Benefits of homeownership were extended to workers who could not afford to own through state-housing, providing security of tenure (state-house tenancies were 'for life')	Universal provisioning  'House for life' either through homeownership or 100 year leases  Affordable housing – income-related rents set at the ideal rent of 25% of a tenant's net income  Focus on quality	Benefits: Affordable rent and quality housing (extended to the private market). Allowed for stability of tenure and a sense of community  Shortcomings: Pākeha nuclear family still prioritised through a 'wage earners welfare state' – excluded single women, elderly, long term unemployed, non-citizens and Māori.
The neoliberal 'roll back' of welfarism – National's housing reforms: 1990s Policy initially implemented by the National Government	1984- The fourth Labour government elected and begins to 'roll back' the neoliberal agenda 1991- National's housing reforms	Neoliberalism at its core prioritises profit over people and shapes the welfare state (including housing) with an overarching narrative of choice, efficiency, self-reliance and fairness  The reforms of the 1990s fundamentally altered the provisioning of housing from	Shift to support only those facing 'serious housing need'; state-housing only provided to those at crisis point including sole parents, long term unemployed, retirees and those with disabilities  Since Housing New Zealand is now required to run like a commercial enterprise, market rents are introduced to HNZ tenants – it is claimed this	Benefits: No substantial benefits  Shortcomings  State-housing tenants saw huge rent increases (up to 106% in some areas). Increased transience (as low-income earners had to move with rent increases). Uneven spatial impacts – ethnic and low socio-economic clustering in the outer city suburbs where rents were more affordable. Loss of

Government	Changes	Aims/Rationale universal to needs based  Housing Corporation renamed Housing New Zealand and required to run like a commercially driven enterprise shifting focus to profit	Focus/Actions will allow state-housing tenant more choice (potentially shifting to the private market). As a result, the accommodation supplement was introduced. Shift to market rents meant that state houses in inner city suburbs were no longer affordable for state-house tenants - HNZ sold 16% of its housing stock (mostly inner city/desirable areas).	Implications for tenants community/social support networks. Rents in both the private and state housing sector rapidly increased, creating an increase in housing-related poverty (food shortages, overcrowding)
The 'roll out' of third way policies – introducing a social mandate: 2000-2014 Implemented under Labour-Alliance	1997- National calls for a 'rent freeze' on HNZ properties  2000s- Labour-Alliance issue a social mandate for HNZ, removing the profit-orientated approach	Third way policies remove some of the harsher aspects of neoliberalism as housing-related poverty and rising rents had become problematic – more people were requiring accommodation supplements and extra welfare assistance to make ends meet.	Reintroduction of income-related rent for HNZ tenants on benefits  HNZ's focus on profit removed	Benefits: Income-related rents meant that housing-related poverty was reduced for society's most vulnerable (those requiring welfare assistance). Sense of community and less transience for beneficiaries as income-related rents meant that beneficiaries were no longer affected by changes in the property market  Shortcomings: Income-related rents only for beneficiaries living in state-housing so low-income workers still vulnerable to rising accommodation costs
'Roll with it neoliberalism' – National's 'Social Housing Reform' Act 2014	Social Housing Reform Act 2014	Fundamentality shifts responsibility from the state to the third sector, supposedly to deal with a national housing shortage.	Eligibility for state housing assessed by the Ministry of Social Development rather than HNZ. Income-related rents extended to all social housing providers. Renewable (rather than secure) tenancies  The changes allow for the government to sell of a portion of state-housing stock.	Benefits: Income-related rent maintained for tenants even though housing provider shifts from government to third sector  Shortcomings: Increases transience, removes stability, and destabilises a sense of community since tenancies are renewed periodically. Shift to charity/third sector means that state-housing tenants are repositioned as receivers of charity – attaching stigma to state-housing tenancies. Potential to contribute to rising rent, displacing people to city's outskirts. Overall decrease of state-housing stock since the changes allow for the government to sell of a portion of state-housing stock.

Source: (Author's own adapted from: Ferguson, 1994; Morrison, 1995; Murphy and Kearns, 1994; Murphy, 1997; 1999; 2000; 2003; 2004; New Zealand Government, 2013; Schrader, 2005; Social housing reform (Housing restructuring Act) 2013; Thorns, 1986; 2000).

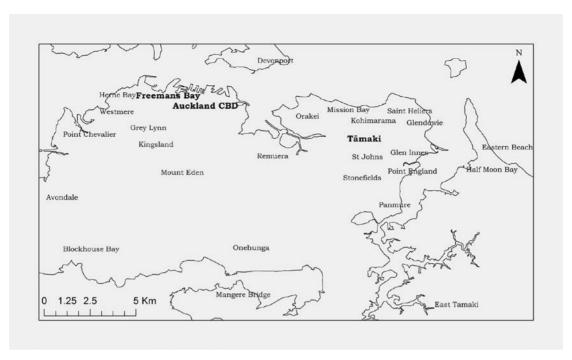
### 3.7 Glen Innes: a social experiment

Since the social housing policy reforms were implemented in April 2014 and only came into effect in July 2014 (Housing New Zealand, 2014) it is still too soon to gain full insight into the extent of the policy's implications at a national level. However, Glen Innes, a suburb in Auckland, provides a useful case study through which to gain an understanding of how these changes may affect communities. Glen Innes has been considered within the New Zealand media and the Glen Innes community as a 'social experiment' for the rest of the country in terms of the recent changes to social housing policy (Barton, 2014; Cumming, 2013). This experiment in social housing is occurring as part of a wider redevelopment of Glen Innes and the broader Tāmaki region¹ by a private and government partnership that could be described as state-led or third-wave gentrification (see Chapter Five). This wider redevelopment predates recent changes to housing policy but it is clear these changes to policy will act in support of a long-term gentrification process in Tāmaki including Glen Innes and Wai-O-Taki Bay.

Glen Innes is an exemplar and priority development area for HNZ for a number of reasons. Firstly, location plays an important role in the decision to prioritise the transformation from state to social housing. Glen Innes is located in Auckland – New Zealand's largest city, home to a third of the country's population (Scott, *et al.*, 2010; Statistics New Zealand, 2009). Auckland is well known nationally for its rising property and rent prices that are causing issues of affordability for those living in the Auckland area (Gibson, 2014; Helm, 2014). A potential reason for this inflated market is Auckland's low density housing with single dwellings on large sections that have, in the ongoing expansion, resulted in urban sprawl. (Scott, *et al.*, 2010). This sprawl, as well as Auckland's heavy dependence on the private automobile, means that central isthmus suburbs such as Glen Innes have become especially desirable locations. Glen Innes is located just 10 kilometres from Auckland's CBD (see figure

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'Tāmaki' or the 'Tāmaki area' will be used in this thesis to in reference to Glen Innes but includes neighbouring state-housing suburbs of to of Tāmaki, Point England and Wai-O-Taki Bay.

3.3); approximately 16 minutes by car, 12 minutes by train and reachable on a number of bus routes. By comparison, inner city suburbs such as Ponsonby, Parnell, Mt Eden and Kingsland are within 3 kilometres of the CBD and Auckland's Southern Suburbs of Manurewa and Papakura (still considered suburbs of Auckland) are 30 kilometers from the CBD. Therefore, Glen Innes is considered reasonably central in the context of Auckland's urban centre. To further contribute to the suburb's appeal, it is situated by the coast and close to popular East Auckland beaches such as St Helier's, Mission Bay and Kohimarama (shown in figure 3.3). The desirability of this area is reflected in the high housing prices in Glen Innes's neighbouring suburbs of Glendowie, Kohimarama, Orakei and St Heliers which were all included within The New Zealand Herald's 'Auckland's golden properties' list of top 17 suburbs with the highest average property value in 2013 (Eriksen, 2013). These high property values in neighbouring suburbs provide an explanation for the private interest in the project and the State's decision to prioritise the sale of its land assets in the Tāmaki area. Despite Bill English claiming that HNZ is selling off its housing stock because it is in the wrong location, this clearly does not apply in the case of Glen Innes (English cited in Sabin, 2014). Rather, the suburb's desirability and high property values suggest the State's interest in selling or decreasing its housing stock in Tāmaki is motivated by profit.



**Figure 3.3:** Glen Innes and Tāmaki in relation to Auckland's CBD and surrounding suburbs (Source: Author's own: based on Auckland Council's map data. 2014).

This is not the first time Glen Innes has become a test site for state-housing developments. In fact, Glen Innes was initially developed under the Labour government as a planned state-housing suburb in the 1950s to provide accommodation both for returning World War II veterans (Māori Television, 2014) and for workers in the manufacturing industries and freezing works that at the time were concentrated in the nearby suburbs of Penrose and Mt Wellington (Scott, et al., 2010). The Tāmaki region including Glen Innes experienced a high population growth around this time as a result of the post-war baby boom and Māori rural to urban migration (Scott, et al., 2010). Additionally, Glen Innes also became home to a large number of people displaced by the gentrification of inner Auckland suburbs like Freeman's Bay during the 1950s (Scott, et al., 2010). Due to the movement of rural Māori, the displacement of residents from Freeman's Bay and housing workers in the manufacturing industry, Glen Innes became an area with a high Māori and Pacific population, as New Zealand's migration policy encourage Cook Island migrants to work in manufacturing jobs around this time (Scott, et al., 2010). As a planned statehousing suburb, 60 percent of the homes in Glen Innes are state-owned (Scott, et al, 2010) and this extends to 73 percent of the housing within the broader Tāmaki region, which includes Glen Innes North, Glen Innes East, Point England and Tāmaki

(Census data, 2013). Since Glen Innes has a high number of state-houses, this situation has contributed to the unique nature of the suburb with a strong sense of community and close support networks, as many of the residents have been living in the area since its development in the 1950s and many families have lived in the area for several generations. According to Scott *et al.*, (2010) these strong ties to community are facilitated by ethnic and church group affiliations in addition to family ties.

These strong family and community ties have been further reinforced since many of the families who initially settled in the Glen Innes area have remained in statehouses in this locality for generations. This residential stability is for several reasons: firstly, until 2014 state-house tenants were provided with a 'house for life' to allow for security of tenure, despite changes to income (Murphy and Kearns, 1994). Tenants were not required to move and therefore this enabled a sense of community and sense of place to be fostered. Further, economic marginalisation for those living in the area was reinforced during the 1990s as economic restructuring meant that many people working within the manufacturing industry lost their jobs creating high levels of unemployment (Scott, et al., 2010). Changes to housing policy in the 1990s shifting from universal to serious need (Murphy and Kearns, 1994) meant that many families remained eligible for state-houses and therefore continued to reside in the area out of necessity (Scott, et al., 2010). This has meant that many of the families who originally settled in Tāmaki have remained in the area for generations further contributing to strong community ties and family connections for this group. Given these well-established connections, Glen Innes residents are choosing to remain in the area despite changes to their housing circumstances, for example if they shift to private rental or homeownership.

A high level of unemployment meant that the Tāmaki area became well known for its social deprivation and social issues closely associated with poverty (Census data, 2013; Scott *et al.*, 2010). According to Scott *et al.*, (2010) this situation led to Glen Innes becoming the focus of a number of central government, local council and community-initiated projects that attempted to deal with these social problems. As

such, the most recent rejuvenation program is not the first time state-owned houses in Glen Innes have been redeveloped, nor the first time the area has become a site of social experimentation. An earlier example is the 2001-2008 Talbot Park redevelopment project that was initiated by the Labour Government (Ministry for the Environment, 2008). This project was one of six initiated by HNZ throughout New Zealand at this time under third way policies new social mandate aligning with third way housing policies (Ministry for the Environment, 2008). Through this project HNZ aimed to 'address social exclusion and foster strong sustainable communities' (Housing New Zealand cited in Ministry for the Environment, 2008). The redevelopment project in Talbot Park, considered to be 'the future of social housing,' involved infilling large sections and increasing the overall number of residents in the area by 700 people (Wall, 2011)(see figures 3.4 and 3.5). Furthermore, the project also worked towards achieving a mixed community or mixed ethnicity model in an attempt to avoid ethnic enclaves or ethnic clustering. However, despite design features such as increased lighting and housing facing open public spaces such as parks (previously considered a site of criminal activity) and graffiti-proof fencing, the project was recognised as being unsuccessful in overcoming the neighborhood's social problems, as many of these issues went far deeper than housing design (Wall, 2011). Attempts to deal with issues of social concern in Talbot Park were also part of a broader project to assist with Glen Innes appearing as a safer community, in the hopes of attracting private developers into the Glen Innes area. Talbot Park can be considered as part of a longer-term plan to redevelop the suburb that led to the redevelopment that is now taking on new shape.



Figure 3.4: Talbot Park prior to the 2001 redevelopment (Ministry for culture and heritage, 2014).



**Figure 3.5:** Talbot Park redevelopment 2001-2008 'the future of social housing,' Glen Innes, Auckland (CKL, 2014).

### 3.8 The Tāmaki Redevelopment Company and Creating Communities

There are currently two separate development projects taking place in the Tāmaki area with HNZ– as the majority landowner – working in partnership with the Tāmaki Redevelopment Company (TRC) and Creating Communities (CC). The TRC is a partnership between HNZ and Auckland Council (local and central government) (Tāmaki Redevelopment Company, 2014). In contrast CC is a private development company contracted by HNZ to replace their 156 existing houses with 78 new ones. Both projects are focused on the redevelopment of state-houses. While the TRC's focus is on redeveloping state-housing alongside various other community projects, CC's focus is solely on the redevelopment of state-housing in this particular area.

The Tāmaki Transformation Program (TTP) emerged in 2009 as an initiative of the newly-elected National government. The Labour-led government-initiated Talbot Park project had come to an end and the incoming National-led government had decided to discontinue with similar types of projects and began a new program within the Tāmaki area. The TTP was focused on redeveloping Tāmaki over the next 15 to 20 years (Wall, 2011), aiming to renew and develop the area by focusing on

education, health, social services, economic development, infrastructure and housing (Heatly, 2009). This included upgrading state-housing and building 150 new homes in the area (Heatly, 2009). In April 2010 the Government-appointed Housing Shareholders Advisory Group released 'Home and housed: a vision for social housing in New Zealand' that laid the framework for the Social Housing Reform Act (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2010). In 2012, with this shift in vision informed by the report and the Social Housing Reform Act - the TTP was renamed the Tāmaki Redevelopment Company (TRC), although it kept many of its earlier objectives. However, since the TRC is a partnership between local and central government, updated housing policy would have been incorporated into the its objectives during this transition. At the time of writing, the TRC has not yet begun to redevelop any state-owned houses in the area. TRC has started development in the 'Fenchurch Neighourhood' (shown in figure 3.6). Currently the TRC's redevelopment is limited to the construction of an early childhood centre so housing is not yet a focus. However, CC began its redevelopment of state housing in 2012 and therefore the implications associated with the CC's project are discussed in more detail throughout this thesis.



Figure 3.6: Glen Innes redevelopment areas (Source: Cole, Gordon and Taylor, 2014).

The 'Northern Glen Innes Housing Redevelopment Group' is a joint partnership between HNZ and CC (Housing New Zealand, 2013; The Property Group, 2013). The project aims to redevelop 156 state-houses in Glen Innes and create 260 new homes (Housing New Zealand, 2013; The Property Group, 2013). However, only 73 of these new homes will remain the property of HNZ; 39 will belong to other social housing providers, and the remaining 148 will be sold to private owners (Housing New Zealand, 2013; The Property Group, 2013). As a result of this deal, the number of state-houses will be a decrease by 40. Despite this decrease, the project is framed as providing a positive solution to the nation's housing shortage. The project's developers claim that the building of more houses on smaller sites allows for a more efficient use of space in addition to providing better quality, more modern houses for occupants (Housing New Zealand, 2013). While these claims may be true, it is difficult to overlook the sale of land, which could potentially be used to provide

more state-housing during a time of crisis. Instead, this excess land will be sold off to private investors (Creating Communities) and sold on the private market. Furthermore, during the interim, between the old houses being removed and new ones being built, current tenants are being evicted and moved elsewhere. This particular project has relocated and displaced 156 residents, some of who have been living in the Glen Innes community for decades (Cumming, 2013). While Nick Smith, the Minister of Housing, claims residents have a say as to where they are relocated, this has not always been the case as there were not enough new or vacant houses in Glen Innes to re-house 156 households. Therefore, this displacement will have an impact on both the residents moved out of the area and those left behind in the community.

In September 2011, residents in both areas A and B (see figure 3.6) received a letter of notification regarding the development. This letter was sent out to all households. However, the letters addressed to 156 HNZ tenants were to notify residents they would eventually be relocated (details around this process will be further addressed in Chapter Five). By the end of 2013 the majority of state-house tenants in area A and some in area B had moved elsewhere (either within the Tāmaki area or further afield). Currently there is a large number of empty lots, and only a small number of new social and private houses have been rebuilt on the sections. It was with much controversy that a number of these ex-state houses were either demolished or sold to He Korowai Trust to be used for an affordable housing project in Kaitaia, the Far North (Māori Television, 2014; Whare Tapu Whā, 2014). According to CC (2014), Area A, located nearer to the town centre, is to be redeveloped first, while no new houses will be built in Area B until 2016.

# 3.9 Resistance and the Tāmaki Housing Group

The changes in Glen Innes have been met with noticeable resistance from community members. In 2011 the Tāmaki Housing Group (THG) was set up to oppose not only the redevelopment that resulted in HNZ tenants being evicted from their state-homes, but also to resist the changes to state-housing at a national level. The group has engaged in a number of protests over the last three and a half years. The THG is made up of a mix of Glen Innes residents (including state-housing tenants, home owners and private renters), housing activists who were previously involved in resisting the previous policy changes in the 1990s as part of a group called SHAC (State Housing Action Coalition), members of the Mana movement (including well-known activists John Minto and Hone Harawira), members of various trade unions, students and artists. Throughout 2012 the THG demonstrated their discontent by attempting to prevent trucks heading to the Far North from leaving Glen Innes loaded with ex-state houses (see figure 3.7). These protests resulted in dozens of arrests and were often met violently by the New Zealand police (Barton, 2014).



**Figure 3.7:** Tāmaki Housing Group protesting the redevelopment by preventing a truck from taking a state house up to Kaitaia (Source: Tāmaki Housing Group, 2013).

### 3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has positioned the recent changes to state-housing policy within New Zealand's complex state-housing history. Changes to housing policy have been historically aligned with global changes to the political economy and welfare state ideology. The recent shift to social housing will eventually allow for the State to withdraw from its role in state-housing provisioning. While this shift is initially a partnership between the government and the third sector, New Zealand is adopting housing models similar to those that have been used overseas and is therefore likely to eventually include the private sector. The transfer from state to social housing is a gradual shift to the privatisation of state-housing, allowing the State to reduce its role and also sell a large portion of its housing stock to the private market. This shift towards the private market is likely to have similar implications to the changes of the 1990s when the government attempted to reduce its role in state-housing by encouraging tenants towards the private market through introducing market rents. The 1990s dramatic rent increases increased transience, displaced marginalised groups from their communities and created housing-related poverty. While some of the harsher aspects of these 1990 housing policies were undone during the early 2000s, recent changes in 2014 are now shifting back to policies similar to that of the 1990s. Therefore, similar effects are expected from the SHRA (2014) since the State's reduced role and the sale of state-housing mean many state- housing tenants will be displaced to the city's outskirts. Moreover, as the third sector does not initially have enough capital to invest in social housing, this may result in a shortage of state-houses. Lastly, as this thesis will make clear, this process has already started to remove stability and sense of community, since renewable tenancies mean that tenants can be relocated every three years.

The SHRA (2014) only came into effect in July 2014; therefore it is still too early to gain insight into the implications of these policies at a national level.

