

– ‘IT IS THE PEOPLE THAT HAVE MADE GLEN INNES’: State-led Gentrification and the Reconfiguration of Urban Life in Auckland

RENEE GORDON, FRANCIS L. COLLINS AND ROBIN KEARNS

Abstract

Public or state housing has ordinarily been viewed as an impediment to the forces of gentrification, as private property owners or developers are limited in their ability to purchase, renovate or redevelop houses in otherwise desirable areas. As a result, neighbourhoods with significant proportions of state-housing and low-income residents have often been able to establish unique identity and character, sense of place and belonging and strong social support networks. This article examines changes underway in Glen Innes, a central suburb of New Zealand's largest city, Auckland. Here, established norms around community and urban life are being rapidly and radically reworked through a wave of state-led gentrification. We focus on experiences of displacement, the disruption of long-established community forms, and the reconfiguration of urban life. Our particular contribution is to consider the speed and trauma of gentrification when the state is involved, the slippage between rhetoric and reality on the ground, and the challenges of researchers seeking to trace the impacts of gentrification in the lives of those who have been displaced.

Introduction

Since 2010, Auckland's inner suburb of Glen Innes has been undergoing radical redevelopment. Its existing community has experienced displacement as the area's housing stock, much of which has been state owned, has become the target of property development and neighbourhood revitalization. More than just another wave of gentrification (Murphy, 2008), however, these developments are marked by the state's involvement as a leading actor in the sale of housing and eviction of tenants, the facilitation of reinvestment through public–private partnership and the normalization of gentrification within ‘social housing’ and ‘social mixing’ discourses. This ‘state-led gentrification’ is occurring rapidly, as government agencies and private developers seek to capitalize on the locational advantages of this neighbourhood in a context of escalating property prices and diminishing affordability of housing.

This article explores the unfolding of these processes in Glen Innes as part of an engagement with state-led gentrification and its links to displacement. We draw on qualitative analysis of media and policy texts and field-based interviews undertaken in 2014, including with residents experiencing these changes. Our account makes three key contributions to literatures on gentrification: first, we demonstrate the speed and trauma of gentrification when the state is involved and how this can manifest in both displacement as forced spatial relocation and feelings of decline and dissociation for remaining residents; second, we demonstrate how the state's involvement is accompanied by considerable slippage between the rhetoric of gentrification as a process that can be positive and the reality of its effects for residents and the lived experience of place; and third, through our methodological focus on existing and

We wish to thank the people of Glen Innes for their generous participation in this project and to the Tamaki Housing Group for providing guidance and input on the research. We are grateful for the constructive commentary and suggestions offered by three IJURR reviewers, which have substantially enhanced the arguments developed in this paper. We also wish to thank Riki Taylor and Euan Forsyth for their assistance in map drawing. The usual disclaimers apply.

displaced residents we grant attention to ‘what is (potentially) lost when a building and/or neighbourhood is threatened with gentrification’ (Davidson, 2009: 221). Following a review of the literature on gentrification, displacement and social mixing, the context of and research undertaken in Glen Innes is introduced before we focus on three key issues: gentrification and displacement, time and place in community, and the reconfiguration of urban life.

State-led gentrification, displacement and social mixing

Since the 1990s one of the most significant changes in gentrification has been the shifting role of the state (Smith, 2002). A key characteristic of ‘state-led’ gentrification is the way in which urban change is enabled by alterations to urban policy, including public–private partnerships, developer subsidies, and urban place marketing (Lees and Ley, 2008). In the realm of public housing, ‘state-led’ gentrification is also accompanying ideological shifts from ‘state housing’ to ‘social housing’ that reconfigure the relationship between funder, provider and residents (Watt, 2013). Emphasis is also being placed on urban planning that supports ‘social mixing’, enabling middle-class residents to move into lower socio-economic neighbourhoods to ostensibly address issues of inequality and social problems associated with poverty (Huning and Schuster, 2015). These changes are indicative of the way that gentrification is shifting from a process that occurred gradually over time towards a more coordinated state-led project that rapidly transforms entire neighbourhoods (Smith, 2002).

In the context of our focus on public housing, the growing role of the state in gentrification is significant. Indeed, historically, the provision of public housing often prevented desirable areas from becoming gentrified because land and houses were not available for private redevelopment (Watt, 2009). In recent decades, commercialization and privatization of state housing has meant that many previously unattainable parts of cities are becoming new frontiers for gentrification in ways that are either tacitly supported or directly led by state agencies (Rérat *et al.*, 2010). This process occurs directly through the sale of state houses (Lees, 2012), or indirectly through new political rationalities of ‘social housing’ that allow for gradual privatization through transfers to the third sector (Blessing, 2012). These shifts also influence how scholars and activists understand and respond to the implications of gentrification, particularly processes of displacement.

Displacement has long been recognized as a key characteristic of gentrification (Slater, 2006; Davidson and Lees, 2010). Since gentrification creates a rise in market rents, rates and property prices, displacement disproportionately occurs among low-income vulnerable groups such as women, sole parents, retirees, disabled people, and unemployed or underemployed workers. There is also often a link between displacement and ethnicity—with members of ethnic minorities being pushed or priced out of neighbourhoods (Shaw, 2000). Displacement gradually breaks up pre-existing communities and this then creates further marginalization as the social ties and community support networks of existing residents are disrupted (Keene and Ruel, 2013). The effect is both evidence of gentrification as ‘the production of space for progressively more affluent users’ (Hackworth, 2002: 815), while also serving to further marginalize displaced populations socially, economically and spatially.