However, Glen Innes/ Tāmaki provides a useful case study as a long-term, changing social experiment for housing-related issues. It first became an experiment in its original development, becoming a planned state-housing area; the second phase

could be identified as the changes in the early 2000s with Talbolt Park and, most recently, the third phase is the redevelopment in Tāmaki that sets a potential precedent for the rest of the country. HNZ has is prioritised Glen Innes as a redevelopment area due to its desirable location - relatively close to Auckland's CBD and very near popular East Coast beaches. The transformation occurring in Tāmaki is state-led, with both central and local government involved in redevelopment projects, so it therefore seems reasonable to assume the projects aim to be aligned with policy changes. The remainder of this thesis will explore the way these policy changes and redevelopment projects are being carried out in Glen Innes, in addition to considering some of the impacts these changes are having on state-housing tenants, other residents of Glen Innes and the community. However, before examining these issues I focus firstly in Chapter Four on explaining the methods used within this research project.

# **Chapter Four: Research design**

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I outline the methods used in order to answer the research question: What impact does state-led gentrification have on the various local communities in Glen Innes? As stated in Chapter Three, Glen Innes has been identified as a useful case study for this research project. Firstly, it is an area with a high proportion of state-owned housing, and secondly, state-initiated redevelopment projects have been underway in the area since 2010. In order to gain insight into the views and experiences of residents of Glen Innes, a qualitative approach to research was deemed best suited to this project (Dunn, 2010). Three methods of data collection were used within this study: interviews, including both semi-structured (with key informants including developers and representatives of various community based groups) and unstructured (with residents), participant observation. Additionally an analysis of policy and media documents pertaining to changes to social housing policy as well as media accounts of the situation as it unfolds within the Glen Innes community were also used to further support of more empirical data and provide context.

This chapter will firstly detail the semi-structured interviews with key informants and community representatives, including how these participants were selected. A slightly different interview process was utilised for resident participants (unstructured interviews) and recruitment procedures will also be explained. I will then discuss my personal involvement with the Tāmaki Housing Group (THG) and consider the ways my participation in this group influenced and informed the research. Further, I will briefly discuss some issues associated with merging political activism with academic research before critically reflecting on my position as a researcher engaging with Glen Innes community. Lastly, I will discuss the process used to analyse the data collected from employing these various approaches.

### 4.2 Data collection

### 4.2:1 Semi-structured interviews: key informants

A total of 17 semi-structured and unstructured interviews were conducted with residents and other informants involved within the Glen Innes community. In an attempt to gain a wide variety of perspectives, a range of participants were invited to participate. Those interviewed included key informants, residents and protesters (appendix 1). Key informants included representatives from Housing New Zealand (HNZ), the Auckland Council's Local Board, and Creating Communities (CC). While sustained efforts were made to secure an interview with a spokesperson from the Tāmaki Redevelopment Company (TRC), they were neither available nor willing to participate. However, as mentioned, two members of the Local Board were interviewed and spoke on behalf of the Auckland Council and their involvement within the TRC. Representatives of community groups were also interviewed (including members of a church group, social workers and the principals of local primary and secondary schools). Seven local residents were also interviewed, including HNZ tenants and homeowners. Four of the residents were still living in, or had been recently relocated from, CC's development areas 'A and B' (figures 3.6 and 5.2). The remaining residents were either homeowners or HNZ tenants living in Glen Innes who were not directly within the current re-development areas. All of the residents had friends or family members affected by CC's redevelopment. In addition to residents, two members of the THG were interviewed and discussed both their involvement with the THG and their personal experiences as HNZ tenants residing in Glen Innes and neighbouring suburbs.

Interviews were carried out between July and November 2014 and were conducted face-to-face at a mutually convenient time and place. The exception was an interview with a HNZ representative whose preference was to respond to a set of email questions rather than meeting in person. Each interview varied in length, taking between 30-90 minutes. Prior to conducting interviews, ethical consent was gained from the University of Auckland's Human Participants Ethics Committee

(Approval # 011574). In accordance with the committee's guidelines, participants were provided with a participant information sheet in advance of the interview (appendix 2). Before commencing each interview, I verbally explained the project's intent and provided the participants an opportunity to ask any questions regarding both the study and their involvement within it. Interviewees then signed a consent form giving permission for their account to be used as part of this research (appendix 3). Interviews were recorded using an electronic recording device, which I later transcribed. Copies of interview transcripts were emailed or posted to participants who requested them, providing an opportunity for any alterations to be made. All participants were asked whether they were happy for their name and job title to be used and the option of a pseudonym was discussed. However, the majority of key informants and community representatives participating in a professional capacity consented to their full name and job titles being used throughout this thesis. Considering the vulnerable position of state-house tenants and the close-knit nature of the Glen Innes community, pseudonyms were used for all resident participants, with the exception of Jimmy O'Dea (Orakei resident), a well known housing activist who is part of the THG but had also been formally involved in the State Housing Action Coalition (SHAC - a housing group established to resist changes occurring to state-housing in the 1990s).

All participants (with the exception of the representative from HNZ) had spent a significant amount of time either working or residing in the Glen Innes/Tāmaki community – ranging from four to more than 50 years (appendix 1). A number were involved, or 'wore several hats', within the community, and shared insights drawn from their various roles. However, in order to maintain transparency in this research, interview participants are identified in the capacity in which they formally agreed to take part in this project. Participants were selected in a number of ways. Firstly, those involved directly in the development project were contacted via publically available email addresses. Representatives from community-based groups were contacted in a similar fashion. However, these individuals were selected on account of their particular role within the community. For instance, schools and church groups were of interest as their position within the community meant they were

likely to have insight into the day-to-day impacts the redevelopment projects were creating. These spaces were considered sites through which a significant number of the local populace utilised regularly and therefore those who associated with them were considered likely to have some useful knowledge into the short, medium and long-term impact of the policy changes.

The interviews undertaken in this research followed a semi-structured approach for all key informants, with the exception of the representative from HNZ. Both representatives from HNZ and the TRC requested a full interview schedule prior to agreeing to participate in this study (appendices 4 and 5). Gez Johns (Communications Manager, Northern Housing Zealand) responded to these questions via email. However, at the time of writing this thesis I had not received a response from the TRC. For the remainder of the key informants, a semi-structured approach was used. This style of interviewing allows for a level of flexibility and for a conversation between the researcher and the participant (Dunn, 2010). For key informants initial answers about job descriptions and length of time in the community allowed me to further shape my questions based upon their responses. Interview themes varied between key informants depending on their specific role.

### 4.2:2 Unstructured interviews: Residents

Interviews with residents were approached slightly differently to key informants. A resident perspective became a key aspect of this project in order to gain some understanding as to the ways in which these third-wave or state-led development projects are experienced by the most affected. Literature on gentrification tends to exclusively focus on the developers' or other key informants' perspectives (Butler and Hammett, 2009). For this reason, interviews with residents currently living in the community were a crucial element to this study. Ideally, this project could have sought to find tenants who had already been displaced by the redevelopment project. However, information about relocations is kept confidential by HNZ, as are details of the current whereabouts of displaced tenants. This situation meant that contacting relocated tenants proved challenging. This challenge was exacerbated by the restriction of the ethical approval that meant I was unable to directly approach residents about this project. However, some stories about relocated residents were anecdotally gained through talking to current residents and community organisations.

As a result of these restrictions, the majority of residents involved in this research were still residing in Glen Innes. Some had been relocated locally while others were yet to be re-housed and the remaining participants were homeowners. Identifying residents who were willing to participate in this research project was challenging, as Glen Innes is an area that is widely considered over-researched (Scott *et al.*, 2010; van de Plas, 2014). To exacerbate this challenge, there were pre-existing tensions within the community around the development in general (van de Plas, 2014). As a result, I had to overcome issues of distrust and was at times confronted with concerns such as 'whose side are you on?' and 'what are your intentions'?

I undertook recruitment in a number of ways. In the first instance, an advertisement was placed on public notice boards such as the Glen Innes Public Library and the Citizen's Advice Bureau (appendix 6). As this proved unsuccessful, I proceeded with

other strategies. I approached the Ruapotaka Marae to take part in this research as a community representative. However, the marae spokesperson was unavailable at the time. It was during my discussions with the marae secretary that I asked to place an advertisement at the marae. Upon visiting the marae, the secretary questioned me about my project, my intentions and what I expected of the participants. After this initial conversation, the secretary then approached a number of people present at the marae at the time on my behalf. Through this exchange, five residents agreed to share their stories on how the evictions had affected them personally, and the lives of their community, friends and families. Pastor Graham from the Grace International Church also put me in touch with a resident relocated from CC's development area 'A.' Additionally, through my personal involvement with the THG (see section 4.2:3), I invited two members of the group to participate in their capacities as both state house tenants and active members of the THG.

As my interest in engaging with local residents was to gain insight into the personal experiences of community members, these interviews were conducted differently to the professional viewpoints sought earlier. The deeply personal nature of the interviews required considerably more sensitivity in terms of types of questions asked. I wanted participants to feel as comfortable as possible in the course of them generously offering information. For this reason, rather than having a preestablished and formal set of questions or themes and topics, I simply asked residents to share their stories with me. According to Dunn (2010) this unstructured approach is considered a form of oral history and tends to be more directed by the informant. This approach facilitates open conversation, allowing room for participants to reveal as much as they were willing to, without feeling pressure to answer particular questions or speak on topics they felt uncomfortable with. Once again, I began the conversation outlining my project and asked questions about time spent in the community; I then explained why I was interested in hearing their stories. While some participants were able to speak openly with minimal encouragement on my part, others required slightly more prompting – in which case some guiding questions were asked (these guiding questions varied depending on the individual participant's circumstances).

## 4.2:3 'Participant observation' and the Tāmaki Housing Group

My personal involvement with the THG significantly informed and influenced my research. However, I experience a level of discomfort when describing my participation in the group with the formal term 'participant observation.' The reason for this reluctance is that my decision to join the THG was not motivated by research interests. Rather, my decision to focus on the state-led Glenn Innes gentrification process was influenced by my existing political viewpoint. Before this research commenced I had been involved in a number of activist groups such as Auckland Action Against Poverty (an anti-poverty group set up to oppose the National-led government's recent welfare reforms), as well as student-led movements campaigning for free education. Both these groups attracted my involvement due to their common resistance to the gradual degradation of New Zealand's Welfare State. Since education, social security, healthcare and housing are widely considered 'the four pillars of welfare,' (Malpass, 2008) housing seemed to be an obvious choice given my educational background in human geography. Further, I had taken an interest in following the redevelopment process in Glen Innes – mostly through the media, but also through friends who had been involved in the THG. I had even attended several protests in late 2011 and early 2012. Wanting to become more involved with the resistance, I chose Glen Innes as a research area in the hope to merge my political activism with my academic studies. Attempts to incorporate activism within academic research are not uncommon within the academy (see Askins, 2009; Kitchen and Hubbard, 1999; Maxey, 1999; Pain, 2003).

Throughout 2014 I attended the majority of weekly meetings held by the THG. I also attended protest marches and supported several members of the group at court who had taken HNZ to the tenancy tribunal. As outlined in Chapter Three, the THG is made up of a variety of people; in addition to the residents of Glen Innes the organisation also included like-minded students, union organisers, members of the Mana movement and artists. Initially my capacity with the group was as an activist and supporter, and I had determined clear boundaries around the use of meetings' content for research purposes, I did not record any information during the meetings,

however there were occasions where I followed up on topics raised. In June 2014 I informed the THG about the intentions of my project, outlining the types of people/groups/organizations/parties/intended interviewees and I would approach. In seeking their blessing, with this 'outing' of my dual role as an activist and researcher I received the group's consent to continue with my study.

Despite not taking ethnographic notes or formally using the THG as a research method, my involvement influenced this research to some extent allowing a deeper understanding about issues faced by the Glen Innes community that I would not have otherwise been privy to. However, as Kearns (2010) explains, participant observation provides a way of taking part and not just simply observing. Involvement in the THG informed my research in several key ways. Firstly, it meant I was spending time in the Glen Innes neighbourhood, beyond the research-based involvement in interviews. My regular attendance at meetings provided me with meaningful opportunities to observe the Glen Innes community while taking part in some of their deliberative activity. For example I would usually catch a train from the city to Glen Innes, enabling me to observe the types of people getting on and off the train in Glen Innes. van der Plas (2014), who also conducted her research in Glen Innes, notes that these regular train rides allowed her time to reflect on her project. Similarly, I utilised the time to contemplate and assess my research, but also as a space to prepare mentally for time spent in the field. Meetings were held at the local primary school, the route enabling me to traverse CC's development of area 'A'. Throughout the year I observed new houses being built, old houses being demolished and most notably passed by the vacant lots where houses had been removed (figure 5.1). As the meetings took place in the evenings I would often get some dinner at the local fish and chip shop, observing interactions between local community members while I waited. As Kearns (2010) notes, these types of observations can be complementary to other forms of data. The THG group also provided me with a wealth of contextual information. I was kept well informed about the development process from a community perspective. This included information such as communications between state-house tenants and HNZ, policy updates, media coverage and current discussion occurring within the community around the development. Again, this contextual information was not directly included in the research, but did help shape points of

discussion throughout the interview process.

As discussed the THG provided me with complementary data and a deeper conceptual understanding that has proved incredibly valuable to this research project. However, it is also important to consider the ways in which this involvement may have constrained my research. The interview process highlighted the mixed perspectives on the group's activities. It is plausible it became known within the wider community that I was involved in the protest group, resulting in potential interviewee's unwillingness to participate. However, on reflection, the participant information sheet sent out prior to participants agreeing to the interview (appendix 2) clearly stated my aims and intentions in undertaking the project and this in itself may have also deterred those who were concerned about my involvement within the THG.

As Kearns (2010) highlights participant observation can position the researcher as an insider or outsider - or even both. My experiences in the field reflected this, as my position of belonging altered markedly, shifting back and forth along the spectrum. However, undoubtedly, my active involvement within the community provided me with more of an insider's lens than perhaps other researchers working in the area would have had access to (see van der Plas 2014). As the group dynamics were very much community led, as a non-resident living in private rental accommodation beyond the study area I felt like an outsider. However, my involvement as an activist and student was validated by the presence of other non-residents, students and artists in the THG. These people were working on various housing projects which contributed to me feeling like I was as much a part of the group as anyone — contributing to the group's varied assemblage of people. Despite this I continued to experience a sense of discomfort. However, this is perhaps an internalised sense of discomfort about the place of activism within academic research and vice versa, a concern that is further addressed in the next section.

# 4.2:4 Which side are you on? Reflections on combining activism and academic research.

'Becoming an academic to support social movements is akin to launching a space program to develop a pen that writes upside down' (Croteau, 2005:20).

As previously discussed, my decision to use Glen Innes as a case study was shaped by personal politics. It was in the hope that researching in the area would allow me to become involved in the THG and also potentially give back to the resistance movement in a meaningful way. As Croteau (2005) points out, this perspective is common amongst academics hoping to contribute to social movements in a way that hold value to them (Askins, 2009; Kitchen and Hubbard, 1999; Maxey, 1999; Pain, 2003). Yet Croteau (2005) also points out that tensions between the two worlds can arise, as often the type of work that holds weight in the academic world is not always particularly useful in social movements. I found myself experiencing these types of tensions as I carried out my fieldwork. Firstly, as I became increasingly involved with the THG, I felt a growing sense of obligation around writing the type of thesis that aligns with the group's position. Secondly, the fact that my research sought to elicit a range of perspectives (including those involved in the development such as the CEO of CC and HNZ) may not have been fully supported or understood by everyone within the group. Thirdly, with the commitment to maintain confidentiality, there were times when I felt conflicted about whether to inform the group not only about who I was talking to, but also the types of information I was gaining from these interviews. This conflict was also present during interviews when the THG came up in conversation - I often felt like my participation in the THG should have been disclosed.

Lastly, despite earlier ambitions to contribute to the THG in a substantial way, in practice my role within the group focused more on observation and support. While supporting the group's activities is, in many ways, a significant contribution (and perhaps the only way in which a non-resident/outsider should be contributing) I had initially hoped I would have had more time available to attend activities and events

organised by the THG. The regularity of the scheduled weekly meetings enabled me to plan ahead and attend frequently. However, other events were more sporadic with unpredictable timing this meant I could only attend when study, work and other personal commitments allowed. I had also hoped that I could potentially contribute to the group more directly with my research, through potentially writing blogs or media articles on behalf of the group. However, as mentioned earlier, and pointed out by Croteau (2005), my research in many ways complemented the group's aims — as it has provided a critical analysis of the redevelopment projects in Glen Innes and the changes to social housing. However, it did not necessarily cross over in ways that could assist the group's immediate aims, which are more focused on stopping evictions and supporting state-housing tenants.

A further challenge I was confronted with, especially towards the end of the research, was around 'exiting the field'. Although the field research component of this thesis finished in November 2014, I have still remained committed to my supportive role within the group. As Coleman (2012) explains in her research with seniors on Waikehe Island, when the project involves developing relationships with participants, there can be a fine line between where the personal begins and the research ends; this situation is especially challenging as a research project reaches conclusion. Coleman (2012) suggests setting clear boundaries can be a useful exit strategy, something I attempted to apply to my research related involvement with the THG I decided to cut off the 'data collection' component of my THG engagement in November 2014, while continuing to offer support. Although effective in its primary purpose, this exit strategy proved difficult during the final write-up stage of my thesis as new developments have since occurred that have been tempting to include.

As Hyndman (2001) and Maxey (1999) argue, fieldwork is often conceptualised as a bounded time that can be defined in terms of 'research stages'. However, as Hyndman (2001) notes, fieldwork can cut across time and place. For example, Maxey (1999) reflects on his own PhD research and claims that his continued community involvement beyond the 'fieldwork component' of his thesis still

continued to inform him throughout the write up stage. Similarly, although the formal aspects of my research finished in November 2014, my commitment to my role within the THG has continued throughout the 'writing stage' and therefore this involvement is likely to have continued to inform and shape the direction of the thesis.

### 4.2:5 Textual data

Textual data was also used within this study. This included newspaper articles discussing the changes in state housing policy, and articles that covered the redevelopment in Glen Innes. As the changes to policy were implemented in April 2014 (discussed in Chapter Three), the subject of state and social housing was a particularly 'hot' media topic at the time this research was conducted. I also kept up to date with coverage on the redevelopment projects in Glen Innes. As 2014 was an election year in New Zealand and housing had become an election topic there was no shortage of media coverage throughout the year. Additionally I utilised a 'Google alert' application, receiving daily updates from New Zealand media that covered key words such as; 'housing', 'state-housing', 'social housing', 'Glen Innes' and 'Tāmaki.' These media articles were then used to provide background information. Further, relevant articles were included as supplementary material to support key themes (process and community impact), which emerged throughout the interview process.

### 4.3 Reflections

As researchers cannot escape from embodied social differences - such as class, ethnicity and gender - it is important to reflect and consider the power dynamics created by these embodied differences (Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Dowling, 2010; Haphe and Ayyankeril, 2001; Hyndman, 2001; Rose, 1997). In this next section I discuss the ways in which my ethnicity, cultural background, class, and official status as an academic researcher may have impacted on my interactions with participants. Particular focus will be given to residents and state-housing tenants. I will then explore how these interactions potentially shaped my findings.

Firstly, as stated in Chapter Three, a high proportion of Glen Innes residents are of Cook Island or Māori decent and this is especially true for state-housing tenants. It then becomes necessary to consider my own ethnicity as Pākeha and the ways in which this may have impacted on the research. As Skelton (2009) notes, crosscultural research can occur in the researcher's own country. I found this to be true for my research project as, despite also growing up in New Zealand, my own ethnic and class background determined my cultural norms were significantly different to those of my research participants. It's possible these cultural differences may have impacted on my interactions with participants, both linguistically and culturally. For example, the types of greetings used by some of my participants varied significantly from the Westernised norm of a formal handshake. Interviews carried out in a more formal setting retained the expected formality. However, many of my participants greeting me with a hug or a hongi (Māori greeting). Particular greetings may not have impacted on my results directly, since this varied from participant to participant. However I found myself limited by my own cultural understanding of what is deemed appropriate in particular circumstances. Pākeha greetings tend to be formalised by a handshake, and a hug would more commonly be used within the social friends and family setting. Since I was unsure of what was appropriate where and with whom, I tended to wait and see what each participant considered appropriate and then responded accordingly. While it may seem unlikely that apparently minor details such as greetings would have a significant impact upon

findings, Baxter and Eyles (1997) identified, these subtle nuances *do* matter. My seemingly awkward or 'stand-offish' response may have influenced levels of trust especially amongst resident participants who were being asked to share with me their personal information.