Displacement is not, however, a uniform process and how it occurs in relation to the changing character of gentrification has been debated (Davidson and Lees, 2010). Most scholarship has focused on processes of displacement as spatial relocation, placing emphasis on the direct causes of outmigration from gentrifying neighbourhoods (Slater, 2006). There are, however, wider and more nuanced processes and costs involved in displacement (Slater, 2011). Davidson (2009), for example, argues that scholars have been too focused on ‘abstract space’ whereby displacement is measured quantitatively through movements in and out of units of measurement such as census tracts. The result has been a focus primarily on proving or refuting evidence of displacement

(Hamnett, 2003; Newman and Wyly, 2006) and less attention on neighbourhood change as experienced by existing residents and its impacts on community wellbeing.

In addition to physical displacement, it is critical to recognize the phenomenological alterations to place that can have equally negative outcomes even as they remain invisible in quantitative renderings of displacement (Davidson, 2009; Lees, 2012). Changing populations can influence the lived experiences of places, particularly when incoming populations have greater financial capital and can influence the character of community resources like schools and libraries (Witten *et al.*, 2001; DeSena, 2006) or the local retail landscape (Atkinson, 2004; Watt, 2013). Middle-class gentrifiers also tend to have more political agency and hence can take over local agendas, becoming the voice of the neighbourhood in ways that allow them intentionally or unintentionally to serve their own interests rather than those of the established community (Atkinson, 2004). The result of this transformation can be feelings of loss for existing residents as long-established notions of place are altered in ways beyond their control, leading to 'decline and disassociation' occurring contemporaneously with ostensible built environment improvements (Davidson and Lees, 2010).

The involvement of the state can have considerable implications for the way in which this displacement occurs in two ways that are particularly relevant to our discussion. First, in terms of the displacement of state-housing tenants, it is often presumed that welfare systems lessen the perceived severity of gentrification because the state must consider the fate of those being displaced (Kearns and Mason, 2013). Displacement impacts are hence often presented as one dimensional; former residents are moved away to alternative housing and the immediate issue of housing is seemingly addressed. For those who leave due to displacement pressure this process is often articulated as a 'choice' (Shaw and Hagemans, 2015) and therefore the sense of loss is perceived as less significant than direct displacement. What is often obscured, however, is that displacement can involve relocation to the outskirts of the city where land values are lower (Lees, 2012) and a result there can be heightened levels of social segregation across the city. Some studies (Kearns and Mason, 2013) suggest that there can be positive benefits for displaced residents, although much of this benefit relies on the particular circumstances of individuals as well as the extent of voluntariness.

The relationship between gentrification and displacement has also been influenced by a growing emphasis on 'social mixing' as an ideal logic for housing provision and neighbourhood redevelopment. Social mixing, in short, involves neighbourhoods where residents of different socio-economic status live in close proximity and have community-level contact (Duany, 2001). While social mixing can be traced to notions of neighbourhood effects in the nineteenth century and the contact hypothesis of the 1950s (Huning and Schuster, 2015), it has assumed a prominence in contemporary processes of gentrification and public policies in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand (Shaw and Hagemans, 2015). The redevelopment of neighbourhoods to facilitate social mixing is claimed to offer several benefits, including attracting investment to rundown areas, upward social mobility for poorer residents, reduced crime and increased feelings of community safety. As such, social mixing can be 'morally persuasive' (Blomley, 2004) because it claims to share the benefits of urban change across communities.

Another key claim associated with social mixing is that it does not lead to direct displacement and is a positive form of gentrification. However, as noted above, physical displacement, while highly traumatic and visible, represents only one kind of displacing effect of gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2010). Social mixing may provide opportunities for residents to stay, but it can also involve considerable changes in the social and economic dimensions of place that further marginalize existing residents who remain (Davidson, 2009). Shaw and Hagemans' (2015) study in Melbourne, for example, demonstrated that few if any of the purported benefits of social mixing manifested and that physical displacement was replaced by a reduction in accessibility to and control

over local amenities and governance. This is because power differentials mean that it is low-income residents who are required to assimilate into middle-class norms that become the ideal model of community (Huning and Schuster, 2015). The effect can be substantial and, where sense of belonging, safety and social support is reduced, residents become increasingly isolated from the transforming urban spaces they live within (Slater, 2013). Put another way, remaining residents can experience displacement without physically being relocated.

As several scholars have argued (Atkinson, 2000; Slater, 2006; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015), there is a need to expand our understanding of the qualitative effects of these mutating forms of gentrification and their implications for displacement and community life. As we detail below, our case study in Glen Innes, Auckland demonstrates that several of these impulses can be combined in ways that lead to complex and troubling effects for local residents and wider understandings of the value of housing and urban space. Indeed, while we focus on a case of social mixing in Auckland, this is also a site where physical displacement through state involvement in public housing privatization has occurred. So, unlike the case outlined by Shaw and Hagemans (2015) in Melbourne, we identify both direct displacement through eviction or pressure from state agencies as well as indirect displacement that occurs through active state-led policies of social mixing that are undermining the existing basis of community life. This case demonstrates the ongoing need to examine the effects of gentrification for the most vulnerable members of society and to challenge the neoliberal presumption that the state's role is to support market-based urban redevelopment.

Context

Glen Innes, located 10 km east of Auckland's CBD (Figure 1), provides a potent case study through which to examine state-led gentrification. It typifies the history of changes that have occurred in state-housing provision in New Zealand. It is also subjected to particular attention due to its encirclement by more affluent and largely owner-occupied housing, and its relative proximity to downtown Auckland. Glen Innes was developed in the 1950s as a planned state-housing suburb by a Labour government whose vision was to provide adequate housing to all regardless of class status (Kearns *et al.*, 1991). The suburb, which included Auckland's first planned town centre, was originally developed for returning second world war veterans and the families of labourers employed in adjacent industrial areas (Scott *et al.*, 2010). The broader Tāmaki region, which includes Glen Innes, saw a significant population increase in the 1950s, with particular growth in Māori and Pasifika populations, many of whom migrated from rural regions and Pacific Islands respectively. In this period, state-house tenancies were granted 'for life' to enable security of tenure for workers who were unable to purchase their own home (Austin *et al.*, 2014).