A second noticeable difference I encountered throughout the interview process was with language. Although all my participants spoke fluent English throughout the interviews, New Zealand and Cook Island Māori terms were often spoken. Growing up in New Zealand and having some understanding of te reo Māori meant I had some familiarity with the language. However I did not necessarily have a shared understanding, as my Pākeha background may have influenced my interpretations differently to the speaker's intentions. This language barrier could have impacted on the research in several ways: As I may not have interpreted conversations as they were intended, it's possible I overlooked important points. There were occasions where I asked the participant to clarify these unfamiliar terms, potentially resulting in both of us becoming distracted and, impacting on the conversation flow. Lastly, my own interpretation may have altered the meaning as my different understanding could have meant I interpreted meanings slightly differently to what they were intended. This potential misrepresentation may have impacted on the way participants are represented in the findings.

Another factor to consider is my position as a white, middle class academic, approaching the research in a formal capacity through the university. With this positionality comes a particular power dynamic that calls for reflection (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). A number of my participants were state-housing tenants who were speaking to me about their personal experiences of changes to state-housing and, in some cases, their relocation experience through HNZ. The level of dependence on the state for a basic need such as housing may have impacted on the types of information participants shared throughout the interview process. This became clear during one interview in particular, when the participant requested we paused the interview for a moment. In a hushed voice she quietly alerted me to the presence of a HNZ case manager, and they did not want to be seen speaking to me about this

organisation. This situation clearly demonstrated the power relations between HNZ and state-house tenants, as participants were willing to speak of their experiences as long as it was kept strictly confidential. After this interaction, I then noticed during the process of transcribing that these types of power relations were also present within other interviews. An example of this is, when describing their experiences with HNZ participants would make a point of expressing their gratitude to HNZ. This occurred several times throughout a number of interviews and was common amongst current state-housing tenants. This response required me to reflect upon the perceived official nature of my research and how this may have impacted on the type of information I received from participants. Throughout the interview process, I felt the majority of the residents I interviewed did not seem to be holding back information about their personal experiences. However, the request to pause the interview and the notable comments on gratitude demonstrated a level of safeguarding by HNZ tenants. This safeguarding then may have produced a particular type of account in terms of the redevelopment and HNZ's eviction process.

## 4.4 Data analysis

Once the data was collected, an 'open coding' framework was used to analyse research findings. Open coding is an approach that allows themes to emerge out of the research as the data is collected. Data is then classified based upon these key themes (Bailey *et al.*, 1999). Throughout the interview process, two clear themes became apparent. The first was around processes and concerned both the gentrification process unfolding in Glen Innes and the relocation process utilised by HNZ. The second theme involved the impact this transformation on community created (as residents were beginning to be displaced this had clearly impacted on social support networks, families and more generally the community). While transcribing the interviews I took notes around each of these key themes and highlighted relevant quotes accordingly. Ethnographic notes and newspaper articles were then included and grouped within these two topics.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the ways in which state-led gentrification projects have impacted upon local communities. Interviews with key informants and locallybased residents provided insight into the ways the gentrification process is occurring in the context of Glen Innes. Through speaking to state-housing tenants, I was able to gain some understanding into the particular way these processes were enacted by HNZ. Additionally, resident narratives gave insight into the way displacement impacts on the communities, family and support networks left behind. My personal involvement with the THG allowed me to gain a deeper level of contextual understanding, in turn informing points of conversation with research participants. Further, my position within the THG then led me to reflect upon some of the tensions at play between activism and academic research. My engagement with residents and the community then allowed me to explore my own position as a Pākeha, middle class, academic working in a research area where the majority of the people have a different cultural and class background than myself. It then allowed me to consider some of the ways this privileged position may have impacted upon my findings. The next chapter will explore the gentrification process in the context of Glen Innes, and the process used by HNZ to relocate tenants within and outside of this community.

# Chapter 5: State-led gentrification and the process of displacement

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the particular ways in which the process of state-led or third wave gentrification is unfolding in Tāmaki. I argue that Glen Innes provides a useful case study of such gentrification as the two current development projects (CC and the TRC – discussed in Chapter Three) are both initiated by the New Zealand government, either at a central or local government level, in partnership with a privately owned development company, and therefore the process is state-led. Some of the key characteristics of state-led gentrification will be illustrated via a description of the changes occurring in Glen Innes. As neoliberal policies inform these types of development projects, this chapter will then consider the ways in which Glen Innes has become increasingly profitable in recent years for both the New Zealand government and private developers. This profitability will be considered in terms of Neil Smith's (1996; 2002) argument that gentrification is a movement of capital rather than people. Following on from this change, I examine the implications of this reinvestment in the retail landscape aiming to attract middle class homeowners into the neighborhood. I argue that these changes to consumption spaces are not only key drivers, but also dimensions in themselves, of this gentrification process. To further appeal to a middle class market part of Glen Innes has recently been renamed Wai-O-Taki Bay as part of an effort to rework perceptions of the area to increase property values.

The latter part of this chapter will examine the way the suburb's former residents have been displaced from their community, either directly or indirectly. Rising property values, rents and rates mean that many of the low-income earners or beneficiaries are or will eventually be left with little choice but to move. The changing characteristics of the community and a general awareness of the gentrification process also mean that many of the suburb's established occupants are opting to move elsewhere. As HNZ acts on behalf of the State and is a key player

within the redevelopment of Glen Innes, this chapter will also examine the way direct displacement is carried out by the State and some of the impacts associated with this displacement.

## 5.2 State-led/third wave gentrification in Glen Innes/Tāmaki

The redevelopment in Glen Innes/Tāmaki can be categorised as 'third wave' or 'state-led' gentrification for several reasons. Firstly, the State plays a key role within the transformation of Tāmaki both at a central government level – through HNZ (as a landlord/landowner) and policy changes – and at a local government level through Auckland Council's involvement as a partner within the TRC. Secondly, the New Zealand government has significantly altered its role within the gentrification process: it has previously acted to prevent gentrification of Glen Innes by retaining ownership of a significant portion of the land in the area but recent changes to policy allow the State to sell these pockets of land at a profit. In particular, renewable tenancies mean that state-house tenants who are not initially moved out can be in three years time once their tenancies come up for renewal and their homes can then potentially be sold by HNZ. Policy changes also reduce HNZ's role in the provisioning of housing. As they were in the 1990s, state-houses can then be considered a surplus and sold as part of the transition to social housing (see Chapter Three). Thirdly, central government, local government and private developers have carefully planned the Tāmaki redevelopment ensuring maximum profit throughout the process. Yet despite the State's heavy involvement in the gentrification of Tāmaki, this process is multifaceted and characteristics more closely associated with first and second wave gentrification are also present within the transformation. For example, middle-class residents are choosing to move to suburbs such as Glen Innes and Wai-O-Taki Bay due to the desirable location and close proximity to other popular Eastern Bays suburbs.

Glen Innes and Tāmaki provide a clear example of the way the New Zealand government's role in the gentrification process has changed dramatically. HNZ owns a sizable proportion of the land in the Tāmaki area with 5000 houses throughout the broader Tāmaki region (Housing New Zealand, personal communication, 2014) and

60 percent of the houses in Glen Innes/Wai-O-Taki Bay (Scott, *et al.*, 2010). Prior to the redevelopment, the government's land ownership acted to prevent gentrification in the area (see Watt, 2009). As a significant portion of the land in Tāmaki is owned by the State, this situation has previously prevented market rent requests and inflating land values. As the largest landlord in Tāmaki, the State has a significant stake in the success of redevelopment in the area and is playing a key role in driving the development project. As discussed in Chapter Three there are currently two development projects in Glen Innes. Both the TRC (central and local government) and CC (state and private) have a heavy level of state involvement. A notable aspect of state-led or third wave gentrification is the changing role of the State, which shifts from preventing or mitigating this process to instigating urban rejuvenation projects. HNZ has dramatically changed its role within housing provisioning within Glen Innes and Tāmaki, from preventing gentrification through wide-scale ownership to becoming a driving force within this process.

### 5.3 Urban renewal in Tāmaki as a movement of capital

The gentrification process relies on uneven development, as wealth or capital is channeled into those particular parts of the city that have the potential to produce the most profit or greatest return on investment (Smith, 1996; 2002). According to Smith (1996; 2002), a landlord or landowner will simply disinvest in a particular neighbourhood once it is no longer profitable. This disinvestment does not necessarily mean that a landlord will abandon an area completely; rather, maintenance and repairs are kept to a minimum in order to reduce costs and therefore increase rental profit. Disinvestment in the context of state-housing in New Zealand is part of a longer process of 'residualisation' (Murphy and Kearns 1994), where the economic and social value of state housing has, over the last three decades, been progressively undermined (see Chapter Three). 'Reinvestment' provides scope to generate new value. This funneling of capital is occurring in the Glen Innes community in two key ways. Firstly, the TRC's projects in the community extend beyond housing and include investment in, and upgrading of, various dimensions of the neighbourhood such as education, businesses, safety, the town centre, parks and recreational facilities. Secondly, both the TRC and CC are upgrading and reinvesting in housing throughout the suburb. This reinvestment only becomes worthwhile if it has the capacity to produce a profit. For HNZ, reinvestment into its Tāmaki housing stock is influenced by recent changes to statehousing policy (Chapter Three) – namely the shift away from state-owned housing provision towards third sector and eventually private market provision. On the other hand, Auckland Council's reinvestment in the area is motivated by a goal for Auckland to become the 'world's most liveable city'. According to Sparks (2012) this strive for 'liveability' is a common planning goal within Western cities to improve quality of life for urban residents but also to enable cities to compete on a global scale for investors, firms and people.

Auckland Council's current vision of Auckland as a current and future liveable city has led to reinvestment into parts of the city which had previously been neglected, including Glen Innes. There has been minimal spending or investment into the Glen Innes town centre since the 1990s. Bridget Graham, the elected member of the Maungakiekie-Tāmaki Local Board (based in Onehunga), describes this previous political and economic neglect of Glen Innes:

I had never actually been into the Tāmaki area when I was first elected, I had never been. And when I was first elected I spent a whole day driving around and it certainly opened up my eyes and what was glaringly obvious to me was that there has been very little spent in that area over the last 20 years and you could see that just by driving around. I had always thought that Onehunga was the Cinderella of the old Auckland City Council but I quickly saw that there was another one that was an even poorer Cinderella (Bridget Graham, Maungakiekie-Tāmaki Local Board, 2014).

As Graham's comment shows, Auckland Council has kept spending in the Tāmaki area to a minimum over the last 20 years. This trend aligns with the 'roll back' of ideology (Peck and Tickell, 2002) occurring in the 1990s (20 years ago) when the State began to withdraw from welfare services including community development and state-housing. This is particularly the case for Glen Innes, which, as a predominantly state-housing area, had not been prioritised as an area worth investing in by the Auckland Council. This situation has changed in recent years as the TRC has taken on several new projects that involve significant reinvestment into the community. These projects include building an Early Childhood Centre at the Glen Brae Primary School and upgrading the Old Scout Hall. However, there are two notable projects that show the shift in Auckland Council's willingness to invest in upgrading Glen Innes. Firstly, the Council is currently building a new Music and Arts Centre in the town centre — initially planned 30 years ago but never prioritised. This project is carried out by the Local Board as an independent project - outside of the

Council's partnership with the TRC. Auckland Council is also upgrading the recreational facilities and restore the natural environment. For example, there are plans to restore the polluted Tāmaki River making it is safer for residents to use recreationally. The upgrading of recreational facilities in the Glen Innes community aligns with Auckland Council's aims of making Auckland a more liveable city by enhancing quality of life for Aucklanders (Sparks, 2012) Further, through upgrading the Glen Innes Town Centre, this reinvestment supports broader aims of attracting new residents and investors to the neighborhood, either through business investment or housing opportunities.

HNZ had also disinvested in the vast majority of its Glen Innes housing stock through neglecting to undertake necessary repairs and day-to-day up-keep. More importantly, this disinvestment was used to rationalise the redevelopment project in the first place. Gez Johns (communications manager for Northern HNZ) claims that its Glen Innes state houses are 'cold, damp, hard to maintain and more costly for our tenants to live in' (personal communication, 2014), a fact that reflects decades of under-investment in state-housing in New Zealand. In the current moment, rather than reinvesting in these houses to overcome these problems (e.g. through installing insulation and double glazing on windows), HNZ has opted to either demolish or remove their houses completely (see Chapter Three). As the original state-houses were built on large quarter-acre sections, this allows for three houses to replace each original house after it has been removed. Rebuilding three new houses on each of the recently vacated sections is considered a more efficient use of space, especially in Auckland where the housing crisis is considered tied to lower density housing and a shortfall in housing stock (Simon Randall, Maungakiekie-Tāmaki Local Board Local Board, personal communication, 2014). This aim of a more efficient use of land can also be considered in terms of Auckland Council's strive for liveability, as a compact city is thought to improve urban mobility and sustainability (Sparks, 2012). Sustainability, liveablity, improved urban mobility and increasing the city's housing stock are all plausible explanations for the redevelopment of state-housing in Glen Innes. However, these claims overlook two important points. First, that if simply using space more efficiently and increasing housing stock were the sole

reasons for the redevelopment project then surely infilling sections would achieve the same goal. Further, infilling would allow current state-house tenants to remain in their homes while large sections could be used more effectively. However, infilling would then require some upgrading on the current 'run-down' housing stock, and to allow current tenants to stay in place would contradict HNZ's goal to reduce its own role in state-housing provisioning. Secondly, the redevelopment could have met all of these stated goals; liveability, increasing and improving housing stock without demolishing houses and relocating tenants. The decision to remove houses and rebuild in Areas A and B is clearly a profitable one. For example, a three-bedroom exstate house on a full section (763 square metres) in Glen Innes in 2014 was listed to sell at \$839 000 whereas a newly developed house in 'Area A' on a subdivided section (200 square meters) is expected to sell at \$899 000 (Realestate.co.nz, 2014). By marketing these new houses as 'modern,' a similar price can be expected, regardless of section size. It is still more profitable to do this, even when demolition and building costs are taken into account. Therefore, simply upgrading current housing stock for sale is significantly less profitable for HNZ, the TRC and private developers. This demonstrates an interesting alignment with Neil Smith's (1996; 2002) 'rent gap theory': where reinvestment is no longer profitable for HNZ and ideological settings favour profitability over provision, it becomes more desirable to rebuild and sell these new homes marketed as modern than to reinvest in current stock.

As mentioned above, HNZ has neglected maintenance and repairs on a number of its Glen Innes properties. This neglect is apparent in Gez Johns' (communications manager for Northern HNZ) description of HNZ's current stock being cold, damp and hard to maintain (personal communication, 2014). A HNZ tenant also noted this neglect:

It wasn't like a dump or anything like that but just stuff was starting to come undone like just door frames and stuff like that and the condensation was um was quite bad, getting bad anyway (Tipene Hamilton- relocated state-house tenant, Area A, 2014).

Tipene Hamilton further explains the lack of repairs; in particular, deteriorating insulation had begun to impact upon the health and wellbeing of his children:

And over the years a few health issues started to pop up, just with the kids eh, it was just a bit damp during the winter and I think the insulation was part of the problem but it was still, we made it a home. But just as it was getting towards the end of our stay there we actually desired to move out before we heard of the redevelopment so it was in our hearts before we actually moved but then this whole Tāmaki transformation thing popped up and actually we were just in the middle of praying for somewhere to go as a family (Tipene Hamilton, relocated state-house tenant, Area A, 2014).

For Tipene and his family, their HNZ home had become a health concern. 'Praying for somewhere to go as a family' and moving house are perceived to be more viable solutions than asking HNZ as their landlord to fix these problems. This demonstrates HNZ's reluctance to carry out necessary repairs on their Glen Innes properties. Under the redevelopment, the majority of houses owned by HNZ within CCs development 'Areas A and B' have either been demolished or relocated to the Far North (see Chapter Three). But not all HNZ tenants residing in 'Area A' were sent eviction notices in 2011. Some houses that had been recently renovated by HNZ were to remain in HNZ's ownership. Tenants whose homes had recently been renovated were able to remain in their homes for the time being. As one ex-Torrington Avenue (Area A) resident explained, a number of houses on Torrington Avenue had their roofs reclad approximately 10 years ago, in 2004 (personal communication, 2014). These residents received a letter notifying them of the redevelopment. However, they were not required to move.

HNZ's disinvestment and reinvestment into its Glen Innes housing stock then reflects changes within state-housing policy (detailed in Chapter Three). Repairs carried out in the early 2000s occurred at a time when policy called for a less profit-orientated approach which meant repairs could be carried out as needed or required by the

tenant. In this context, removing houses and rebuilding the housing stock with modern houses is more profitable for HNZ and private developers. This disinvestment and reinvestment on HNZ's part aligns with Neil Smith's (1996; 2002) argument that in order for gentrification to become profitable, disinvestment in an area first needs to occur. However, it also demonstrates that in the case of state-housing, these processes of dis/reinvestment are also shaped by shifting policies and their attendant ideological settings. HNZ can still collect rent payments from current tenants in state-houses in the area that were repaired recently without having to make further investment into the properties. However, houses such as Tipene's that have become problematic are not worth repairing under the redevelopment since these houses can be removed and replaced with more modern houses that hold more value in the housing market.

#### 5.4 The changing face of Glen Innes: The middle class moves in

Glen Innes has changed significantly over the last decade, reflecting processes of gentrification occurring within the neighborhood. Consequently, the suburb has become increasingly desirable to the middle-class market. This popularity is reflected in rising property values and increased rents. Furthermore, changes to the local retail landscape increasingly reflect middle-class consumption practices and appeal to a demographic who have more of a disposable income than the majority of state-housing tenants. The suburb's changing population further reflects this shift.

Although Glen Innes still has a significant Māori and Pacific population, there has been a gradual decline of Pacific people (1.6%) between 2001 and 2013 within the Tāmaki area (Statistics New Zealand, 2001-2013).

Rents and property prices have increased dramatically in Glen Innes and Point England over the last four years. These prices clearly reflect the suburb's desirability which, as noted in Chapter Three, reflects its geographic location close to the CBD, easily accessible public transport routes, popular East Coast beaches and wealthy Eastern suburbs. Although housing costs are generally rising throughout Auckland, by comparison the rise in Glen Innes is significant. Between 2010 and 2012, the average price for a three-bedroom house in Glen Innes was \$400 000. Since 2012, the average house price has rapidly risen – it rose by 73% to \$693 000 by November 2014. Market rent for a three-bedroom house in the area has also increased by 27% from \$375 per week in 2012 to \$475 in July 2014 (QV.co.nz, 2014).

Wealthy neighbouring suburbs such as St Heliers, St Johns, Glendowie, Medowbank, Mission Bay and Remuera contribute to the suburb's high demand. A driver of the gentrification process is the close proximity to desirable suburbs – the extreme wealth found throughout the Eastern Bays with the average house price around the million dollar mark (Eriksen, 2013) means this urban/coastal lifestyle is inaccessible to the majority of middle-class workers. Therefore, Glen Innes becomes a more viable option, as it is still within close proximity to both the coast and the CBD, and

affordable by comparison. Susan Scofield (Manager, Glen Innes Citizens Advice Bureau) points out middle-class homeowners gradually moving into Glen Innes could potentially mean that the new social houses are no longer accessible to the current Glen Innes community:

I think there is [sic] still a lot of difficult times ahead in the medium term. I'm not sure, long term it may well work out as long as the people in social housing don't miss out to an expanded Eastern Bays type, that they suddenly become very desirable residences that it ends up becoming an extension of Glendowie, yup. An expansion of the area, this is the concern from St Johns downwards. That's the creep on (Susan Scofield, Citizens Advice Bureau, 2014).