By way of background, New Zealand's first state house was built in 1937 and initially the aim of providing a 'house for life' was achieved through low-interest loans or 100-year leases (Thorns, 2000). This ideological foundation endured until housing reforms began in 1991 as part of a wider process of neoliberalization (Austin *et al.*, 2014). While state houses were 'pepper potted' throughout many Auckland neighbourhoods, Glen Innes is distinctive for its near-uniform housing style and tenancies. Indeed, despite policy reforms in the 1990s essentially uncoupling housing assistance from specific housing stock and locations (Morrison, 1995), this suburb has remained a socially significant enclave of public housing in central Auckland.

The 1990s reforms initiated by the conservative National government raised state housing rents to market levels, introduced an 'accommodation supplement' that could be 'spent' against private rentals, and sold off state housing in higher-value locations. These policy changes amounted to a shift from universal to selective provisioning focused on those facing 'serious housing need', including unemployed

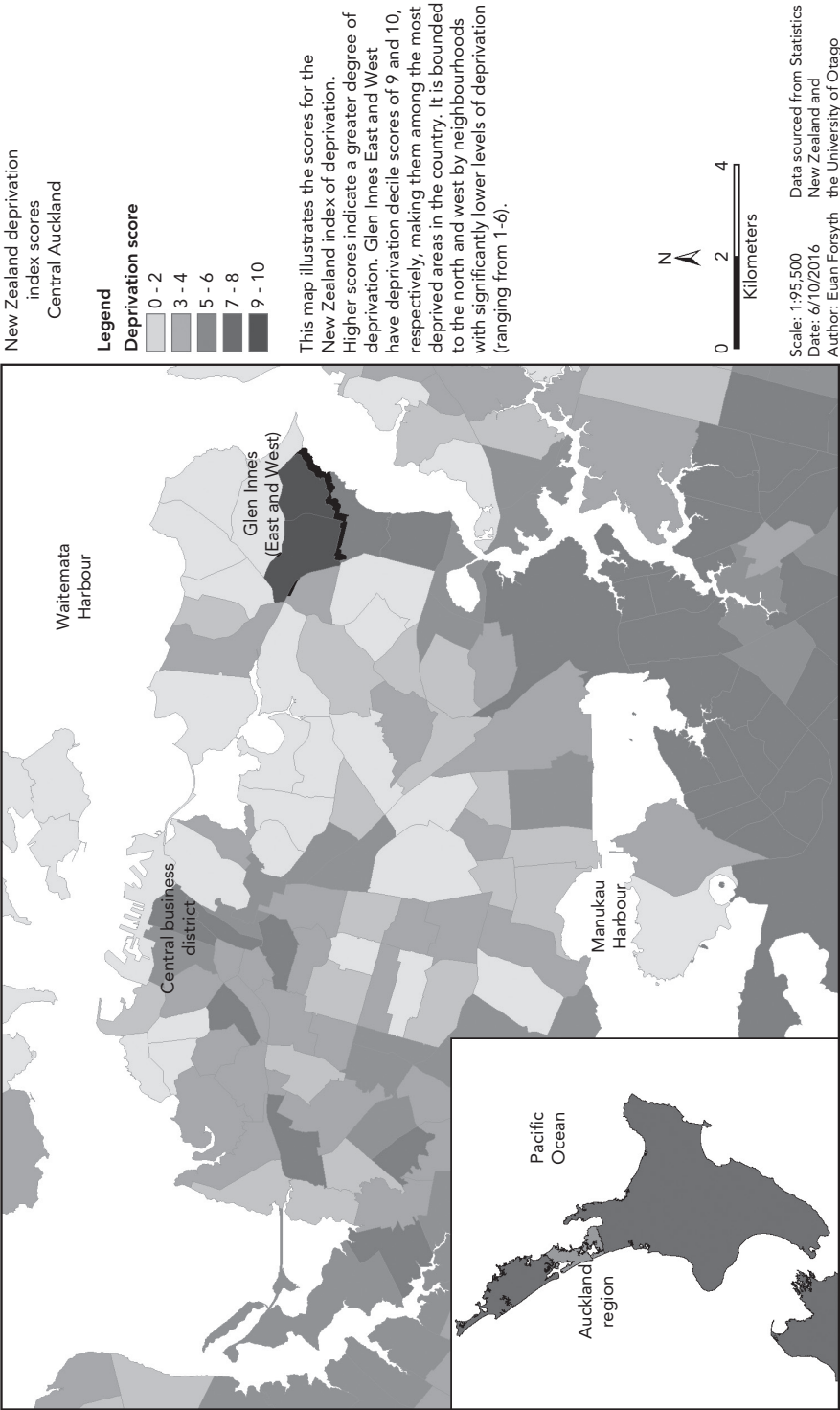


FIGURE 1 Glen Innes and Tāmaki in relation to Auckland's CBD and surrounding suburbs (source: Statistics New Zealand; map drawn by Euan Forsyth)