As this narrative suggests, increases in Glen Innes property prices may problematise the notion of social or affordable housing. The new housing developments have been portrayed by HNZ, the TRC and CC as affordable housing. However, as Scofield notes, there remain questions: affordable for whom? This question is especially of concern since the framework of social housing within the Tāmaki area is yet to be clearly defined. As shown in Chapter Three, following on from international trends, the social housing model is geared towards eventually including the private sector. It is at this point that the term 'affordability' will begin to exclude the lowest income earners and beneficiaries as income-related rent on a competitive private market will mean the middle-class working family is preferred over the long-term unemployed, sole parents and those living with disabilities.

This expansion of the Eastern Beach suburbs 'creeping' into Glen Innes is well recognised within the Glen Innes community and was expressed by a number of residents. As one local resident observes:

Cos it's ['the creep on'] going up towards Taniwha Street and then
Glendowie's not too far, it's just over the other side. And then its going up
towards Panmure, so it's just starting in Glen Innes first and then it's

working its way out – well that's how I feel anyway (Helen Aranui, Glen Innes state-housing tenant, 2014).

Many of the local residents witnessed this 'creep on effect' as part of the gradual process of gentrification. Indeed, concerns were raised by state-housing tenants, property owners and private renters that this process would eventually lead to a large portion of the community being priced out of the area. The majority of residents spoke of the expectation that their time in the community was limited due to the changing demographic and rising accommodation cost.

A further example of the gradual process of gentrification occurring in Glen Innes is the changes to retail spaces. In particular, new shops have been opening along Apirana Avenue, most notably Nosh and Huckleberry Farms. Nosh is a gourmet supermarket and Huckleberry Farms, located across the street, sells 'up-market' organic food. These new shops are indicative of an emerging and revised image of Glen Innes aiming to appeal to middle-class residents. This is reflected in real estate advertisements for the new housing developments which describe the houses as being 'close to Nosh' (see figure 5.1). Other businesses along the Apirana Avenue retail strip reflecting this shift include several sushi restaurants, a pet shop, cafes and a beauty salon. In contrast the Glen Innes Town Centre was described by Susan Scofield of the Citizens Advice Bureau in the following way:

So there are changes, what's very evident is that there isn't the money to support business here. If you go up into the town centre there it's all just \$2 shops. The banks have all closed they've just got a couple of ATM's there now. The rents are very high for the shops, but there isn't money to be made from it so you haven't got that business space. So yes you've got Pak n Save [supermarket] which is very popular and serves a very large area but there's not a lot of others. Like I said, \$2 shops, liquor shops and fast food outlets... And the other thing that there is a lot of ...I said fast food is, ah, charity shops, I think there is 5. So it says a lot about an area from what shops are available and what people, because people do tend

to shop locally. Countdown has opened a new supermarket, I can't think why. So there is a bit of that dislocation around 'where is this suburb going to go?' so it does need regenerating but it needs regenerating for people that want to live here and now and not just for the creep from the Eastern, St Heliers and Glendowie slowly moving in (Susan Scofield, 2014).

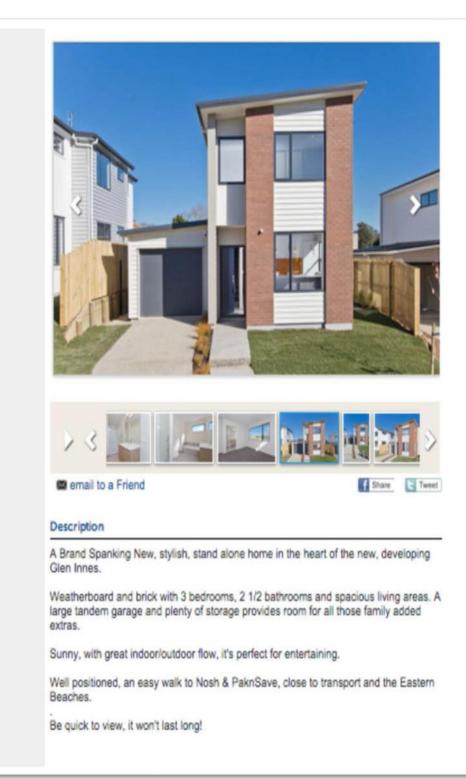
This set of comments suggests that the Glen Innes Town Centre is declining, with the closure of banks and high rents causing businesses to struggle to survive. However, one local resident, Tina, also observed that the suburb's newer white middle-class residents are beginning to frequent the town centre as the previous residents are being pushed out – thus highlighting the changing demographics of the area:

You don't see them anymore those people that used to be, you go down to Glen Innes you know. You know once upon a time white people (I'm sorry) white people don't come up our way in their flash cars you see. They don't stop at Glen Innes shopping centre; none of them do from up the top. They go up Apirana but not Line Road. It's different now, you see them everywhere, and they come and shop down in G.I. You know and you can see, because they're coming in and we're moving out (Tina, state housing tenant and resident of 50 years).

Furthermore, as the suburb transitions from lower socio-economic to middle class households, those left behind are beginning to feel out of place in their own community (this point will be addressed in more detail in Chapter Six). While middle-class residents may be becoming more comfortable shopping in the town centre, as Tina suggests, this ease is not felt by longer-term residents wanting to visit the Apirana shops. As Helen (a state-housing tenant) suggests:

G.I's starting to be upper class so they're trying to move us out and bring the upper class in, the one that's got the money, that's how I feel anyway and that's what I can see yes down Apirana, across the road from Pak n Save. That's a new complex to me, that's a new shopping – yeah organic food and all that, and even a lot of people from St Heliers they come to Pak N Save to do their shopping when I go down there and I just wanna have a look around in there. Some of the shop keepers look down on you cos they think 'ah you're new,' but you've been here all your life. But if you come back into [the] little community in our own little shopping centre, everyone's going 'Hello' all friendly but if you go down Apirana they kind of all look down at you – like 'what are you doing here?' (Helen, Glen Innes resident, 2014).

The notable changes occurring in both of the Glen Innes retail precincts reflect the gradual transformation of the neighborhood. Susan Scofield's observations of closing banks and businesses struggling to make ends meet indicates those former users of these businesses and services are leaving the area. However, as Tina notes, more Pākeha using the town centre reflects the changes to demographics throughout the area. The newly developed retail landscape of Apirana Avenue also reflects the change to the suburb's class structure – middle-class residents moving in while state-housing tenants are moving out. This trend is also used as a marketing tool by real estate agents to attract a particular type of consumer to the neighbourhood (see figure 5.1).



**Figure 5.1:** Barfoot and Thompson real estate advertisement for new housing built in 'CCs Area A'-Merrifield Avenue: Close to Nosh and Eastern Beaches (Barfoot and Thompson, 2014)

Although it is still in the early stages of redevelopment, a number of residents have noticed a change in the ethnic make-up of Glen Innes. This change is also a key characteristic of gentrification and speaks to the way in which class and ethnicity are closely entwined. Glen Innes being a state-housing area has previously had a

significant Māori and Pacific population. In recent years this is beginning to shift slightly with a declining number of Pacific residents (see table 5.1).

	2001 (%)	2006 (%)	2013 (%)
Pākeha	54	47.2/53 <sub>2</sub>	53.5
Māori	15.1	15.1	15.2
Pacific People	32.7	32.1	30.5
Asian	10.5	10.4	11.4
Other	2.9	7.2	1.7

**Table 5.1** Glen Innes North, East and West population by ethnicity 2001-2013 (Source: Statistics New Zealand)

Tina and Helen's previous comments demonstrate the perception that Glen Innes has a growing Pākeha population. However, the census data shows that the Pākeha population remains the same between 2001 and 2013 with the exception of a drop in 2006. <sup>2</sup> Although the Pākeha has stayed the same there has been a decline in Pacific People, explaining the perceived difference expressed by Tina and Helen. As Pacific People are moving out of the area the neighbourhood appear 'whiter'. Gentrification often becomes visible based on ethnicity and is therefore often thought about for European and European settler societies in terms of the 'whitening' of a neighborhood (Powell and Spencer 2002; Shaw, 2000). Glen Innes has also experienced a growth in Asian residents moving into the area. Since 2004 this increase in Asian residents can be explained by the influx of Burmese refugees arriving in New Zealand and settling in Glen Innes (Tan, 2013). While the ethnicity of the Glen Innes community has only changed marginally over the past 12 years it is still a discernible trend which is likely to continue as more new houses are built.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the 2006 census a popular trend for Pākeha was to check the 'other' category with the preference to identify as 'New Zealander.' This trend explains the 6% drop in Pākeha residents during 2006 (see Kukutai and Didham, 2009).

## 5.5 Area B: Renaming Wai-O-Taki Bay

The coastal part of Glen Innes, on the Glendowie border, has been renamed Wai-O-Taki Bay (see figure 5.2). This re-naming has been a gradual process which started in the early 2000s (Orsman, 2001). However, this renaming was noticed by local 'Wai-O-Taki Bay'/Area B residents in 2011 when the postcode was officially changed (Tina, Local Area B resident, 2014). Through renaming, the suburb can then be rebranded, distancing itself from some of the negative connotations closely associated with Glen Innes as a low socio-economic state housing area such as the social issues the suburb has become known for over the years (see Scott *et al.*, 2010). Rather the area can be considered as an extension of wealthier suburbs such as St Heliers and Glendowie. As Tina, a 'Wai-O-Taki Bay' state-housing tenant, explains:

They're moving around, see, Mission Bay, Glendowie, St Heliers, right around the water, and we're not Glen Innes. Did you notice that? Wai-O-Taki Bay. It's just been since 2011 (Tina, Wai-O-Taki Bay state-housing tenant of 50 years).



**Figure 5.2**: Creating Communities development area Glen Innes (Area A) and Wai-O-Taki Bay (Area B) (Source: Creating Communities, 2014).

The rebranding of Wai-O-Taki Bay, like the new Apirana Avenue shops, aims to attract upper-middle-class workers to the suburb. As Kearns et al. (2003) point out, language plays a key role in the creation of place and perpetuates ideologies about class, ethnicity and gender. This renaming is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, the reintroduction of a Māori name is telling about race relations. For example, as Berg and Kearns (1996) show, attempts to rename places in New Zealand's South Island by readopting their original Māori names in the early 1990s was met with resistance from local Pākeha residents. However, the renaming of Wai-O-Taki Bay in the hope to attract middle class, Pākeha buyers to the area would appear to reflect a newly-emerging bicultural chic. Secondly, renaming places is often used to hide pre-existing social problems (Kearns et al, 2003), distancing Glen Innes from its former negative reputation (see Scott, et al., 2010). Lastly, as Opit and Kearns (2014) point out, adding the term 'Bay' to the new name is used to signify the suburb's close proximity to the coast. 'Point' was added to 'Hobsonville' for a development elsewhere in Auckland, to invoke a sense of nostalgia for a notion of New Zealand's classless society and the capacity for everyone to own property by the coast (see Collins and Kearns, 2008; Opit and Kearns, 2014). The Hobsonville Point development is aiming to attract buyers using 'affordability' as a selling point. However, the use of 'Bay' in Wai-O-Taki Bay is drawing on the coast as a symbol of exclusion and elitism (Collins and Kearns, 2008). The need to assert this elitism is perhaps required more in the case of Wai-O-Taki Bay in order to counteract Glen Innes' reputation of social deprivation (Scott, et al., 2010).

These visions of place creation are accomplished through media and advertising. A *New Zealand Herald* 'life and style' article profiling a Pākeha couple, Matthew and Lorissa Olsen, who had recently purchased in Wai-O-Taki Bay, draws the coastal themes into this social construction of place (Foster, 2011). Further, Matthew and Lorissa Olsen represent the type of people moving to Wai-O-Taki Bay mentioned in Tina and Helen's earlier claims about the changing demographics of the area, with new Pākeha residents using both the Apirana Avenue shops and the Glen Innes Town Centre. According to Matthew Olsen, there were a number of factors

influencing their decision to purchase in the area. Firstly, the suburb is close to the Tāmaki Estuary, the Tāmaki River in addition being surrounded by parks, nature reserves and notable seaviews (Foster, 2011). Secondly, the area is close enough to the CBD that a commute to work takes less than half an hour by car. The couple also mention the affordability of the suburb:

I have to admit that was a real attraction when we were looking for somewhere to buy. The prices are moderate, you get sea views and as long as you leave before peak time it's less than half an hour by car into the city (Matthew Olsen, cited in Foster, 2011).

In addition to proximity to the city and affordability, Wai-O-Taki Bay enjoys the 'best of both worlds' in terms of consumption options.

We find it incredibly handy for shopping too. There's the Glen Innes shopping centre for all the everyday basics you need, either from Pak'n Save or the other shops nearby. We always use the independent fruit and vege shops there, everything is always fresh and reasonably priced. Nosh is there as well. It's a great source of high-end small goods and weekend coffee. Also, we both really like that we're so close to the St Heliers Bay shopping centre with the cafes, restaurants and all the rest, and down Roberta Ave in Glendowie there's a little parade of shops (Matthew Olsen cited in Foster, 2011).

The couple's description of the suburb supports both Helen and Tina's observations of 'white people' moving into the Glen Innes Town Centre and the popularity of the Apirana shops such as Nosh for these new Wai-O-Taki Bay residents. The reference to Nosh, cafés, bars and restaurant is indicative of middle class consumption practices and play a significant part within the place-making process (Jager, 1986; Mansvelt, 2005). Consumption practices can act to reinforce social differentiation and distance the middle class from lower income groups through different economic capacity and cultural capital (Jager, 1986). In the case of Wai-O-Taki Bay/Glen Innes

residents, shopping at Nosh instead of nearby Pak N Save for 'high-end small goods' can define Wai-O-Taki Bay residents and differentiate them from Glen Innes residents shopping at Pak N Save. New Zealand's café and restaurant culture can also be considered as a leisurely activity that is also consumed (Mansvelt, 2005). Narratives such as Olsen's further contribute to the place-making aspect of Wai-O-Taki Bay as a desirable suburb for middle class consumers/residents since it highlights the consumption opportunities – cafes, restaurants and high-end food options available. Once again this seeks to erase the stigma attached to Glen Innes as an area of deprivation and crime.

HNZ is clearly aware of the desirability of Wai-O-Taki Bay and in 2011 several state-housing tenants were evicted from their homes in order for HNZ to sell these valuable properties on the private market. For example, Joseph Robson and his family were asked to relocate from a Wai-O-Taki Bay state-owned home in 2011 as HNZ claimed it was worth nearly \$1M (Thompson, 2011). This home and several others were to be sold in 2012 on the private market. However, not all HNZ houses in Wai-O-Taki Bay were directly sold at this time, as many were included within the CC redevelopment project. Some of the houses in CCs 'Area B' or Wai-O-Taki Bay were either demolished or sold to the Far North social housing project mentioned in Chapter Three. At the time of writing, there were still some state-housing tenants yet to be relocated within 'Area B' – some of whom are refusing to be moved (this will further discussed later in this chapter). However, there were a significant number of vacant sites throughout Wai-O-Taki Bay awaiting redevelopment (see figure 5.4).



**Figure 5.3:** Vacant site: former state house in Area B: Wai-O-taki Bay with sea views (Source: Author's own).

CCs redevelopment project in 'Area B' reflects the careful planning involved in state-led gentrification, as the overall development project will mean a reduction of state-owned or social houses in the Glen Innes area, from 156 to 78 (Creating Communities, 2014; Housing New Zealand, 2014). None of the social/state houses to be owned and managed by either community groups or HNZ will be built in 'Area B' (Wai-O-Taki Bay). Wai-O-Taki Bay will be entirely private homes to be sold for a significant profit on the private market. CCs CEO Murdoch Dryden claims that HNZ requested for all of their houses to be built in 'Area A' as this is closer to the town centre and public transport routes and is therefore more convenient for state-housing tenants. However, as shown in Chapter Three, New Zealand's state-housing history has historically restricted state-housing to areas where land values are lower. This was also evidenced in the 1990s with the sale of state-houses in desirable locations such as Ponsonby.

#### 5.6 Displaced from 'G.I'

As part of the Tāmaki redevelopment project and these broader processes of gentrification, former residents of Glen Innes are being displaced from their community. As shown in Chapter Three, the majority of state-housing tenants living in Glen Innes are Māori or Pacific. Yet, the demographics of Glen Innes are changing with a perceived increase of Pākeha residents and the gradual decline or displacement of the Pacific, a result of their displacement through eviction by HNZ (see Table 5.1). The majority of tenants are relocated elsewhere as not all are able to be relocated within the Tāmaki area and therefore are displaced from their community as a direct result of the redevelopment. Further, state-housing tenants, private renters and homeowners are also indirectly displaced as a result of broader changes to the suburbs. This occurs firstly through rising rents, rates and property values, which price low-income earners out of the area. Secondly, gradual changes within the community over time have meant some residents are choosing to leave on their own accord.

As a result of Glen Innes' increased popularity, accommodation costs in the area are rising. For state-housing tenants on income-related rent, the effects of rising accommodation costs differ slightly in the sense that these tenants are directly relocated by the State. However, a number of those tenants paying market rent, in both state or private rentals, are attempting to keep paying the increasing rents through adaptive strategies such as overcrowding. It has become increasingly commonplace for multiple families to be living under one roof with members of the extended family living in sheds or garages (Pastor Graham, Grace International Church; Susan Scofield, Manager of Glen Innes Citizen's Advice Bureau, personal communications, 2014). Additionally, many tenants are forced to choose between rent or food. Similar cases of housing-related poverty emerged throughout the 1990s as a result of rising rents across Auckland (see Cheer *et al.*, 2003). Susan Scofield explains this reality for some Glen Innes residents:

I mean we've had somebody in today saying that they can rent or eat, they can't do both. There is no choice. There just isn't the money and it's really hard when they've got children (Susan Scofield, Glen Innes CAB, 2014).

As the Glen Innes community is well established with some state-housing tenants having lived in the area for over 50 years, strong family, community and support networks mean that many low-income earners have a strong desire to keep up with these high rents for as long as possible. This is especially problematic for residents who are no longer eligible to live in a state-house, since the majority of rental properties in the area are currently owned by HNZ. There is a lack of private rental options available in the area, which means that private renters are likely to pay relatively higher rent to remain in Glen Innes, further contributing to issues of overcrowding or housing-related poverty.

As Glen Innes changes through the redevelopment process, many residents are opting to leave the area. As Tina Apainuku predicts:

I mean [those living in] Housing New Zealand houses, they've [the tenants have] been moved out and maybe some of these private home owners will [eventually] move out as well because of it (Tina Apainuku, Area B resident).

As Tina's comment suggests while state-housing tenants are required to move it is only a matter of time before private homeowners are forced out of the area as well.

Derek Williamson – a homeowner residing in Area B further supports Tina's claim that homeowners are also moving out of the neighbourhood:

Somebody lives round the corner from me and he's lived in this house for 30-odd years and then he brought it and he was selling up because he said 'it's suddenly changing you know. I was quite happy with my neighbours as they were, you know, they were that was the sort of neighbour that I

wanted. I don't want this other neighbour that doesn't come out'. So yeah he was moving because of that. I s'pose we're in a bit of a dark area – we don't know what that community's gonna look like (Derek Williamson, Area B resident and community social worker).

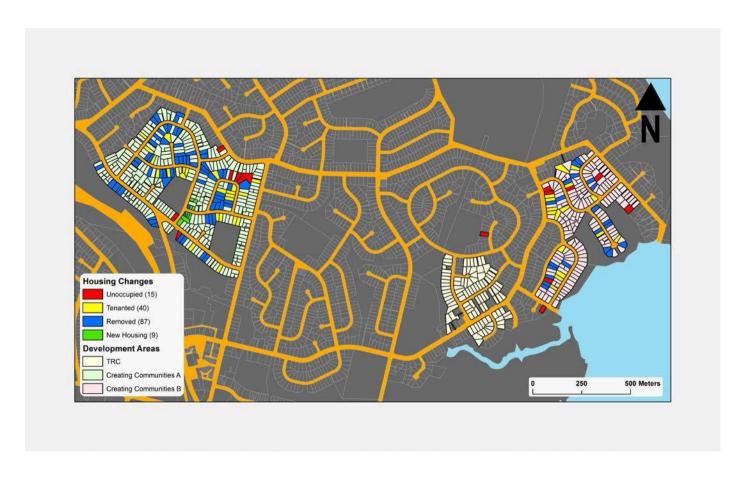
As Derek's comment shows, his neighbour is choosing to sell his house out of concerns about what the new neighbours will be like but also because of uncertainties regarding the changing nature of the Glen Innes community. Residents are very aware that more affluent residents are moving into the area, leading to significant changes in the character of Glen Innes' community:

I think, you know, when they did this relocation and everything else like that, it really is changing the face of Glen Innes (Rosie Jackson, relocated resident, Area A).

As Tina's, Derek's and Rosie's comments demonstrate, there is a sense amongst residents that it is only a matter of time before the community changes completely. For this reason, some residents are choosing to relocate out of the area knowing that they may eventually become priced out. For others, increasingly feeling out of place in the community means they would rather live elsewhere. Furthermore, as family and social support networks are being relocated by force, many are choosing to leave as well. In addition to renters and state-housing tenants, homeowners are also selling up and leaving Glen Innes entirely. However, Rosie, a state-housing tenant who left Torrington Avenue (Area A), explains that she chose to be relocated in the neighboring suburb of Panmure as this means she is less likely to be required to move again in the near future. Rosie also opted to live close by, but not actually in, Glen Innes as this meant she could remain involved in the community for the time being.

#### 5.7 Direct displacement and HNZ's tenants

HNZ's decision to evict state-housing tenants in both CCs development areas 'A' and 'B' can be considered a form of direct displacement. There are several different approaches that were used by HNZ to remove tenants from their homes within these 'development' areas. Furthermore, state-housing tenants within these development areas who demonstrated a level of resistance to being moved were also treated differently. Despite HNZ's claims that no tenant would be forced to move out of Glen Innes (Gez Johns communication manger-Northern HNZ, personal communication, 2014), this has not necessarily been the case for all state-housing tenants. While it is true that some of the state-housing tenants could be relocated within Glen Innes, this opportunity was not extended to all tenants. This is for several reasons. Firstly, as the relocations began, there was already an overall decrease in state-houses in the area. Even though the redevelopment plans at this stage only mean HNZ homes are to be halved, in the interim period while the new houses are being built there is a significant drop in houses available in the Glen Innes area (see figure 5.4). The majority of the houses in development areas A and B have either been demolished or removed. However, only a dozen or so new houses had been built at the time of writing. As shown in Figure 5.4, there are 87 vacant sites within the development area, indicating that re-housing in Glen Innes is not possible for all of the 156 affected households. Those who cannot be allocated housing in the area are, hence, being directly displaced by the State even if, officially, the displacement is only temporary while new houses are being built.



**Figure 5.4:** Map of CCs (Area A and B) and TRC development areas showing vacant lots, tenanted houses, unoccupied houses and new housing (Source: Cole, Gordon and Taylor, 2014).

While some state-housing tenants are given the option to stay in the Tāmaki area, this relocation may only be temporary. As the new social housing policy suggests, the notion of a 'house for life' no longer exists. State-housing tenants are moved on to renewable tenancies. Therefore, those relocated within Glen Innes will be subject to review and potential displacement in three years' time. A long-term state-housing tenant Marama Anderson describes this insecurity of tenure:

Yup, yeah, 5 years' time. Cos that's what they (HNZ) said to my daughter, she said 'how long will I be here for?' so she's on the same street I am, which means me too (Marama Anderson, state-house tenant).

Marama's daughter and her daughter's children were re-located from Torrington Avenue in Area A. For Marama and her daughter, this relocation within the area is considered to be fortunate. However, they are both aware that their ability to remain in Glen Innes is short-term.

Further contributing to the number of state-housing tenants relocated out of the area is the lack of housing options available. The majority of state houses in the area are designed for families with many of the houses in the area having three or four bedrooms. As a result, retirees or 'empty nesters' are less likely to be re-housed in Glen Innes. There are more one and two bedroom units available outside of Glen Innes, and so a number of older residents have been moved to Panmure where there is a greater abundance of housing options for this group.

Lack of housing options has meant that even though HNZ claims that state-housing tenants are given a choice in where they can move to, being relocated in Glen Innes is not necessarily an option for all tenants in Area A and B. Retirees, 'empty nesters' and single occupants are likely to be relocated out of Glen Innes since there are limited options available. However, as Marama points out, even those lucky enough to remain in the community for the time being are likely to move within the next five years as state-housing in the area is further redeveloped or sold on the private market.

## 5.8 HNZ's eviction process

HNZ has been widely criticised within the Glen Innes community for the approaches used to relocate state-housing tenants in development areas A and B. The tactics employed have received criticism from schools, various community groups, Local Board members and residents alike. HNZ's approach has been described as using 'bullying tactics' (Kanawa, 2014). For some residents, the overall outcome or experience of being moved was tolerable. However, HNZ's lack of communication with the affected tenants created unnecessary stress and anxiety throughout the process (personal communications).

Part of the reason HNZ's eviction process seemed abrupt was due to the urgency with which these evictions were carried out. HNZ tenants were given a letter notifying them of the redevelopment, which informed them in advance that they would be required to move. However, considering that prior to this letter HNZ tenants were given a 'house for life', the 90-day eviction notices often did not provide enough time for some tenants to adjust. The majority of HNZ tenants living in the area had been in their homes for a significant period of time – ranging from 10 to 50 years. The Local Board and the CEO of CCs explain that the evictions occurred in this fast-paced manner because it was requested by the Minister for Housing at the time, Phil Heatley, who wanted action in the Tāmaki area. By 2011 when the initial eviction notices were sent out, the Tāmaki Transformation Project (and later the TRC) had been working in the area for a number of years. However, the TRC (formally the TTP) was seen as consultation-heavy and light on action. As Simon Randall – Chair of the Maungakiekie-Tāmaki Local Board explains:

So the stuff with Glen Innes North really came out of the Minister Phil

Heatley – the Minister of Housing – basically wanting action and so didn't

think that the TRC model was delivering it fast enough (Simon Randall,

Chair of the Maungakiekie- Tāmaki Local Board, 2014).

As a result, the TRC contracted a private development company to establish these projects (Murdoch Dryden, Creating Communities, 2014; Simon Randall, Chair of the Local Board, 2014). In the haste of this new project initiation, the process of tenant relocation is considered to have been executed poorly. Bridget Graham of the Maungakiekie- Tāmaki Local Board expresses her regrets around this process:

Oh, well, my thoughts on that are great sorrow for the people actually being moved out of the community in which they have lived for a long, long time but a lot of that happened during the change from the first organisation to the second one. Yes and that was when Housing New Zealand suddenly decided to take the law into their own hands and my belief was that they handled that extremely badly, very insensitively and not at all well. I would be extremely upset if that happened again. Really upset. I do feel sorry for those people that it's happened to but I'm just sincerely hoping that it isn't going to happen again (Bridget Graham, Maungakiekie- Tāmaki Local Board, 2014).

HNZ employed a number of different approaches in order to relocate tenants. Many described this process as being a particularly stressful experience. This was mostly due to a lack of communication about where tenants were to be relocated to. However, after the move, some were happy with the outcome. One family in particular expressed their satisfaction. Tipene Hamilton and his family were moved to another HNZ home in the nearby suburb of Point England. Tipene and his family were pleased with the way this process was carried out. However, it is important to note the reason that this relocation was considered successful. Prior to the redevelopment, the Hamilton family had been considering moving out of their current Torrington Avenue state home as their children were experiencing health issues due to the condition of that home. As a result Tipene and his family had a relatively positive experience being relocated and considered the redevelopment 'a blessing' (Tipene Hamilton, 2014). Other tenants in the area also explained that the lack of communication meant they were initially concerned – mostly due to the

uncertainty about where they may end up. However, once relocated within the Tāmaki area, these tenants were more accepting of the process.

While some tenants were happy with the outcome, many residents believed they were treated poorly in the relocation process. Several homeowners reported that HNZ used the redevelopment as an opportunity to evict friends of theirs from state-housing completely. Several families received a rent increase around the time of evictions. However, according to a friend of these families, they were not actually notified of this at the time (Hemi Williams, personal communication, 2014). Rather, these families received a letter several months later explaining they owed HNZ several thousand dollars in rent arrears. Unable to pay this debt, these families were left with little choice but to relocate into private rentals out of the area.

Individual circumstances were not considered when asking tenants to relocate. Several tenants were expected to move despite illnesses. Helen Aranui explained that her daughter was required to move despite requiring a hip replacement, placing the burden of moving onto other family members (personal communication). It is also thought within the community that for a number of elderly residents the burden of moving was just too overwhelming, and it is reported that approximately 12 people died shortly after moving (Community Meeting, 2014). In some cases this was due to illness but for others it was said to be as a result of being required to live away from close family and support networks. As Ngaire Williamson describes:

I do know that – which is really sad that some were sent out to

Manurewa area which really broke a lot of families because like I said we
did have a lot of generations of families living in the area and to see a
kuia cry because she had to say goodbye to a moko and of course their
children were living overseas but the moko stayed in this area, because
this is where they were born and bred they stayed – they do not know
anywhere else but this community but so to go out and have to find
somewhere else, they were still coming back, they weren't comfortable
where they were which is understandable. I did have I have to go back to

this kuia cos this kuia didn't live long after the grand daughter left only because, like I said she's a kuia and the person she relied on for help was the moko and to not have the moko there she had in herself nobody to rely on because families grown up (Ngaire Williamson, local resident and homeowner, 2014).

For some, the move or the loss of family and support members as a result of the relocation was too traumatic to overcome. The sense of loss and trauma associated with being relocated, or with having friends and family being required to move away, is especially troublesome for elderly residents (Keen and Ruel, 2013). However, it seems that potential impacts on family members were not necessarily considered within the relocation process. This perhaps further reinforces the lack of communication between HNZ and state-housing tenants affected in the area.

Some tenants, especially those who tried to resist the redevelopment, described tactics used by HNZ as 'bullying'. For example, Betty Kanuta, a member of the Tāmaki Housing Group, was served a 90-day eviction notice in December 2013 (Priestley, 2014). Betty appealed her eviction with the tenancy tribunal in 2014. While the tribunal recognised the conditions of the eviction were unwarranted (a family member of Betty's has a criminal record therefore HNZ claimed that Betty was in breach of her tenancy agreement), the tribunal decided that the eviction notice did not need to be removed. After receiving the 90-day notice Betty was diagnosed with breast cancer, yet HNZ still required her to relocate (Priestley, 2014). According to Betty, HNZ pressured her into signing a new tenancy agreement and claims she was put 'under duress' in making the decision to move. Another member of the THG, Niki Rauti is currently, at the time of writing, in the process of taking HNZ to the tenancy tribunal for using intimidation tactics to get her to move. Despite extending Niki's leave for seven months – until January 2015 – HNZ sent Niki letters, turned up at her house and phoned her regularly in attempts to get her to agree to move to another state house in the area before her leave period was up. Niki claims these tactics are harassment and disrupt her right to quiet enjoyment of the property – which are conditions within the tenancy agreement. While Niki and Betty are both actively

opposed to the redevelopment and feel comfortable speaking out against HNZ in the media, another state-housing resident indicates that these 'bullying tactics' are not just limited to members of the housing group. For example, Rosie Jackson suggested she experienced a similar level of pressure from HNZ:

They were very good but I felt at some times they would turn up at my door (Rosie Jackson, relocated state-housing tenant, 2014).

Rosie's comment suggests that HNZ representatives would turn up at her front door unannounced throughout the relocation process. These unscheduled visits indicate that Rosie was privy to similar 'bullying tactics' described by Niki. However, Rosie's statement that 'they [HNZ] were very good' demonstrates the power dynamics at play (discussed in Chapter Four) between state-house tenant and HNZ representatives. Unlike Niki and Betty who have publicised these issues in the media, Rosie and other tenants have been more reluctant to speak out about particular tactics employed by HNZ despite the representatives acting in breach of tenancy agreements. For many tenants, there is a level of dependency on the State for housing, and complaining about particular tactics might put these tenants at risk.

#### 5.9 Conclusion

Drawing on interviews with both key informants and residents, this chapter has explored the way state-led gentrification has occurred in the context of Glen Innes. It is important to note that the gentrification process is dynamic and therefore, while this thesis explores this process as it took shape in 2014, these findings can only provide a snapshot. Through this discussion, five key findings have emerged. Firstly, there has been significant reinvestment into Glen Innes by Auckland Council, HNZ and CCs, an area that had previously received minimal investment. This reinvestment can be understood in terms of Neil Smith's argument of gentrification as a movement of capital (1996; 2002). Secondly, there has been a gradual displacement of Pacific Island residents from the neighbourhood, creating a more visible Pākeha presence. Thirdly, Glen Innes is undergoing a process of rebranding – the renaming of the coastal part of Glen Innes to Wai-O-Taki Bay aims to recreate the suburb to attract middle-class buyers. Fourthly, the gentrification process is displacing the suburb's previous tenants either directly through HNZ evictions or indirectly through increased rents, property prices, rates. In addition, perceived changes within the community are leading homeowners to sell up and state-house tenants to opt to relocate elsewhere. Lastly, HNZ's eviction process has been traumatic for a number of state-houses tenants; this is largely due to lack of communication but for some, especially older tenants, the loss of support and community networks is too much to bear. Following on from these findings, Chapter Six will discuss the displacement of Glen Innes' former residents in more detail using 'the right to the city' literature as a theoretical lens. Impacts of the community left behind will also be further explored.

# **Chapter Six: Displacement and community impacts**

We don't want to be moved, we want to stay here (Glen Innes state-housing tenant).

#### 6.1 Introduction

The 'right to the city' perspective provides a useful approach from which to consider the situation of marginalised groups displaced during the gentrification process. For Lefebvre (1968), workers are constantly pushed out of the city centre towards the periphery as the core is gentrified by the urban elite (cited in Merrifield, 2002). The right to the city, argues Lefebvre, involves workers reclaiming their rights to access and engage in urban life at the core (Merrifield, 2002). The core, as noted in Chapter Two, is where the majority of economic and political exchanges occur. Additionally, the core is a space for the production of knowledge and leisure activities. To be denied access to the city or the urban core is removing the right to full and active participation in urban society (Lefebvre, 1996). To further contribute to the social exclusion of those pushed to the outskirts, investments and resources are channeled into the centre creating an uneven distribution of wealth between the core and periphery (Merrifield, 2011). While Lefebvre considers the right to the city in terms of engagement in life at the urban core, the concept has since been expanded by urban scholars to consider a wide range of rights that are diminished under capitalism (Attoh, 2011).

This chapter will draw on the right to the city literature in order to consider the rights that are being gradually diminished for residents of the Glen Innes community.

I will argue that the New Zealand government, Housing New Zealand (HNZ), the Tāmaki Redevelopment Company (TRC) and Creating Communities (CC) are prioritising profit over people's right to remain in place, right to a community and right to maintain existing social support networks. The displacement of people from their homes and communities will be considered in terms of David Harvey's (2003) notion of 'accumulation by dispossession'. As shown in Chapter Five, property values in Glen Innes have increased by 73% between 2010 and 2012 (QV.co.nz, 2014). The

potential profits to be made on state-owned land has taken priority over the rights of Glen Innes residents to remain in their homes.

This chapter will show that, since Glen Innes has been well-established as a state-housing community, residents experience a strong sense of belonging and community connectivity, contributing to a deep level of place attachment felt within the Glen Innes community. Changes occurring in the local landscape such as a transformation in retail spaces and new residents from different cultural and class backgrounds have resulted in former residents feeling a sense of grief for their old community. State-housing tenants have been relocated out of CC's development areas A and B yet only a small proportion of the new houses have been built (see figure 5.1). The vacant plots left behind by relocated residents have resulted in a decline in student numbers at both Glen Innes Primary and Tāmaki College. As Witten *et al.*, (2001) and DeSena (2006) note, schools act as a focal point for members of the community to meet up, interact socially and develop support networks. With enrolments declining this is set to further disrupt the well-established community connectivity for those left behind in Glen Innes.

The gentrification of Glen Innes has had significant impacts on people's lives and community well-being. Neoliberal ideologies and policies tend not to acknowledge the right to remain in place, the right to a sense of belonging and emotional attachments to place that can result in a sense of grief. By contrast, the right to the city provides a powerful theoretical lens to consider these rights and the value of emotional attachment to place that seem to be otherwise overlooked within redevelopment plans.

#### 6.2 Pushed to the periphery

The Tāmaki rejuvenation project has required a number of the suburb's former residents to be relocated out of Glen Innes. As demonstrated in Chapter Five, this displacement is occurring either directly through HNZ relocating state-housing tenants or indirectly through rising rents, property values rates or residents choosing to leave on their own accord feeling it may only be a matter of time before they are forced out. Additionally some residents felt their neighbourhood was changing and Glen Innes was no longer a place they wished to continue living in. This displacement is shown in Table 5.1 with the gradual decline of Pacific people living in Glen Innes between 2001 and 2013.

Several participants/interviewees indicated that the more 'fortunate' state-house tenants were relocated within Tāmaki, Glen Innes, Pamure and Point England; a number of other state-housing tenants were relocated by HNZ in suburbs such as Mangere, Manurewa, Papakura and 'West'<sup>3</sup> Auckland (figure 6.1). These suburbs are located between 17 and 35 kilometers from the CBD and 16 to 27 kilometers from Glen Innes. While 'West' Auckland (Henderson) and Mangere are still considered Auckland's outer suburbs, Manurewa and Papakura are among Auckland's Southern suburbs and arguably represent a more distant or peripheral part of the metropolitan region. In addition to these relocations Murdoch Dryden (CEO of Creating Communities) claims that several tenants requested to be relocated out of Auckland to be closer to their families so these residents were relocated in Te Awamutu and Tauranga. Several families also moved to Australia in search of job opportunities (Personal communication Soana Pamaka, Tāmaki College -Principal and Jonathan Hendricks, Glen Innes Primary- Principal). While some residents relocated out of the Auckland region by choice this was not necessarily a choice available for all of the tenants displaced within CC's redevelopment area.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 'West' Auckland is used rather ambiguously by participants. In order to give an idea of distances West Auckland's suburb of Henderson – a significant state housing neighbourhood (see Olssen *et al.*, 2010) – has been used as a proxy.

Further, as HNZ tenants were not choosing to move from their homes to begin with, autonomy within this decision making process was already restricted. As shown in figure 5.1 the demolition or removal of 156 state-houses in Glen Innes has left 87 vacant sites in the interim period between tenants being evicted and new housing being built. This decline means it is not possible for all state-house tenants to stay in HNZ houses in Glen Innes. Those required to move to Auckland's outer suburbs can be considered in terms of Lefebvre's (1996) argument that workers — or in the case of state-housing tenants, beneficiaries - are always pushed out of the city centre towards the periphery. As Glen Innes becomes gentrified and reinvested in by Auckland Council, HNZ, CC and middle class homeowners' wealth or capital is channeled into the area yet the former residents are then further marginalised by being forced to relocate to the city's periphery.



**Figure 6.1** Displacement locations of former Glen Innes state-house tenants (Source: Authors own based on google maps and interviewee/residents personal communication)

HNZ claims that tenants evicted from their homes are given a choice about whether or not they remain in the Tāmaki area (Gez Johns, Communications Manager, Northern Housing New Zealand, 2014). This 'choice' has been termed by HNZ as the 'Tāmaki commitment' or 'Tāmaki guarantee.'

Despite HNZ's intentions to re-house their tenants in the area, this claim is more tokenistic than a reality for state-house tenants. As Derek Williamson (2014) suggests this guarantee still requires the tenants to move in the first place with the option to move back if the relocation is not working for the families:

So under the Creating Communities scheme, and HNZ is on this table, when a family was moved and went out to South Auckland or West Auckland after 3 months HNZ would go back and meet with the family and make sure that everything was alright. And if it wasn't then it was an option to bring the family back (Derek Williamson, Community Social Worker, 2014).