people, retirees and single parents (Murphy, 2008). One result was considerable rental increases in affluent areas and increased transience and housing-related poverty for both state-housing tenants and private renters (Murphy and Kearns, 1994). The legacy of the 1990s reforms is the substitution of the provision of housing stock in specific locations with an apparently aspatial housing policy based on income supplements (Morrison, 1995). Despite tenants being able to 'shop around' for accommodation, this has not led to enhanced housing opportunities or mobility. In some parts of the city such as Glen Innes, this would appear to be because any opportunity to 'shop around' has been trumped by the value of community connections and place attachment (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). Our concern in this article is the implications for residents of the most recent redevelopment of Glen Innes and its interlinkages with wider shifts in the provision of state housing in New Zealand. Plans to redevelop the Tāmaki region¹ emerged in 2009 under the Tāmaki Transformation Project (TTP) [later renamed the Tāmaki Redevelopment Company (TRC)—a partnership between Auckland Council (local government) and Housing New Zealand Ltd (HNZ) (central government)]. These plans focused on redeveloping state housing alongside projects upgrading community infrastructure (e.g. an early childhood centre). This process, promoted by the current conservative National-led government reflects changing political views of state housing and, in particular, the shift to social housing logics that include the involvement of the third sector. These changes have been manifested formally in the SHRA, which came into force in 2014 and introduced reviewable tenancies, devolved housing to third-sector organizations through the sale of existing stock, and eligibility assessments undertaken by the Ministry of Social Development rather than HNZ as the provider of housing. Although the Glen Innes redevelopment predates the SHRA, these policy changes act in support of long-term gentrification processes occurring in Glen Innes because they legitimize the eviction and displacement of tenants as part of the 'business' of urban transformation. As of 2015 there were two distinct development projects taking place in the Tāmaki area with HNZ—as the majority landowner—working in partnership with TRC and Creating Communities (CC). At the time of this research TRC had not yet begun its redevelopment of state houses in the area. However, CC—a private development company contracted by HNZ—had already commenced their project and this research focuses on the implications of this particular restructuring of housing.

Implementation of change has occurred through the activities of CC which aims to renovate 156 state houses in Glen Innes and create 260 new dwellings. Of the latter new houses, only 73 will be owned by HNZ; 39 will belong to other social housing providers, and the majority, 148, will be sold privately (HNZ, 2013a). Cumulatively, the number of state houses will decrease by 40 while private houses increase in number by nearly 150. The project's developers claim that building more houses on smaller sites allows for efficient use of space and provision of better quality, modern houses for occupants (*ibid.*). Regardless of these claims, it is difficult to overlook the sale of land, which could potentially be used to provide more state housing during a period when housing affordability in Auckland is a critical concern (Murphy, 2016). Furthermore, during a period in which old houses are being removed and new ones built, current tenants in the 156 state-owned houses are being evicted and moved elsewhere, some of whom have been long-term residents of Glen Innes. These developments align with HNZ's broader policy on 'social mix' in which 'under-utilised' land in Auckland is to be 'unlocked, using a mixed-tenure model, for redevelopments that provide a combination of state, social, and market-based affordable housing' (HNZ, 2013b: 4).

CC has been working on two development sites—known as Areas A and B—since 2012. In September 2011, all residents received a letter of notification regarding

1 Tāmaki or the 'Tāmaki area' includes Glen Innes and the neighbouring state-housing suburbs of Tāmaki, Point England and Wai-O-Taki Bay.

the scope of development. Letters were also sent to 156 HNZ tenants to notify them that they would be relocated. By the end of 2013 the majority of tenants in Area A and some in Area B had moved elsewhere (either within the Tāmaki area or further afield). However, by late 2015, there was still a large number of empty lots, and only a small number of new social and private houses had been rebuilt (see Figure 2). Controversially, a number of these ex-state houses were either demolished or sold to He Korowai Trust, a third-sector housing provider, to be used for an affordable housing project in Kaitaia, 300 km north of Auckland (Whare Tapu Whā, 2014).

As a result of earlier shifts and changes documented in this article, there have been considerable alterations in Glen Innes in recent years. Population change over the period 2006–13 (the period during which residential redevelopment began) is striking: across the two census area units that encompass Glen Innes, Māori and Pasifika people declined by 186 and 507 (a total of 693), while the overall population reduced by only 525 (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). Despite these overall population declines, the number of people identifying as New Zealand European or 'Pākehā' has increased modestly by 3.6% or 90 persons during this period. These demographic changes represent key elements of the shifting social landscapes that gentrification involves, something that is also evident in the accounts of residents documented later in the article.

Until recently 60% of Glen Innes' housing stock was state-owned (Scott *et al.*, 2010), but the processes we outline in this article are altering that proportion. Moreover, despite earlier shifts in housing policy, it is only the recent Social Housing Reform (Housing Restructuring and Tenancy Matters Amendment) Act (SHRA) 2013 (discussed below) that has altered the framing of tenancies 'for life'. For many state-housing tenants security of tenure has allowed them to become well established community members—some having remained in Glen Innes since its development in the 1950s. These strong ties to place and community have also been facilitated by substantive ethnic and church group affiliations, resident involvement in community-controlled development initiatives (Raeburn *et al.*, 2006), and high levels of volunteering and expressions of care for the neighbourhood (Wiles and Jayasinha, 2013).

The changes occurring in Glen Innes have been met with organized resistance from the local community. In 2011 the Tāmaki Housing Group (THG) was established to oppose not only the redevelopment that resulted in evictions, but also to resist national changes to state housing. THG is comprised of Glen Innes residents (including state-housing tenants, home owners and private renters), and members of trade unions, students, artists and housing activists. Throughout 2012 THG demonstrated their discontent by attempting to prevent the removal of ex-state houses from Glen Innes. These protests often resulted in violent confrontations with the police and subsequent arrests. This level of place-based conflict speaks to the history of state housing and community commitment in Glen Innes; indeed, no other neighbourhood in central Auckland has had such a sustained investment in public housing and is currently facing such wholesale transformation. It is to the narratives of residents and their experiences of this state-led gentrification that we now turn after a brief discussion of methodology.

Methodology

In addition to extending research on gentrification and displacement in relation to public housing we also seek to address a gap in understanding the experiences of people who are displaced (Slater, 2006). This knowledge gap exists because 'displaced residents have disappeared from the very places where researchers and census takers go to look for them' (Newman and Wyly, 2006: 27) and as a result gauging displacement can be 'measuring the invisible' (Atkinson, 2000). One recent exception is Kearns and Mason's (2013) longitudinal study of displacement and voluntarism in Glasgow that drew on a survey of remaining residents and outmovers. While large-scale surveys of this kind can be useful for tracing patterns of movement and assessing living conditions,

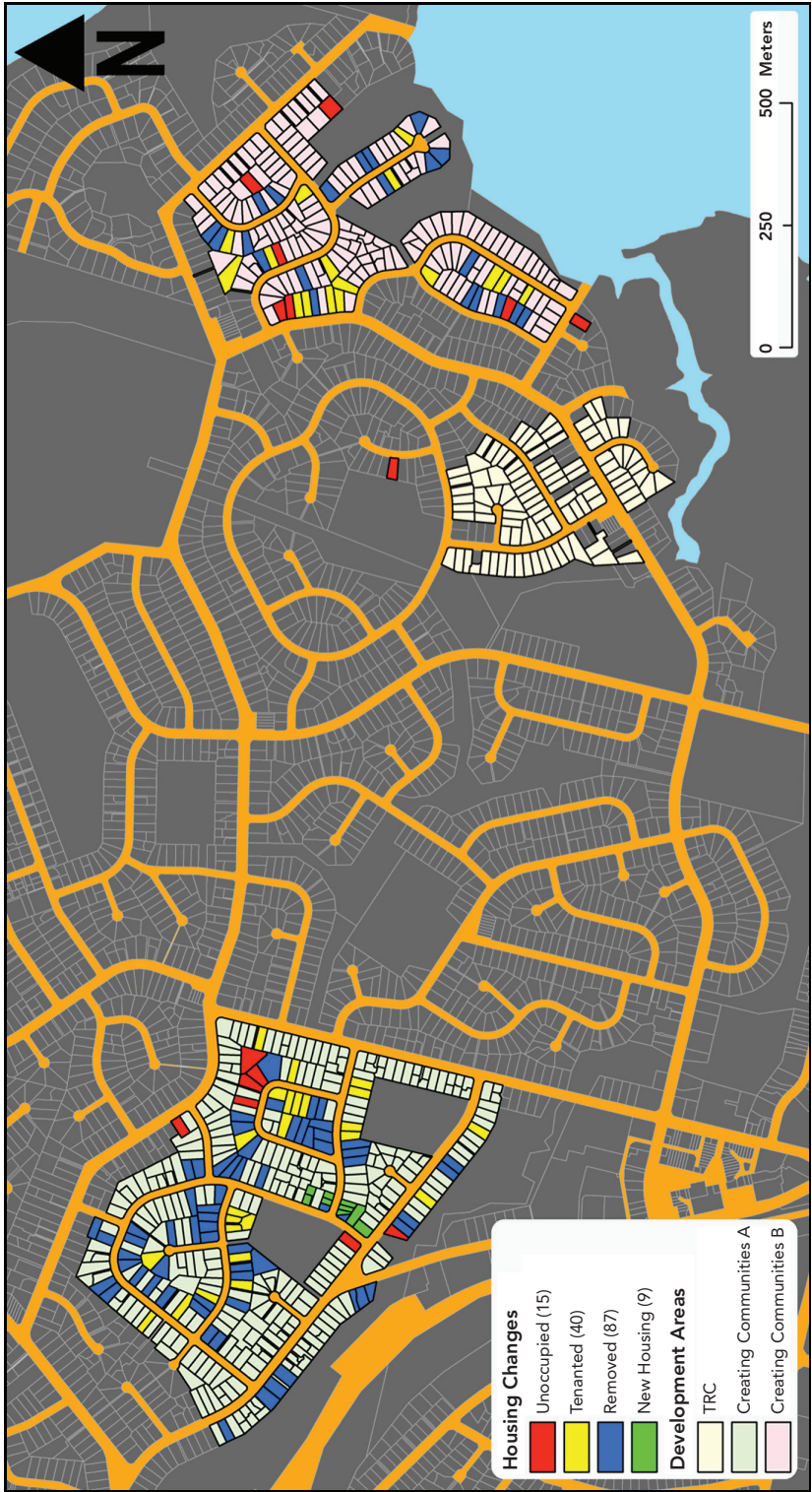


FIGURE 2 Map of CC (Area A and B) and TRC development areas showing vacant lots, tenanted houses, unoccupied houses and new housing (map drawn by Cole, Gordon and Taylor, 2014)

understanding phenomenological shifts in urban life (Davidson, 2009) requires a more in-depth qualitative approach, which often involves much smaller sample sizes. This article draws on research that took such an approach to understand gentrification and displacement in Glen Innes.

We draw on interviews conducted between July and November 2014 with 16 residents, key informants, representatives of community organizations and protesters involved within the Glen Innes community, as well as written email responses provided by a HNZ representative. Interviews were conducted face to face by the first author and transcribed prior to analysis. Key informants included representatives from HNZ, Auckland Council's Local Board, and CC. Representatives of community groups were also interviewed, including members of a church group, social workers and principals of local schools.

Seven local residents who had lived in Glen Innes for between 13 and 50 years were also interviewed, including HNZ tenants and homeowners, and THG members. All resident interviewees were directly affected by the redevelopment and drew on their personal experiences as well as those of affected family and friends. Ideally, this research would have included the experiences of those who had already been relocated. However, since displacement is difficult to track and measure, making contact with displaced residents proved difficult. Despite this challenge, one relocated tenant who had been moved to a nearby suburb was interviewed. Pseudonyms are used for residents. The discussion of findings proceeds from consideration of the actual process of gentrification and displacement, through the long-term notions of community and place that have been built up in Glen Innes, to finally reflecting on the ongoing reconfiguration of the area.