As Williamson's quote demonstrates there is a disparity between the community's interpretation of the 'Tāmaki guarantee' and HNZ's claim. According to Williamson, residents are initially moved out and are only moved back to Glen Innes after three months if life in the new neighbourhood is not working out for the relocated tenants. However, also according to Williamson there is a lack of transparency about whether or not this guarantee is being followed through on (Derek Williamson, personal communication, 2014). Further, as Simon Randall (Chair of the Maungakiekie-Tāmaki Local Board, 2014) notes it may be HNZ's goal to relocate state-housing tenants in Tāmaki but support from central government is lacking to make this goal a reality. This is due to the SHRA (2014) which shifts the responsibility of housing allocation and eligibility assessments from locally based HNZ offices to Work and Income where allocation is more centralised.

Susan Scofield (Citizens Advice Bureau, 2014) explains the effects of this policy transition and its implications on the 'Tāmaki guarantee':

Since the development started I think initially there was a lot of uncertainly about what was going to be happening and especially around tenancy issues. The thing is in the middle of all of this, [the redevelopment] with Ministry of Social Development, with the transfer of the allocation of housing - from Housing New Zealand to Work and Income services. [These services] are being centralised so accommodation is no longer prioritised for people living in a certain area. It actually becomes a national database [and this is] really starting to disadvantage local people [and] those who live locally where their support and their whanau is [that's a factor which is] actually not being considered. It might be that the next person that gets a house in Glen Innes comes from Henderson or Hillsborough or Hamilton and the local office have nothing to do with that allocation. [Because] its all done- they [Work and Income] put the data into a machine and the machine spits out whose eligible for the next house depending on the number of points and obviously the size and nature of the house that's available and

that is very, very unsettling for the community. So the redevelopment, that's more around government processes and it doesn't seem too impossible for the local Work and Income office to happily say that (Susan Scofield, Citizens Advice Bureau, 2014).

As Susan Scofield points out, housing decisions made at a central government level mean allocations are made based on housing sizes and where houses are available rather than individual circumstances such as the location of whanau and community support networks. As noted in Chapter Three there are currently 10 000 eligible people on HNZ's waiting list (Johnson, 2013). This shortage means HNZ tenants are unable to turn down housing options on offer, therefore tenants have little choice or feel pressure to accept these options regardless of their location.

Further, as Derek Williamson's earlier comment demonstrates, the 'Tāmaki guarantee' is not necessarily well known amongst state-housing tenants who are required to move. While the guarantee was mentioned by several key informants such as Murdoch Dryden (CEO of Creating Communities), Simon Randall (Chair of the Maungakiekie-Tāmaki Local Board), Susan Scofield (Citizens Advice Bureau) and Gez Johns (Housing New Zealand), none of the resident participants seemed to be aware of this commitment from HNZ. Rather, resident interviewees expected to be moved out of the area completely. For example, Tina Apainuku (State-house tenant in Area B) received notification from HNZ in 2011 that her house was in the redevelopment area and she would eventually be required to move. However, at the time of writing in 2014 she was still yet to be relocated. Nonetheless, Tina claims she has received no other information from HNZ regarding her impending eviction (personal communication). Further, Tina expects she will eventually be moved to Papakura:

Because they [HNZ] are trying to move us to Papakura, nobody wants to go out that, out there (Tina Apainuku, State-house tenant, Area B, 2014).

As Tina's comment suggests she is under the impression HNZ plans to move herself and other state-house tenants to Papakura. Since HNZ keeps information regarding

the relocation of state-housing tenants confidential it is difficult to track how many residents have moved out of the neighbourhood. However, the principals of both Tāmaki College and Glen Innes Primary both claim, based on school enrolments, that around 20 families have so far been required to leave the area as a result of the development (Jonathan Hendricks; Soana Pamaka, Personal Communication, 2014). Whether or not this movement out of Glen Innes was by choice is unclear. However responses from a number of state-house tenants suggested that moving out of the suburb is not necessarily the desired outcome for HNZ tenants. However, an important point to consider for those who did in fact choose to move to Papakura or Manurewa is the significant difference in rental costs. The majority of interview participants who expressed their discontent in moving were beneficiaries or retirees. As this group is paying income-related rent housing cost is not as much of an issue for these tenants. Rather, sense of community belonging and social and whanau support may be more important and this group may be less willing to move away from their support networks and community (Keen and Ruel, 2013; Reid, 2013). For others however, an important factor in the decision to move South or out of Glen Innes may have been rental costs. State-housing tenants who are working are usually required to pay market rent, therefore, rising rents in Glen Innes may have meant that a shift to slightly cheaper suburbs meant lower rental costs. For example in January 2014 the average market rent for a three-bedroom house in Glen Innes was \$475 per week compared to \$380 per week in Manurewa and Papakura (Q.V. co.nz, 2014). For low-wage workers this is a significant difference that may have influenced the tenant's choice when relocating. Nonetheless these low-wage workers, similarly to tenants on income related rents, are still being pushed out of their former neighbourhood towards the periphery.

As Lefebvre (1996) claims, workers or marginalised groups are consistently pushed away from the city centre or the urban core towards the outskirts as part of the remaking of urban life. This push towards the outskirts has happened before for a number of Glen Innes' older residents. Those who were relocated from inner city suburbs of Freeman's Bay and Ponsonby now 50 years later are being relocated

again to make way for this most recent round of development projects. Tina

Apainuku explains how she and her husband moved to Glen Innes from Ponsonby:

From Ponsonby, yes cos his [Tina's husband] aunty owned a house in Ponsonby and then they were trying to get the people out, out of Ponsonby you know, you see what Ponsonby is like now – they're [HNZ] doing the same here (Tina Apainuku, state-house tenant, Area B, 2014).

Tina's comparison of them 'getting people out' of Ponsonby to 'getting people out' of Glen Innes is further supported by Bridget Graham (Maungakiekie-Tāmaki Local Board). As Graham recalls:

No a long time ago, probably you can't remember that Freeman's Bay, yes, was a suburb that was populated with Pacific and Māori [...] a lot of those people were shifted out of their community [....] It was very sad for those people that lived there, some of them for a couple of generations simply because people understood that Freeman's Bay had huge possibilities. Yes Tāmaki has huge possibilities, it's got views, it's got the water it's got the parks it has actually got huge possibilities (Bridget Graham, Maungakiekie-Tāmaki Local Board, 2014).

As Graham's comment demonstrates, Māori and Pacific Island residents were displaced from Freeman's Bay to make way for development opportunities. Graham then suggests that Tāmaki has a similar potential to gentrified suburbs such as Freeman's Bay. As noted earlier, Glen Innes was a planned state-housing suburb developed in the 1950s (Scott, *et al.*, 2010) and, at the time, this part of the city was on the outskirts. Tina explains that when she and her husband initially arrived in Glen Innes 50 years ago Glen Innes/Wai-O-Taki Bay was undeveloped farmland and bush:

[A]t the time it was just bush. It was just cattle down the other end there you know, just farmland. It's just a property you know that's all we could think of,

we're lucky to get it. But that wasn't there on that hill; there was nobody there. It was just farmland (Tina Apainuku, state-house tenant, Area B, 2014).

Tina and her husband felt lucky to be given a house despite the location being less than desirable at this time. Further, Rosie Jackson (a relocated Area A resident) drew attention to the racial aspects of this push to the periphery:

I believe they want all us dark skin people to go South, I really do yup. This is how I really feel (Rosie Jackson, relocated Area A resident, 2014).

Rosie's comment points to the way in which race and class intersect in processes of urban change. Lefebvre's point of workers being pushed out of the city centre to make way for the gentrified urban core does not necessarily draw attention to race (Merrifield, 2002), although some more recent interpretations have identified the clear connections (McCann 1999). A racialised element can be considered within the New Zealand context, as shown with the push outwards from Freemans Bay and Ponsonby affecting Māori and Pacific Islanders. This racial aspect to displacement has continued as Glen Innes residents are pushed to the outskirts, demonstrated with the gradual decline of Pacific Island residents living in the neighbourhood (see table 5.1).

### 6.3 Glen Innes: creating our own core

[Y]ou can't go anywhere and get a little bit of Glen Innes, you know (Tipene Hamilton, relocated Glen Innes resident, Area A).

Merrifield (2011) argues that even though the city is divided into two; the core and the periphery people create their own cores based around family, social networks, places of work and community involvement. A number of resident participants indicated Glen Innes was their core. As mentioned in Chapter Five, a significant proportion of the Glen Innes housing stock is state-owned. Until the recent reforms, state housing tenants had a security of tenure that was similar to homeownership. Tina Apainuku points out this divergence from their tenancy agreements:

When you sign up for the house, it didn't say that you would have to look for a house in 3 weeks' time or 4 weeks' time, like that and the landlord is not them [HNZ], it's the Queen, I went back to read it and I thought oh (Tina Apainuku, state-house tenant, Area B resident, 2014).

For Tina and many other long-term state-housing tenants their leases were 'for life'. Under this premise, residents have established long-term community and social-support networks that are not necessarily obtainable when renting through the more transient private market. As Tina implies, HNZ has changed the rules on these tenants, now requiring them to move on. Nonetheless, as 70 percent of the neighbourhood has, until recently, had this type of security of tenure this has enabled a unique sense of community and attachment to place to develop. This unique sense of community was mentioned in some way by most participants including those who worked in the community but lived elsewhere. For example, Tipene Hamilton describes this uniqueness as sharing similar characteristics to that of small town New Zealand:

Yeah there is something about it that's actually really quite unique eh, but I come from a small town up in Kaikohe, yeah my mum is from up there my

dad is from a little bit further up, up the North Island and this place reminds me of, you know, and its got a real home. I mean you can drive through and you can just you know, you see people along and just wave out to them and they wave back and you know whose not from here because you don't see their faces around, so its quite tight and that can be a good thing and a bad things as, well you know, when new people come and people are like 'whose that?' sort of thing, people are quite tight around here (Tipene Hamilton, Tipene Hamilton, relocated state-house tenant, Area A, resident for 13 years).

Tipene's comparison provides an example of the uniqueness expressed by a number of interview participants when describing Glen Innes. Residents also express an emotional connection to the community, for example:

We've got a heart for Glen Innes, we sort of love it here... (Tipene Hamilton, relocated state-house tenant, Area A, resident for 13 years).

Marama Anderson echoes Tipene's claims:

Glen Innes, Glen Innes is a lovely, lovely place it is the people that have made Glen Innes how it is today (Marama Anderson, state-house tenant and resident for 39 years, 2014).

As Tipene's and Marama's comments show, residents experience an emotional attachment to Glen Innes. Marama indicates that it is the people and social relations that contribute to Glen Innes' unique appeal and connection to place. For Marama and her family this social connection and the people of Glen Innes are particularly important for her sense of belonging. This is apparent when Marama discusses her daughter's relocation from Area A:

Yeah she got relocated, um she didn't mind once she got there it was the not knowing where, and, it wasn't, she didn't have a choice to where, they [HNZ] just say here. She was lucky there was one just in here [Glen Innes] and she took it because her kids were here, the school is here [Glen Innes], and the support is here [Glen Innes]. And we're not originally from here, we're from out of Auckland, so no [direct] family support, but there's an iwi here there is Maori here and they are family, they're a tribe (Marama Anderson, state-house tenant and resident for 39 years, 2014).

For Marama, the local iwi act as an extended family for her in Auckland contributing to her sense of belonging in the Glen Innes community. Further, Rosie Jackson explains the reason Glen Innes is such a desirable area:

Well, number one, we've got a good infrastructure the transport wise is wonderful, we've got WINZ there, the Marae here, the library here we're not far from the beaches and all of that sort of a thing yeah (Rosie Jackson, relocated state-house tenant area A, 2014).

Rosie's comments highlight Merrifield's (2011) point that people create their own centres. Being close to WINZ offices, the marae and the library are not necessarily selling points for those coming into the community (see Chapter Five). However, for Rosie these are key sites in her day-to-day life which for her make Glen Innes valuable. These sites play a significant role in community connectivity for Rosie, as she later explains even though she has been relocated out of Glen Innes she commutes back to the community several days a week to carry out her community based commitments, attending church and catching up with friends and former neighbours. While her new home is in the nearby suburb of Panmure, she has so far been unable to establish a sense of belonging or connection to the community. As Rosie explains:

[Y]ou know when I moved to Panmure, though the home is nice and I thank the Housing New Zealand for the nice home but my heart is in GI you know, I'll always find a way back here its where I connect with people. This is where the hub is lets say, you know everyone knows each other and everything, I get the support from the Marae and you know the library and from the community itself. But up in [...] Panmure, I just don't feel that connectiveness other than living there you know and everything but I'll always find a way back here [Glen Innes] (Rosie Jackson, relocated statehouse tenant, area A, 2014).

As Rosie's quote suggests sense of place extends beyond place of residence and includes familiarities, places and people. Rosie then goes on to explain she is not alone in her regular commute back to the community:

Oh you know, people, I know some people opposite me up in Panmure when they relocated and everything the homes are nice and all of that but when I come to the bus in the morning and I see all these faces I think Oh gosh! You come on the bus and almost everyone gets off in GI (Rosie Jackson, relocated state-house tenant, area A, 2014).

In relocating to the nearby suburb of Panmure, Rosie and other residents indicate that sense of belonging is not based on a physical address. These ties to place have been well-established over time with family connections, friends, and memories creating a strong connection to place. Rosie describes this deep connection beyond physical location:

[W]e talk on the bus 'oh where were you relocated from?' and they go 'oh not far from me', I don't know how this happened but they got relocated from Elstree Avenue and they say 'yeah we're happy here but we cant wait to get back to Glen Innes'. You know, and its like that for a lot of people, well the people that I've seen in the community they always come back and I see them on the bus in the morning and all that sort of thing because here is where they have their connection, here they put down roots they have their children it where their children grew up you know, maybe marry someone in

the community or get jobs in this community and everything else like that. When its something like that and its sort of engrained in you, you always come back to where you first began like my boys were born in Glen Innes my eldest son was born in St John's but always the homes have been in Glen Innes we've been in a few homes in Glen Innes so you know its their roots something will always bring them back to Glen Innes we'll always be in the community you know (Rosie Jackson, relocated state-house tenant, Area A, 2014).

Glen Innes residents such as Rosie who regularly commute back to Glen Innes show that attachment to place and community connectivity is deeper than physical location or home. HNZ tenants who were relocated nearby are attempting to maintain their involvement in the community by commuting back regularly. However, it is important to note that this regular commute is not possible for those who have been relocated as far as 27 kilometres from Glen Innes such as those now residing in Papakura. For those who may not be able to maintain their involvement in the community in the same way Rosie and other Pamure residents have, those displaced to the outskirts may experience a sense of grief and loss for Glen Innes and their former community (see Slater, 2013). However, as mentioned in Chapter Four relocated residents were difficult to find and therefore the particular perspective of these residents remains unclear.

#### 6.4 Displacement impacts on community

As demonstrated, the gentrification of Glen Innes has had significant impacts for those displaced from their community including on their homes, neighbours, support networks, whanau and friends. Displacement also has significant consequences for communities left behind. As community members are relocated out of the area, new people with a different socio-economic and cultural background are gradually moving in (see Chapter Five). This transformation of the suburb has detrimental consequences for those remaining in the community. Firstly, new residents moving in are often of a different demographic to those who were displaced, resulting in a changing sense of connection to the suburb. Helen Aranui, a left behind state-house tenant, explains:

Yeah, yeah, they're moving us right out of Glen Innes [...] and they're bringing other people in, which is like, I've noticed a big difference. I have noticed a big difference with the new people because they look at us likecos we're the locals, they look at us like we're the strangers and that they've been here for years! (Helen Aranui, state-house tenant, 2014).

Helen's comment draws attention to the tension between long-term Glen Innes residents from a low socio-economic background and the gentrifers arriving in the suburb. Helen's observation of a 'big difference' between those who have left and those coming in highlights the social and cultural differences between state-house tenants pushed out and middle class homeowners arriving in the community. Moreover, her sense of being a 'stranger' reflects the way in which the suburb is changing – Glen Innes is no longer the same as it once was with locals now feeling out of place or like a 'stranger' in their own community.

The premise of a 'house for life' has resulted in a close-knit, unique community with strong social support networks and a deep connection or attachment to Glen Innes. It is common amongst state-house tenants to develop an attachment to place as a result of secure tenancy agreements (Slater, 2013). Removing people from places

where these sorts of deep connections have been established can trigger a range of emotions including, pain, bitterness and grief (Slater, 2013). For Slater (2013) these emotions are considered in terms of residents who had been relocated or displaced from their communities. Glen Innes residents experienced a sense of loss for their old community as the suburb is rapidly changing. A number of residents left behind in Glen Innes expressed this sense of loss. Hemi Williams, a homeowner in Area A, explains:

[L]osing them [neighbours] and the houses is quite magical, very quickly, very rapidly, it's making the place a ghost town. It takes a bit, a bit longer to replace them. In some ways its quite peaceful and in other ways when you take a look back and ponder on what you see its quite lonely as well (Hemi Williams, homeowner in Area A, 2014).

Hemi describes the neighbourhood having transformed rapidly into a ghost town. As state-house tenants are relocated out of redevelopment areas there is a gap between moving people out and new residents arriving. This is shown in figure 5.1 with 87 vacant plots. For Hemi, a homeowner in Torrington Ave (Area A) this transition is both peaceful and lonely. As noted in Chapter Five several residents had noticed that these development processes are 'changing the face of Glen Innes'. With this change, a number of residents spoke with a general sense of acceptance that their time in the community was limited and that it was only a matter of time before they would be required to move on too (see Chapter Five). According Hemi Williams, this transition has been traumatic for some residents; for others including himself there is a sense of acceptance about the transformation and, for still others, it has invoked feelings of anger or grief.

For me it's about change and trauma, and yet again I'm thinking differently, because it doesn't matter whether they stay or not, its still going to happen, and it's a question of whether they're willing to accept the change, and if not then they will change their own circumstances, and that's for property owners [...] I feel for those ones that are shifting because,

they've actually lived and developed a community that was safe for them and now its no longer safe for them because its out of their control. The housing ministry has changed the environment around them which has changed the way they feel about it - where they are living now, so I can understand that, but like I said it doesn't matter whether I don't like it or not it's gonna happen so while I'm still young and fit and I can handle it I'm happy to accept the change and just make sure that um my household and my family are ok, first and foremost and then do what I can to help the community, but yeah its really up to the individual to actually make a stand for themselves on what kind of community they want, rather than try and fight something which they can't stop [...] the actual transformation, you know. I believe people need to grieve and if they're angry about it, well anger is another form of grief (Hemi Williams, homeowner in Area A, 2014).

As Hemi's comments show, there has been a mixed reaction from residents. According to Hemi, residents - especially those that are homeowners - need to accept the change or change their own circumstances by selling up and leaving the community. However, state-house tenants are not given the same agency within the decision making process. While HNZ tenants can opt to leave the neighbourhood this is not a decision where state-house tenants have full control of their own circumstances. HNZ plays a key role within state-house tenant's decision-making process including location, house size and for those living in areas targeted for redevelopment HNZ also sets the time frame. Hemi notes the difference as he expresses his sympathy for HNZ tenants who have had to move out of their 'safe' communities under circumstances beyond their control. As Hemi's comment suggests, Glen Innes residents have lived and developed a community throughout their lives that are safe for them. Residents have developed this sense of place and community over time. It is then understandable that Hemi identifies a third group – those left behind who are angry about the redevelopment. As Hemi, notes, these residents are grieving for a community that no longer feels like it belongs to them.