Gentrification and displacement

The process of urban regeneration being undertaken in Glen Innes has been couched within a discourse of 'social mixing'. The organizations involved have stressed that their focus is on maintaining and strengthening community and that regeneration involves 'improved education, housing and job opportunities *as well as the preservation of this unique community for future generations*' (Tāmaki Redevelopment Company Ltd, 2015, emphasis added). With respect to state housing, these ostensible principles have been articulated in what has been termed 'the Tāmaki guarantee'. Under this agreement between the TRC, HNZ and the Auckland Council, residents have been guaranteed the right to remain in the area or return once their house is refurbished or replaced. According to the HNZ representative:

At the point tenants are required to move, a dedicated tenancy liaison officer works intensively alongside the tenant for at least three months—often much longer—prior to the move date to find the tenant a suitable home in their preferred location ... It is worth noting that HNZ operates within the terms of the Tāmaki Commitment (communications manager, HNZ, 2014).

This arrangement to support tenants and prioritize them staying in the Tāmaki area was commonly referred to by key informants. However, there were different views about the extent of adherence to this guarantee. Residents, by contrast, were not aware of this commitment or that they could insist on remaining within Glen Innes. Moreover, several key informants suggested that tenants were being subtly coerced into 'choosing' housing outside Tāmaki because the option to remain was often understated or framed as secondary to the encouragement to relocate. Tipene, a relocated state-house tenant explains HNZ's relocation process:

[State houses in Glen Innes] ... weren't available so they offered us a couple out South but nothing against South Auckland but my heart is here in Glen Innes so this is where we really wanted to stay (relocated state-house tenant, 2014).

Despite the guarantee, then, displaced HNZ tenants were often initially shown houses outside of Glen Innes. As Tipene points out, this is because state houses in the area are not always available. Instead, residents often had to move prior to being potentially relocated back if resettlement was not appropriate, although key informants reported there was currently no framework to check on relocated tenants. Participants described a process whereby HNZ shows three different houses to tenants upon eviction, the first being outside Tāmaki. Tenants are only to be shown other houses if initial options were declined. In this process choices are constrained because tenants are usually unaware of the Tāmaki guarantee. They experience insecurity and anxiety in these choices and the unknown consequences of declining offers. Moreover, for ‘empty nesters’, the option to remain in the area is constrained by the absence of smaller dwellings and the requirement to match housing to family size. Even for tenants paying market rent their choices are shaped by the changing cost of rental properties, which itself is connected to the transformation process. In all these cases, as HNZ tenants were not moving of their own volition, autonomy is restricted. Further, an overall reduction of state houses across the Tāmaki area means that by one mechanism or another HNZ must have strategies in place to manage this reduction.

While specific details on evicted tenants were not available to protect tenants’ privacy, accounts from interviews with remaining residents and key informants spoke to a pattern of wide dispersion. Several participants suggested that the more ‘fortunate’ state-house tenants were relocated within Tāmaki and its surrounding areas, but that many were also moved considerable distances to the south and west (up to 35 km away). These patterns reflect the location of other state houses in the peripheral parts of Auckland and are indicative of the way that displacement can contribute to city-wide patterns of segregation. In addition to these relocations, CC indicated that several tenants requested to be relocated to centres out of Auckland to be closer to their families (e.g. Tauranga, population = 117,000, 200 km from Auckland). School principals also noted that several families had moved to Australia in search of job opportunities.

These patterns of dispersion reflect the wider national policy shifts around state housing. Indeed, some key informants noted that on-the-ground efforts by HNZ officers to relocate tenants within Tāmaki sometimes conflicted with central government’s objectives. This situation relates to the SHRA (2014), which shifts responsibility from local HNZ offices to a centralized process within Work and Income (part of the Ministry of Social Development).² A volunteer who works for the local Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB),³ explained the effects of this policy transition:

[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 ...where their support and their whānau [family] is, [that’s not] actually not being considered ... They put the data into a machine and the machine spits out who’s eligible for the next house ... and that is very, very unsettling for the community.

The centralized and calculated rendering of housing allocation described here de-emphasizes the ontological importance of housing and the significance of individual, whānau and community factors in the making of urban places. In the process, home and community are dismissed in favour of seeing housing as a material private good (Davidson, 2009; Slater, 2011). Factors that can be computed such as household size can

2 Work and Income is a government agency that administers social welfare and more recently state housing in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

3 Citizens Advice Bureau is a government funded, locally based and volunteer-staffed agency that offers a range of services to citizens, including legal advice and financial literacy programmes.

be incorporated but not those factors that might support the 'preservation of this unique community'. Notably there are currently more than 10,000 eligible people on HNZ's waiting list (Johnson, 2013), a shortage that effectively means tenants are, or feel, they are unable to turn down any housing options they are offered.

The current regeneration of the Tāmaki area and the displacement of state-housing tenants comprise part of a decade-long process of gentrification occurring in the neighbourhood (Scott *et al.*, 2010). The suburb has become increasingly desirable to private owners and tenants and as a result values and rents have increased over this time. Although housing costs are generally rising throughout Auckland, the comparative rise in Glen Innes has been significant. Between 2010 and 2012, the average price for a three-bedroom house in Glen Innes was \$400,000,⁴ but by November 2014 this had increased by 73% to \$693,000. Similarly, market rent for a three-bedroom house has increased by 27% from \$375 per week in 2012 to \$475 in July 2014 (QV.co.nz, 2014). A key driver of these increases is the proximity to desirable wealthy suburbs in the Eastern Bays where average house prices are well in excess of \$1 M. As we discuss later these price changes and the wider transformations in the area are leading to a phenomenological reconfiguration of Glen Innes.

Time and place for community

You can't go anywhere and get a little bit of Glen Innes, you know (Tipene, relocated Glen Innes resident).

Like Tipene, many residents described Glen Innes as a community with a character that both shapes the lived experience of place and plays a significant role in supporting the lives of residents. These notions of community, as Tipene implies, cannot simply be relocated; rather, as Davidson (2009) argues they are established over time through shared experiences, challenges and aspirations. They remind us that while state-housing tenants are not regularly part of the valorized consumption and lifestyle spaces of cities, their everyday lives do involve the construction of places of security and freedom that have substantial meaning and impact.