Tāmaki College and Glen Innes Primary have both been impacted by the relocation of HNZ tenants within CCs redevelopment areas. CCs project replaces 156 HNZ houses with 78 new ones (See Chapter Three). However, at the time of writing only a dozen new houses had been built. In 2012 and 2013 the majority of HNZ tenants were moved out of their homes. After relocating tenants, HNZ's houses were either relocated to the Far North or demolished. In 2014 there were 87 vacant sites within the two development areas (see figure 5.4). These vacant sites have had consequences for the local schools. As mentioned earlier, of the 156 relocated HNZ tenants, 23 families were moved out of Glen Innes completely – 21 from Glen Innes Primary and 23 from Tāmaki College (Jonathan Hendricks; Soana Pamaka, Personal Communication, 2014). However, as both Jonathan Hendricks and Soana Pamaka point out, there are multiple school-aged children per family and therefore, CC's redevelopment affected approximately 40 students from each school. Jonathan Hendricks from Glen Innes Primary notes this drop in students had a significant impact on the primary school as the school's enrolment is approximately 160 students – 40 children is then a quarter of the student body.

The empty sites clearly mean the local schools have lost students due to the redevelopment. However, as Jonathan Hendricks notes, these vacant sites mean that new HNZ tenants or new homeowners arriving in the area are not replacing relocated students immediately. Further, a lack of communication between CC and Glen Innes Primary has affected planning in terms of expected student numbers:

We did our planning in ah October of 2013 for the start of 2014 [...] we anticipated that the building programme around us [new housing in Area A] was going to come to a conclusion and that the houses would be occupied by March, April cos that's the information we were given. I went to the board and I said I'd like to employ one additional teacher above what we are entitled to, with the understanding that the houses would be occupied and students would be coming to this school. Unfortunately that hasn't happened. The result is that the school is carrying the cost of the additional

teacher's salary instead of the Ministry (Jonathan Hendricks – Principal of Glen Innes Primary, 2014).

This miscommunication between CC and Glen Innes Primary has resulted in the school taking on the cost of an extra teacher's salary. The CC redevelopment plans to build 330 new homes and theoretically this means the enrolment numbers of both schools could increase. However, in the interim between tenants being relocated, student numbers have dropped. Further, a delay in new housing has meant the enrolment has remained low for a longer time period than initially expected. As a result Glen Innes Primary School has been financially impacted upon by the redevelopment. Tāmaki College has experienced similar financial issues due to the temporary drop in student numbers. As Soana Pamaka explains:

[I]t is a contributing factor to our roll. [...] certainly when they started with the housing redevelopment we noticed that to the point where I rung the Ministry to make sure we had a conversation [...] but of course you will know that there is no flexibility in the Act for things like that you know. It's not like the ministry can say oh you know we'll be funding Tāmaki College not based on their enrolment because of the housing (Soana Pamaka – Principal of Tāmaki College, 2014).

As Pamaka points out school funding received from the Ministry of Education is tied to enrolment numbers. Declining student numbers can eventually lead to financial challenges or even school closures (Witten *et al.*, 2001; DeSena, 2006). Both schools have had a drop in student numbers as a result of the empty houses and vacant lots in development areas A and B. However, both Jonathan Hendricks and Soana Pamaka hoped that newcomers to the neighbourhood would be sending their children to the local schools. As Soana Pamaka notes:

Well that's certainly our hope, I mean we're delivering a quality service for everybody, and we do have people that are new to the area who will move here and enroll their children here because they're not influenced by the

negative perception that some of the local people have about the college, you know, they're none the wiser lets say so they bring their children here and that's perfectly fine. We do have people that enroll and say we've been told by so and so not to bring our children here but we are bringing them here you know, so those things go on all the time (Soana Pamaka, Principal of Tāmaki College, 2014).

As Pamaka's comment demonstrates, Tāmaki College would like children moving into the community to attend the school. However, the college's negative reputation and low-decile might act to deter some parents. Despite the fact that both schools are planning for an increase in student numbers as houses are built, gentrifers may not necessarily send their children to local schools. As DeSena (2006) notes, often middle class gentrifers moving into lower socio-economic areas tend to send their children to private schools or schools in neighbouring suburbs with a better reputation. Empty houses and sites in Glen Innes have created a level of uncertainty around enrolment numbers for Glen Innes Primary and Tāmaki College. This uncertainty and the drop in enrolment have placed a financial burden on the schools. Alongside the loss of belonging in the changing demographics of Glen Innes these student declines demonstrate the long-term effects that gentrification can have on communities.

### 6.5 Conclusion: Capital accumulation prioritised over community

As demonstrated in Chapter Five, close proximity to the city centre and popular East Coast beaches mean Glen Innes and Wai-O-Taki Bay are situated in a particularly desirable location. The suburb's appeal is reflected in the increase in property values, the average house price has risen by 73% and market rent by 27% between 2010 and 2012 (Qv.co.nz, 2014). As property values rise, the potential for profit attracts investors to the area. Since the neoliberalised city is framed around the ideology that the best use of land is that which produces the highest profit margins, this then leads to displacement of previous residents in pursuit of capital accumulation (Harvey, 2003; 2008). As shown in Chapter Three, state-housing tenants in New Zealand have historically been placed on the outskirts of the city where land values are lower (Ferguson, 1994; Schrader, 2005). State-houses that were located in the inner city suburbs as part of 1950s assimilation strategies were sold on the private market with the 'neoliberal turn' of the 1990s (Morrison, 1995; Murphy, 2004). State-house tenants relocated from inner city suburbs were then moved to outer city suburbs (Friesen, 2009), which at this time included Glen Innes.

This chapter has drawn on resident and stake-holder narratives to argue that state-led gentrification in Glen Innes prioritises a profit driven agenda over people's right to community, sense of place and belonging. The displacement of state-housing tenants in Glen Innes pushes people away from their community or the urban core they have created for themselves. This displacement also has a significant impact on those left behind as their community changes and is no longer the core or safe community in which they have created for themselves over time.

As land values have increased in Glen Innes state housing is no longer considered the 'best use' of land. HNZ tenants are then gradually displaced to the city's outskirts where land values are lower. This displacement has significant impacts upon those displaced, being removed from their friends, whanau, social support networks and community. And those left behind, as gentrification gradually transforms the suburb, are confronted with losing their community invoking for some a sense of grief.

# **Chapter Seven: Conclusion**

### 7.1 Thesis summary

This thesis has explored the ways in which state-led gentrification has impacted upon residents and their sense of community and belonging in Glen Innes, Auckland. It has focused on gaining an understanding of community implications from a resident's perspective, in particular drawing on narratives of individuals living through these changes and their experiences of displacement, anxiety and exclusion. In taking this approach the thesis has shown that the current redevelopment of Glen Innes has disrupted community support networks that have been established over time by removing people from their homes and separating state-house tenants from their friends, whanau, and social support networks. This redevelopment is situated in a context of considerable change in the way in which government manages social/state housing. The Social Housing Reform Act 2014 is set to dramatically change New Zealand's state-housing provisioning, reducing the State's role in housing low-income earners and beneficiaries. Further, the reforms will periodically assess tenant's eligibility, removing housing security previously provided through 'home for life' tenancies. While the full effects of these policies remain unclear, the redevelopment of Glen Innes, informed by similar ideologies, has provided insight into how these reforms may affect other neighbourhoods throughout New Zealand as similar redevelopment projects begin to occur in the near future.

The processes outlined in this thesis arguably represent the next chapter in New Zealand's state-housing history. Following four key periods of change – 1905, 1935, 1991 and the early 2000s – the current processes of reducing state housing and outsourcing to the third sector are likewise occurring as part of wider shifts in political economy and to the welfare-state. In particular, there are clear similarities between the recent reforms to housing policy and those introduced in the 1990s. Historical and contemporary housing policy reforms often result in an increase to rental accommodation costs and tenant transience, leading to the loss of established community and support networks (Murphy and Kearns, 1994; Murphy, 1997; Robinson, 1998). Glen Innes represents a significant case-study across these periods,

since its development, Glen Innes as a planned state-housing community has been used as a site of 'social experimentation'. The recent changes to policy and the removal of these houses to make way for private redevelopment projects reflect a shift in ideology that privileges the private market and profit over people.

This research has been informed by four key areas of literature. Firstly, Wolch's (1990) concept of the 'shadow state' provides a theoretical explanation for the gradual shift from State welfare provision towards the third sector and the implications this has for housing provision. Secondly, this research is situated in relation to the evolving stages of gentrification and in particular the increasing role of the state within the gentrification process. Henri Lefebvre's (1968, cited in Merrifield, 2002) 'right to the city' argument offers useful insight in this regard, highlighting the way in which the displacement involved in gentrification pushes marginalised groups to the periphery, reducing the right to access an urban core and the right to remain in communities. Lastly, the research has drawn insight from scholarship on the implications of displacement for communities including the loss of support networks, disruption of community cohesion and the grief and loss generated in the break up of communities. This literature has provided a basis for developing two broad arguments from the research.

Firstly, in Chapter Five I drew on interviews with key informants and resident narratives to examine the way the gentrification process is unfolding in Glen Innes. HNZ and the Auckland Council have recently reinvested funding into the area as the suburb has become more desirable to middle class residents. Changes to the retail landscape with gourmet supermarkets such as Nosh and Huckleberry Farms has contributed to the rebranding of the suburb as a middle class neighbourhood. Further, the renaming of the coastal part of Glen Innes to Wai-O-Taki Bay seeks to distance the neighbourhood from negative connotations and re-market the area to middle class homeowners. The gradual displacement of Pacific people from their communities has changed the demographics of the suburb, contributing to the whitening of the neighbourhood. Lastly, this chapter also drew attention to the process used by HNZ to relocate state-housing tenants. I argued that the lack of

communication between HNZ and their tenants has created unnecessary stress and trauma that, for some of the neighbourhood's older residents, has been fatal.

Secondly, Chapter Six I drew on Lefebvre's (1996) right to the city argument to unpack interviews with key informants and residents. Using this framework, I argue that state-led gentrification prioritises profit accessible by rising land values over people's right to remain in place, right to community, and right to have a sense of belonging. This profit focus is displacing residents of Glen Innes from the 'safe' communities they have established and created for themselves over time.

In what follows I highlight two key conclusions drawn from this thesis and consider these findings within the academic literature. I then reflect upon my methodology and in particular my involvement with the Tāmaki Housing Group as well as the strengths and weaknesses of this approach to community based research. I suggest some areas for future research while addressing some potential gaps due to size and scope of this research thesis.

#### 7.2 Key conclusions

#### 7.2:1 Rethinking gentrification

State-led gentrification is becoming increasingly commonplace within the neoliberal city (Smith, 2002). As this thesis has shown, for example, the New Zealand state has clearly become an active player within gentrification processes in Auckland (Smith, 2002) both in central government's role as landlord, as well as through changes to urban policy which support gentrification projects (Murphy, 2008; Rérat, *et al.*, 2010; Smith, 2002). As Lees (2012) notes the particular way in which a suburb is gentrified varies based on the locally specific context. Glen Innes provides a unique example of gentrification for several reasons. Firstly, the State (HNZ) in this case is a majority landowner and therefore one of the key beneficiaries of the profits derived from the redevelopment. Secondly, as 60% of the housing stock is owned by HNZ a significant portion of the population is directly affected by this redevelopment. While as Watt (2009; 2013) points out state-housing had previously prevented part of the city from becoming gentrified by reducing the private market's access to this land, the current

processes underway in Glen Innes demonstrate that the state can also very rapidly privatise large portions of neighbourhoods.

Past New Zealand based examples of the government's involvement in gentrification occurred with the introduction of market-rent in the 1990s which rendered statehouses in Auckland's desirable inner city suburbs such as Ponsonby a 'surplus' since low-income earners could not keep up with market-rent (Friesen, 2009; Morrison, 1995; Murphy, 2004). However, this type of State involvement differs from the Glen Innes example for three reasons. While financial necessity required the houses former HNZ occupants to move, they were not actively forced by the state to relocate in the same way HNZ tenants are being moved from their homes in Glen Innes. This difference meant that the displacement process in Ponsonby was much more gradual. Secondly, since these houses were 'pepper potted' this displacement was individual houses scattered throughout the neighbourhood rather than entire streets or areas – as has been the case in Glen Innes' Areas A and B (see figure 5.1 and 5.2). Thirdly, while the State contributed to the pre-existing gentrification of inner city suburbs such as Ponsonby, HNZ in this example was not the driving force. Further, the government's role within the gentrification of Ponsonby can still be considered in terms of Ruth Glass' original definition, that one by one working class houses are gradually brought by the middle classes and upgraded, displacing the neighbourhood's previous occupants over time and eventually transforming the entire neighbourhood (Glass, 1964 cited in Smith, 2002). However, in the context of Glen Innes the State is actively transforming the significant sections of the neighbourhood in one sweeping move. The Creating Communities redevelopment area alone is 156 houses; this is far removed from the 'one by one' gradual transformation that Ruth Glass envisioned in her pioneering work.

While recent New Zealand examples have occurred at a neighbourhood level with the 'studentification' of Auckland's CBD (see Collins, 2010) and the gentrification of Auckland's Viaduct Harbor (see Murphy, 2008). Neither of these examples involved the direct displacement of existing residents. However, in the Glen Innes context, state-housing residents are relocated by the State. As demonstrated with resident

narratives in Chapter Five, this thesis reveals the types of processes used by the State to remove tenants from their homes within state-led gentrification projects. One such process, in the Glen Innes context, was the lack of communication between HNZ and tenants, which created unnecessary stress for some tenants. An example of this was the decision to relocate tenants without consideration of individual circumstances such as nearby whanau and social support, something that significantly impacted elderly tenants.

# 7.2:2 The right to a community and the right to an abode

As the resident narratives drawn on in Chapter Six have demonstrated, within a neoliberal city that prioritises profit over all other forms of rights, marginalised groups are limited in their right to remain in the community they have created for themselves. Further, the right to remain in, and create, a sense of place, belonging and a home is also reduced for those who are unable to afford to own their own homes. For the state-housing tenants displaced from Glen Innes these rights have been removed in two key ways. First, shifts in state-housing policies have removed security of tenure that was previously provided for those that were unable to afford to purchase or rent their own homes. Secondly, as the New Zealand government has become involved in gentrification of entire neighbourhoods, communities that have been built up over time are dismantled.

It is hence with some irony that the private development company contracted out by HNZ is named 'Creating Communities'. This name seeks to imply that communities are something that can be created. Working in partnership with HNZ to redevelop housing stock in Glen Innes, Creating Communities suggests through its name that communities can be created simply by building new housing and attracting new residents. However, as the resident narratives drawn upon in Chapter Six demonstrate a 'community' is much more than the built environment. Communities are built up and established over time and are made up of people, social support networks, friends, whanau. Indeed, other research in recent housing developments in Auckland has demonstrated that regardless of the discourses of marketing the built environment by itself cannot generate community (Opit and Kearns 2014).

The First Labour Government's state-housing vision aimed to provide security of tenure and fostered a right to a community for all regardless of class status (Murphy, 2004). HNZ's willingness to relocate tenants from their life-long homes and communities demonstrates a shift in thinking that reduces this aspect of housing provisioning to merely provide shelter during periods of financial hardship. As a result of this shift, society's most vulnerable population, such as sole parents, the long-term unemployed, retirees and those living with disabilities are pushed into a life of transience. This increased transience is particularly problematic for these groups since as Keene and Ruel (2013) point out these vulnerable groups tend to depend on community support networks for everyday necessities and general well-being. For example, neighbours may help out older residents with trips to the doctors or assist single parents with childcare. The notions of home, community, sense of place, and belonging are increasingly reserved for those that can afford to own their own home.

As Harvey (2012) claims, the right to the city – or in this case the seemingly more basic right to a community, belonging, sense of place, and the right to an abode – can be understood as a class-struggle. This exclusion is not just limited to state-house tenants but, in a context of rapid appreciation in property values, arguably extends to those who are unable to access home ownership, those that are unable to keep up with rising rates, and people living in rental accommodation. This situation is particularly problematic in cities such as Auckland where only a third of the population owns their own home (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Rising property values are increasingly reserving homeownership, and the benefits that come with owning a home and remaining in a fixed place, for a privileged wealthy elite.

#### 7.3 Reflection on methods

As discussed in Chapter Four, an element of this research involved an attempt to merge political activism with academic research. While my participation in the Tāmaki Housing Group was not directly used as a research method, rather regular attendance of meetings and protests provided me with an opportunity to engage with and observe the Glen Innes community. Nonetheless, this involvement with the Tāmaki Housing Group did inform and shape this research thesis as it kept me informed and up to date with developments occurring in the area and provided me with information that as an 'outsider' I may have not otherwise had access to. Since my participation in the group took place alongside interviewing key informants and residents, it is worth considering some of the strengths and weaknesses of this methodological approach.

As demonstrated in Chapter Six, Glen Innes is a close-knit community. Therefore, it is likely that my involvement in the Tāmaki Housing Group may have become known to my interview participants as well as potential participants. My association with the protest group may have been the reason particular interview requests were declined. Further, other participants may have agreed to an interview and upon meeting up face-to-face may have then recognised me as someone who has publically attended protests organised by the group. While none of the interview participants mentioned recognising me, it is possible my known involvement with the group could have meant participants chose to offer, disclose or withhold particular information during the interview.

Even though my participation with the Tāmaki Housing Group may have prevented some people from taking part in the interview process or potentially shaped the types of responses I was given, my participation in the group has proven a worthwhile approach to this particular research project for several reasons. In the same way my visible support of the group may have prevented some interviews and influenced participant responses, this may have equally also meant that other participants trusted me with particular information. Further, relationships

established over the year with group members is likely to have meant that people who may have otherwise been skeptical about participating in this research project were willing to share their stories with me.

More importantly, since the Tāmaki Housing Group is actively resisting the redevelopment those that were unwilling to take part in the research based on my involvement with the group are most likely to have been key stake-holders in the redevelopment such as Creating Communities, Housing New Zealand and the Tāmaki Redevelopment Company. Despite my role as a protester acting as a potential deterrent I was able to interview a spokes person from each of these organisations with the exception of the Tāmaki Redevelopment Company (although in the case of HNZ the interview was conducted at a distance via email). The Tāmaki Redevelopment Company's decision not to participate in the interview process was not to the detriment to this particular research project since access to this particular perspective was gained through interviews with Auckland Council's Local Board representatives. Further, as Butler and Hamnett (2009) point out, the developers' perspective is often overrepresented within gentrification research. As gaining insight to residents' perspective of community impacts was the objective of this project, gaining trust and establishing relationships with residents and state-housing tenants was more valuable within this project. My involvement with the Tāmaki Housing Group provided me with regular insight into the ways in which the redevelopment impacted on the community as these implications were often discussed by residents involved in the Tāmaki Housing Group. Therefore, my participation within the Tāmaki Housing Group proved invaluable to this particular research project as it gave me a deeper level of understanding and insights into the implications created by the redevelopment.

### 7.4 Limitations and future research suggestions

Due to the size and scope of this research project, this thesis was unable to sufficiently deal with the racialised aspects of the gentrification process. As Chapter Five shows, the redevelopment of Glen Innes is currently displacing Pacific people from the area in particular. The racialised nature of state-led gentrification has been discussed by Shaw (2000) in the case of Sydney's inner city suburb of Redfern where the indigenous population is pushed out of their communities to allow the land to be utilised in a way that is more profitable. According to Shaw (2000) this displacement of indigenous populations can be considered as a new urban form of colonisation. This ongoing dimension of colonisation is also significant within the Glen Innes example as both Māori and Pacific people settled in the area as a result of the long shadow of colonisation in New Zealand. The effects of settler colonial society on indigenous populations can be exemplified through Māori being forced from their rural communities into urban areas such as Glen Innes in pursuit of work (Scott, et al., 2010). Similarly, Pacific people have migrated to Glen Innes to provide cheap labour in manufacturing industries (Scott, et al., 2010). The colonial relations between the New Zealand Government and Pacific nations facilitated the migration of Pacific people and their absorption into the racialised unskilled labour market. Housing provisioning in Glen Innes at this earlier moment then also can be viewed as one dimension of the State addressing the needs of its colonial and marginalised subjects. The more recent shift to neoliberal policies and ideological focus on profit has effectively led to the end of this previous duty of care. Future research could usefully explore these articulations of historical colonialism and the present and future role of state-housing in New Zealand.

The redevelopment of Glen Innes is a moving landscape, therefore this thesis has only been able to provide a snapshot of the situation as it was un-folding during 2014. Further research in the area in a few years time could gain further understanding to the way in which this type of State-led gentrification is occurring in New Zealand. There are currently 87 vacant lots in Areas A and B and in a few years time new houses would have been built on these sites and new residents will be

moving in. As this thesis has mostly discussed rapid displacement, similar research in the area could look at the implications gentrifiers themselves have had on the community as they move into the area. In addition to new houses being built in two or three years time, as state-house tenancies come up for renewal under the 2014 Act, new research could investigate how this particular aspect of the Social Housing Reform Act 2014 contributes to the gentrification process.

As this thesis has highlighted the links between state-housing, gentrification and affordable rental accommodation, a further area for inquiry could be the increased transience emerging amongst those renting on the private market and low-income home owners, potentially focusing on the declining capacity to create and maintain a sense of community. In cities such as Auckland, where housing costs are becoming increasingly unaffordable for low-income earners – this is apparent in the declining rates of homeownership (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). New Zealand's 'quarter acre dream' appears to be becoming increasingly reserved for middle-class earners while low income earners, unable to access homeownership, are constantly on the move in search of affordable rental accommodation.

## 7.5 Final concluding comment

Two key findings have emerged out of this research thesis. Firstly, the State is increasingly playing a role in the gentrification process. However, the State's role in the gentrification of Glen Innes has meant gentrification is no longer at the level of the individual houses, gradually being renovated and gentrified one at a time. Rather, this process is being carried out by the State at the neighbourhood level. The acceleration of the gentrification process is occurring rapidly and has had a significant impact upon the Glen Innes community. The State's reduced role in the provisioning of housing has meant the most vulnerable populations are being pushed into a life of transience. This transience extends to low-income earners renting on the private market and low-income home owners. This process removes the right to community as well as a sense of belonging and place from marginalised groups, reserving this as a privilege for those in the position to afford their own homes – which is becoming increasingly less common (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). As the resident narratives have shown, people make communities not houses. This therefore raises questions of what does the future of community look like and how will these communities develop and form when the majority of the population is on the move. As this thesis has shown, these issues raise fundamental questions about the structure of society, about the place of the most vulnerable populations and of the constitution of the most basic rights of belonging and community.

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### **Appendix 1: List of interview participants**

#### Interview participants - community-based organisations

Participant	Role	Time in the community
Jonathan Hendricks	Principal of Glen Innes Primary	4 years (non-resident)
Soana Pamaka	Principal of Tamaki College	24 years (also resident)
Derek Williamson	Community Social Worker	30 years (also resident)
Pastor Graham Davison	<b>Grace International Church</b>	18 years (also resident)
Susan Scofield	Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB)	Worked in the area on and off
	Glen Innes – Manager	since the 1980s (non-resident)

### Interview participants – key informants

Simon Randall Ma	aungakiekie-Tamaki Local	Non-resident
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Board - Chair (Auckland Council)

Maungakiekie-Tamaki Local Non-resident **Bridget Graham** 

Board – elected member (Auckland Council)

Murdoch Dryden **CEO of Creating Communities** Non-resident Non-resident Gez Johns Communications Manager-

Northern Housing New Zealand

#### Interview participants- residents

Tipene Hamilton	State house tenant relocated	Resident for 13 years
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from Area A

Helen Aranui State house tenant Resident 50 years Hemi Williams Home owner (Area A) Resident for 28 years Marama Anderson State house tenant Resident for 39 years 7<sup>th</sup> generation resident Ngaire Williamson Glen Innes home owner Rosie Jackson State house tenant relocated Resident for 28 years

from Area A

#### Interview participants – Tamaki Housing Group

Tina Apainuku State house tenant in Area B Resident 50 years

> and member of the Tamaki **Housing Group**

Jimmy O'Dea Member of the Tamaki Housing Non-resident but state house

tenant living in Orakei Group

### **Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheets**

## PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW Participant type: Organisation

Project Title: State-led gentrification and its impact upon the Glen Innes Community

**About the researcher:** My name is Renee Gordon I am a student at The University of Auckland. I am currently enrolled in the Master's program in Geography within the School of Environment.

**Project description:** This research project aims to explore social impacts of the recent changes to New Zealand's social housing policy. In particular the ways in which these changes may impact upon communities. This project will specifically look at the redevelopment project in Glen Innes, Auckland where State housing is currently being redeveloped.

**Staff participation:** I request your permission to approach your staff members to ask if they would take part in an interview and share their views on the Tāmaki Regeneration project. To conduct these interviews I first ask for your assurance that the decision of your employees to participate or not in this research will not affect their employment status or your relationship with them. This assurance can be given by signing the attached Consent Form.

**Project procedures:** Participation in the project is voluntary. The participation will involve a one on one interview conducted by the researcher and will last for a maximum of 60 minutes. Participants have the right to withdraw from participation at any time during the interview. Data can also be completely withdrawn from the project up to 14 days after the interview.

The interview may be recorded using a digital voice recorder; however the recording is optional and will occur with your employee's consent. Even if the participants agree to being recorded they may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time. The recordings will be transcribed by the researcher and not disclosed to any third parties. A copy of the interview transcript will be provided for editing upon request. This is to ensure accuracy and changes can be made up to one month after the interview. A summary of the research will be made available to the participants upon request of the participant, which can be indicated on the consent form. This interview will be conducted during work time, unless a time outside of working hours would be more convenient for your employee.

Anonymity and confidentiality: The information collected from participants will be kept confidential and every effort will be made to ensure the identity of participants remains anonymous, unless they agree to be identified on the attached consent form. If they do choose not to be identified by name within this research, a generic job description may be used, with their approval. While they may choose for their name to not be mentioned it is possible that being identified by a generic job description may mean that individuals become identifiable.

**Data storage and confidentiality:** The information collected during this research will be used for completing my thesis; it may also be used for presentations and other academic purposed. To ensure confidentiality, all data obtained will be securely stored in a locked cabinet at The University of Auckland for six years. Digital copies will be kept on a password protected computer. After six years, hard copies will be shredded and digital copies will be deleted from all sources.

Please read and sign the attached consent form. Thank you for participating in this research, if you have any further queries or want to know more about the research project, please contact me

#### Contact details and approval wording:

#### Researcher:

Renee Gordon

Email: rgor032@aucklanduni.ac.nz

#### **Supervisors:**

Dr Francis Collins School of Environment University of Auckland f.collins@auckland.ac.nz 64 9 3737599 ext 83129

Professor Robin Kearns School of Environment University of Auckland r.kearns@auckland.ac.nz 64 9 3737599 ext 88442

#### **Head of Department:**

Professor Paul Kench School of Environment University of Auckland p.kench@auckland.ac.nz +649 3737599 ext 88440

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone +649 3737599 ext 87830/83761.

Email: <u>humanethics@auckland.ac.nz</u>

## PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW Participant type: Employee/Key Informant-Organisation

Project Title: State-led gentrification and its impact upon the Glen Innes Community

**About the researcher:** My name is Renee Gordon I am a student at The University of Auckland. I am currently enrolled in the Master's program in Geography within the School of Environment.

**Project description:** This research project aims to explore social impacts of the recent changes to New Zealand's social housing policy. In particular the ways in which these changes may impact upon communities. This project will specifically look at the redevelopment project in Glen Innes, Auckland where State housing is currently being redeveloped and relocated.

**Your participation:** I would like to invite you to take part in this research as a key informant to share your perspective on the Tāmaki regeneration project and recent changes to State housing in New Zealand. I have obtained permission from your employer and gained their assurance that the decision of

employees to participate or not participate in this research will not affect your employment status. A summary of findings will be made available to participants upon request.

**Project procedures:** Participation in the project is voluntary. The participation will involve a one on one interview conducted by the researcher and will last for a maximum of 60 minutes. You have the right to withdraw participation at any time during the interview. Data can be withdrawn from the project up to 14 days after the interview. With your permission, the interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder; you are free to request for the recording to be stopped at any stage during the interview. The recording will be transcribed by the researcher and not disclosed to any third parties. A copy of the interview transcript will be made available to you upon request and to ensure accuracy changes can be made up to a month after the interview.

Anonymity and confidentiality: The information collected from participants will be kept confidential and every effort will be made to ensure the identity of participants remains anonymous, unless you agree to be identified on the attached consent form. If you do choose not to be identified by name within this research, a generic job description may be used, with your approval. While you may choose for your name to not be mentioned it is possible that being identified by a generic job description may mean that individuals become identifiable.

**Data storage and confidentiality:** The information collected during this research will be used for completing my thesis; it may also be used for presentations and other academic purposed. To ensure confidentiality, all data obtained will be securely stored in a locked cabinet at The University of Auckland for six years. Digital copies will be kept on a password protected computer. After six years, hard copies will be shredded and digital copies will be deleted from all sources.

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Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

## PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW Participant type: Key Informant-Community

Project Title: State-led gentrification and its impact upon the Glen Innes Community

**About the researcher:** My name is Renee Gordon I am a student at The University of Auckland. I am currently enrolled in the Master's program in Geography within the School of Environment.

**Project description:** This research project aims to explore social impacts of the recent changes to New Zealand's social housing policy. In particular the ways in which these changes may impact upon communities. This project will specifically look at the redevelopment project in Glen Innes, Auckland where State housing is currently being redeveloped and relocated.

**Your participation:** I would like to invite you to take part in this research as a key informant to share your perspective on the Tāmaki regeneration project and recent changes to State housing in New Zealand. Your perspective and experiences associated with the Tāmaki regeneration project and recent changes to State housing in New Zealand are of particular interest to this project. However, you are under no obligation to accept this request to participate. A summary of findings will be made available to you upon request.

**Project procedures:** Participation in the project is voluntary. The participation will involve a one on one interview conducted by the researcher and will last for a maximum of 60 minutes. You have the right to withdraw participation at any time during the interview. Data can be withdrawn from the project up to 14 days after the interview. With your permission, the interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder; you are free to request for the recording to be stopped at any stage during the interview. The recording will be transcribed by the researcher and not disclosed to any third parties. A copy of the interview transcript will be made available to you upon request and to ensure accuracy changes can be made up to a month after the interview.

Anonymity and confidentiality: The information collected from participants will be kept confidential and every effort will be made to ensure the identity of participants remains anonymous, unless you agree to be identified on the attached consent form. If you do choose not to be identified by name within this research, a generic description may be used, with your approval. While you may choose for your name to not be mentioned it is possible that being identified by a generic description may mean that individuals become identifiable.

**Data storage and confidentiality:** The information collected during this research will be used for completing my thesis; it may also be used for presentations and other academic purposed. To ensure confidentiality, all data obtained will be securely stored in a locked cabinet at The University of Auckland for six years. Digital copies will be kept on a password protected computer. After six years, hard copies will be shredded and digital copies will be deleted from all sources.

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Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

## PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW Participant type: Community members/residents

Project Title: State-led gentrification and its impact upon the Glen Innes Community

**About the researcher:** My name is Renee Gordon I am a student at The University of Auckland. I am currently enrolled in the Master's program in Geography within the School of Environment.

**Project description:** This research project aims to explore social impacts of the recent changes to New Zealand's social housing policy. In particular the ways in which these changes may impact upon communities. This project will specifically look at the redevelopment project in Glen Innes, Auckland where State housing is currently being redeveloped and relocated.

**Your participation:** I would like to invite you to take part in this research. Your perspective and experiences associated with the Tāmaki regeneration project and recent changes to State housing in New Zealand are of particular interest to this project. However, you are under no obligation to accept this request to participate.

**Project procedures:** Participation in the project is voluntary. The participation will involve a one on one interview conducted by the researcher and will last for a maximum of 60 minutes. You have the right to withdraw participation at any time during the interview. Data can be withdrawn from the project up to 14 days after the interview. With your permission, the interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder; you are free to request for the recording to be stopped at any stage during the interview. The recording will be transcribed by the researcher and not disclosed to any third parties. A copy of the interview transcript will be made available to you upon request and to ensure accuracy changes can be made up to a month after the interview. All participants will be invited to attend a presentation of research findings.

**Anonymity and confidentiality:** The information collected from participants will be kept confidential and every effort will be made to protect the identity of participant. Pseudonyms and generic descriptions such as 'local resident' will be used to ensure anonymity of individual participants.

**Data storage and confidentiality:** The information collected during this research will be used for completing my thesis; it may also be used for presentations and other academic purposed. To ensure confidentiality, all data obtained will be securely stored in a locked cabinet at The University of Auckland for six years. Digital copies will be kept on a password protected computer. After six years, hard copies will be shredded and digital copies will be deleted from all sources.

Please read and sign the attached consent form. Thank you for participating in this research, if you have any further queries or want to know more about the research project, please contact me.

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Email: <u>humanethics@auckland.ac.nz</u>

### **Appendix 3: Consent Forms**

#### PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: ORGANISATION

#### This form will be held for a period of six years

Project Title: State-led gentrification and its impact upon the Glen Innes Community

Name of researcher: Renee Gordon

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and have understood the nature of the research. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that information from the research will be securely stored for 6 years and then destroyed.

- I understand that it is voluntary for my staff to take part in this research.
- I agree/do not agree that the researcher can approach my staff to ask them if they wish to

**Participate** 

- I permit my staff to take part in this study during work hours.
- I understand that my staff may choose to withdraw themselves and any information traceable to them within 14 days of the interview
- I understand that my staff will not have to provide a reason for their withdrawal from this study and that any information traceable to them will be destroyed.
- I understand that the interview will take approximately one hour to complete.
- I support my staff's preference for the interview to be/not to be digitally recorded and understand that they may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time.
- Participation or non-participation in this research will not affect my relationship with my staff or their employment status.
- I understand that although staff may be identified by a generic job title, this may mean that they become identifiable.

$\hfill \square$ I would like a summary of the research		
□ by email to this address		
□ by post to this address		
Name:		
Signature:	Date:	

#### PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: KEY INFORMANT-ORGANISATION

#### This form will be held for a period of six years

Project Title: State-led gentrification and its impact upon the Glen Innes Community

Name of researcher: Renee Gordon

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and have understood the nature of the research. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that information from the research will be securely stored for 6 years and then destroyed.

- I understand that my involvement in this research is voluntary
- I understand that my employer has agreed that employees can be approached. They have also given assurances that my decision to participate or not in this research will not affect my employment status.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself and any information traceable to myself from the interviews any time within 14 days of the interview. If I do decide to withdraw from this study, I will not have to provide a reason and if I choose to do so; any information in relation to myself will be destroyed.
- I understand that the interview will take approximately one hour to complete.
- I agree to take part in this research
- I agree/do not agree for this interview to be recorded
- I consent/do not consent to my name being used in this research
- I consent/do not consent to my job title being used in this research. I understand that although I will be identified by my job title, this may nonetheless mean that I become identifiable.
- I understand that the information given in this interview will be kept in a secure place for a period of six years after the research has been completed, after which it will be destroyed.

□ I would like a copy of the interview transcript	
□ I would like a summary of the research	
□ by email to this address	
□ by post to this address	
Name:	
Signature:	Date:APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY
OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMI	MITTEE ON 01 July 2014 For (3) years,
Reference number <b>011574</b>	

#### PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: KEY INFORMANT-COMMUNITY

#### This form will be held for a period of six years

Project Title: State-led gentrification and its impact upon the Glen Innes Community

Name of researcher: Renee Gordon

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and have understood the nature of the research. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that information from the research will be securely stored for 6 years and then destroyed.

- I understand that my involvement in this research is voluntary
- I understand that I may withdraw myself and any information traceable to myself from the interviews any time within 14 days of the interview. If I do decide to withdraw from this study, I will not have to provide a reason and if I choose to do so; any information in relation to myself will be destroyed.
- I understand that the interview will take approximately one hour to complete.
- I agree to take part in this research
- I agree/do not agree for this interview to be recorded
- I consent/do not consent to my name being used in this research
- I consent/do not consent to my role in the community being used in this research. I understand that although I will be identified by my role in the community, this may nonetheless mean that I become identifiable.
- I understand that the information given in this interview will be kept in a secure place for a period of six years after the research has been completed, after which it will be destroyed.

□ I would like a copy of the interview transcript
□ I would like a summary of the research
□ by email to this address
□ by post to this address
Name:
Signature: Date:

#### PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: COMMUNITY MEMBER/RESIDENT

#### This form will be held for a period of six years

Project Title: State-led gentrification and its impact upon the Glen Innes Community

Name of researcher: Renee Gordon

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and have understood the nature of the research. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that information from the research will be securely stored for 6 years and then destroyed.

- I understand that my involvement in this research is voluntary
- I understand that I may withdraw myself and any information traceable to myself from
  the interviews any time within 14 days of the interview. If I do decide to withdraw from
  this study, I will not have to provide a reason and if I choose to do so; any information in
  relation to myself will be destroyed.
- I understand that the interview will take approximately one hour to complete.
- I agree to take part in this research
- I agree/do not agree for this interview to be recorded.
- I understand that the information given in this interview will be kept in a secure place for a period of six years after the research has been completed, after which it will be destroyed.
- I understand that my name will not be used in this research and that my identity will be protected through use of pseudonyms and generic descriptions.

☐ I would like a copy of the interview transcript		
□ I would like a summary of the research □ by email to this address □ by post to this address		
□ I would like to attend a presentation of research findings		
Name:		
Signature:	Date:	

# Appendix 4: Interview Schedule for Housing New Zealand (HNZ)

- 1) What is Housing New Zealand's role within the Northern Glen Innes redevelopment project?
- 2) Is HNZ involved in other redevelopment projects in the Tamaki area (other than the Northern Glen Innes project)? And if so what are these projects?
- 3) Are these types of projects collaborative and if so which organisations/groups/companies are HNZ working with in Glen Innes?
- 4) Why do state houses in Glen Innes need rebuilding or redeveloping?
- 5) Are any run-down houses been renovated or are any sections being subdivided with the current (HNZ) housing stock remaining on-site?
- 6) How many state owned houses are there in Tamaki/Glen Innes 1)prior to the commencement of the NGIP 2) After the project
- 7) Overall including all projects in Glen Innes is Housing New Zealand reducing or increasing the number of state owned homes in Glen Innes?
- 8) The Northern Glen Innes Project involved a number of relocations of current HNZ tenants how were these relocations managed?
- 9) Where were these tenants relocated to?
- 10) How is the HNZ housing stock being altered e.g. what will HNZ houses be like after the project? And why are they being altered?
- 11) What is the future place of social or state housing in Glen Innes?

# Appendix 5: Interview schedule for Tāmaki Redevelopment Company (TRC)

- 1) What is the TRC's role within the redevelopment in Tamaki/Glen Innes?
- 2) TRC's website indicates the area around Fenchurch as an area for redevelopment, what kind of redevelopment is planned for this area?
- 3) Will this area involve the alteration of state owned housing? If so what kind of alteration? And how will TRC manage relocations of current tenants?
- 4) Are there other areas planned for redevelopment in the near future?
- 5) Which groups/organisations/companies are TRC working with in the area?
- 6) What is the TRC's vision for the future of Glen Innes?
- 7) The TRC has been assisting funding with various project in the community what are some of these projects and why are TRC assisting in this way?
- 8) The Northern Glen Innes redevelopment project seemed to cause a lot of controversy, what was TRC's involvement in this project? Has the TRC taken any learnings from the way in which these relocations were carried out?
- 9) Any other comments on the Tamaki rejuvenation project?

# Appendix 6: Advertisement: request for participants (residents)

# State housing evictions

Have you or someone you know been asked to move?

Has the Tāmaki redevelopment project affected your life in the community?

Would you like to share your story?

I am looking for Tāmaki residents to take part in research who have been affected by the redevelopment project. If you would like the opportunity to tell your story please contact me for further information.

**Contact Information:** Renee Gordon rgor032@aucklanduni.ac.nz