Viewed in this way one of the major effects of gentrification is the breaking up of social networks and the disruption of longer-term experiences of community (Hartman, 2002). The transformation on the ground, but also the national shift to tenancy reviews has altered tenants' security of tenure, which had until recently been akin to *de facto* homeownership. According to Tina (state-housing tenant):

When you sign up for the house, it didn't say that you would have to look for a house in three weeks' time or four weeks' time, [or anything] like that and the landlord is not them [HNZ], it's the Queen.

For Tina and many other long-term state-housing tenants their leases were 'for life'. Under this premise, residents have established long-term community networks that are not necessarily obtainable when renting through the private market. Until recently 70% of households had this security of tenure. This situation has enabled a distinctive sense of community and place attachment to develop—one that in practice has some equivalence to the values associated with homeownership: care for place, neighbours and community (Davidson, 2009). Elaborating this point, Tipene suggested that notwithstanding its metropolitan location, Glen Innes shared characteristics of community common in small town New Zealand:

I come from a small town, up in Kaikohe ... and this place reminds me of [it] ... it's got a real home. I mean you can drive through and ... you see people along and just wave out to them and they wave back and you know who's not from here because you don't see their faces around ... people are quite tight around here.

Residents expressed emotional attachment to Glen Innes that was firmly embedded in their experiences of people and place. These comments around uniqueness are echoed in the claims articulated by TRC and HNZ about 'the preservation of this unique community for future generations', but residents' accounts also highlight the significance of people to constructing this uniqueness and the impossibility of 'preserving' it in the face of displacement. Marama (state-housing tenant and resident for 39 years) captured this sentiment when she noted that 'Glen Innes is a lovely, lovely place [and] it is the people that have made Glen Innes how it is today'. She went on to exemplify this through her daughter's relocation experience:

She got relocated ... 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 [and the support is here]. And we're not originally from here, we're from out of Auckland, so no [direct] family support, but there's an iwi (tribe or extended family) here, there is Māori here and they are family.

For Marama, the local iwi act as an extended family, contributing to her sense of belonging in Glen Innes. Other residents discussed the amenity value of Glen Innes, the presence of transport infrastructure (particularly trains), the Work and Income office (where welfare benefits can be discussed), a well-resourced library, the *marae* (meeting house) and proximity to beaches and other recreational spaces. The values associated with these amenities extend beyond monetary terms, yet rising property values and market rents position these as a commodity only accessible to those who can afford them.

Rosie offered an evocative example of the importance of the characteristics of place and community in a resident's life. She had lived in Glen Innes for 28 years, before being relocated by HNZ to the nearby suburb of Panmure. Rosie spoke about the importance of Glen Innes as central to her life and the proximity to the *marae*, the library and her local church as pivotal to her daily life. Indeed, although she had been relocated when interviewed she commuted back to Glen Innes several days a week to carry out her community-based commitments (e.g. attending church and meeting ex-neighbours). While her new home is nearby (approximately 3.5 km), she described how she had been unable to re-establish a sense of belonging:

you know when I moved to Panmure, though the home is nice and I thank the HNZ 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 let's say ... everyone knows each other ... I get the support from the *marae* and ... the library and from the community itself.

Rosie described encountering several other former neighbours who return regularly to Glen Innes. In the process the bus itself has become a site for seeking, however temporarily, to maintain and reproduce social networks and to trace the relocation of other former residents:

we talk on the bus 'oh where were you relocated from?' and they go 'oh not far from me' ... they say 'yeah we're happy here but we can't wait to get back

to Glen Innes' ... Well the people that I've seen in the community they always come back ... because here is where they have their connection, here they put down roots, they have their children, it [is] 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 it's something like that and it's sort of engrained in you, you always come back to where you first began.

The effort to reproduce these ties through regularly returning to Glen Innes, and in the social spaces generated by that mobility, again highlights the extent to which ties to place are embedded in family connections, friends and memories (Davidson, 2009). At the same time, Rosie's activity also speaks to the effects of gentrification. Rosie was the only former and now relocated resident who could be recruited for this study. At the time she was returning to the marae for *waiata* (singing) practice and was interested in the interviews that were taking place. Her serendipitous involvement in the research demonstrates the challenge of documenting instances of displacement. Most of those who are relocated are simply no longer present in the community and have been disconnected from the social networks which researchers might use to learn about their experiences. The bureaucratic narrative (promoted by HNZ and other agencies) is that those who have been relocated 'chose' to do so; this is the only record of displacement and as a result it is the one that is often privileged in the narration of neighbourhood change. Relocated tenants, by contrast, remain invisible in the prevailing narrative of gentrification and displacement (Atkinson, 2000). Indeed, for those who have been relocated much further away, commuting back or maintaining links with Glen Innes is no longer possible, as a number of residents noted in relation to former neighbours with whom they had lost contact. This loss is the effect of these changes; an undermining of the long-term sense of community and disruption of potential avenues to maintaining it through proximity and return. Moreover, as discussed below, Glen Innes itself is also being reconfigured in ways that mean it may no longer carry the same characteristics for people returning to the place they consider home.

Reconfiguring place and community

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 ... There's the Glen Innes shopping centre for all the everyday basics you need ... [Nosh supermarket is] a great source of high-end small goods and weekend coffee. [And] we're so close to St Heliers Bay (Foster, 2011).

The regeneration of Glen Innes hinges on a phenomenological reconfiguration of place and community that involves displacement as well as attempts to erase difference through logics of social mixing. As the foregoing excerpt from a feature article in the 'Life and Style' section of Auckland's newspaper *New Zealand Herald* demonstrates, this process has involved a reconfiguration of the values and attributes of Glen Innes. The statement comes from new residents in 'Wai-O-Taki Bay', a coastal part of Glen Innes that has in recent years been renamed through real estate and developer messaging. The excerpt points to the way in which regeneration has involved a revalorization of place, not based on 'preservation of this unique community' but rather on the rollout of normative modes of consumer and property-owning urbanism. It is also an example of how in the media stories of incoming residents are privileged over those who are being displaced (Slater, 2006).

In addition to the role of eviction in these processes, literally displacing one type of urban life to generate space for another, many residents noted the way in which

changing sense of place and community would trigger further indirect displacement. Following state-housing tenants, residents suggested it would be long-term homeowners, including those who had purchased their state houses in an earlier era of privatization who would be next. Derek—a homeowner expressed a sense of this change:

Somebody lives round the corner from me and he's lived in this house for 30-odd years and ... and he was selling up because he said: 'it's suddenly changing you know. I was quite happy with my neighbours as they were ... 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 suppose we're in a bit of a dark area - we don't know what that community's gonna look like.

As Derek's comment suggests, gentrification involves a wider change in the way place is experienced and the way in which neighbours interact with each other. The perception expressed here is that newer residents will live much more private lives, that they won't 'come out' and create community. A current state-house tenant explains:

They're moving us right out of Glen Innes ... and they're bringing other people in. ... I have noticed a big difference with the new people because they look at us like—cos we're the locals, they look at us like we're the strangers and that they've been here for years!

This comment highlights the tension between long-term residents from a low socio-economic background and gentrifiers arriving in the suburb, particularly in terms of social and cultural norms. Her sense of being a 'stranger' is indicative of the feelings of 'decline and disassociation' (Davidson and Lees, 2010) that occurs as the lived experience of a suburb is reconfigured. Other residents spoke of 'changing the face of Glen Innes' and that it was 'only a matter of time' before the community changes completely. For this reason, some residents chose to relocate out of the area because they felt out of place, their social support networks were diminishing or because they recognized that they may eventually become priced out anyway.

Another widely discussed example of the reconfiguration of community concerned retail spaces and new shops opening along a commercial road in Glen Innes, notably gourmet food outlets Nosh and Huckleberry Farms. These and other new businesses including sushi restaurants, a pet shop, cafes and a beauty salon are indicative of a revised image of Glen Innes that appeals to middle-class residents. By contrast, participants described the long-established Glen Innes Town Centre as being in decline. They noted that branches of banks had closed and that because of increasing rents other shops and businesses were struggling to survive with only a few \$2 shops, liquor outlets, fast food outlets and charity shops remaining. These changes reflect the declining population and the focus on recent arrivals in newer developments. Indeed, participants observed how the decline of the town centre signalled a shift in the area's demographics:

You don't see them anymore those people that used to be [here] ... White people don't come up our way in their flash cars you see. They don't stop at Glen Innes shopping centre ... 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).

As Tina suggests, changes in retail and public spaces in Glen Innes are being read as a shift from lower socio-economic to middle-class norms, the implication being that those left behind are starting to feel out of place in their own community. In Helen's words:

That's a new shopping—yeah organic food and all that ... I go down there and I just wanna have a look around in there. Some of the shopkeepers 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 [Ave] they kind of all look down at you—like 'what are you doing here?' (Helen, Glen Innes resident).

Helen's experience of feeling out of place, and being excluded from places that she has lived in her whole life, is indicative of the wider reconfiguration of Glen Innes. The shift in belonging and social relations is palpable in her account of friendliness and greetings that she has become familiar with and the ways in which shopkeepers seem to look down on her in new developments. Alongside the bank closures and struggling businesses, these experiences point towards a transformed sense of place in Glen Innes. Like many other neighbourhoods undergoing recent gentrification (Zukin *et al.*, 2009), parts of Glen Innes are increasingly associated with new retailing focused around gourmet food, expensive coffee and other forms of urban 'lifestyle'—all indications of wider changes in the class and cultural structure of the suburb.

One of the most striking features of the changes described by interviewees is the speed at which they have occurred. Unlike other examples of gentrification in Auckland such as in Ponsonby (Carlyon and Morrow, 2008) that took decades to occur, the direct involvement of the state in Glen Innes' gentrification has accelerated processes and effects. This is already apparent in the radical shift from the premise that a state house is a 'house for life' to reviewable tenancies and its accompanying pace of displacement. As the accounts presented here have shown, the *de facto* ownership of a state rental house resulted in a close-knit, unique community with strong social support networks and a deep attachment to Glen Innes. Disrupting this security of tenure and then removing people from places where these connections are established can trigger a range of emotions including pain, bitterness and grief (Slater, 2013). For residents, the pace of change and removal of houses amplifies this sense of loss:

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

Hemi is one of the few people who lived on the street that was cleared of state houses very early in the regeneration process. He has remained because in an earlier era of state house privatization he had purchased his home. There is palpable loss in his account, a loss of the physical form of the community, the literal removal of houses and neighbours at a speed that is described as 'magical'. This contrasts significantly with standard accounts of gentrification that observe 'a substantial time lag between when the subordinate class group gives way to more affluent users' (Hackworth, 2002: 839). The involvement of the state has increased this pace of change considerably. These housing removals have often taken place at night and with significant police involvement as community members have sought to halt the process. After these 'fly-by-night' removals, the 'ghost town' that remains may well be peaceful but it is also lonely, its very viability as a community undermined. Hemi continued by describing the emotional consequences of these changes:

For me it's about change and trauma ... because it doesn't matter whether they stay or not, it's 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 it's no longer safe for them because it's out of their control. The housing ministry has changed the environment around them which has changed the way they feel about it ... I believe people need to grieve and if they're angry about it, well anger is another form of grief.

Home 'starts by bringing some space under control' (Douglas, 1991: 289) and the same claim can be made about feelings of being at home in a community (Davidson, 2009). As Hemi demonstrates, the process of change has altered the way in which people can shape their community; it has involved a shift from a community that was safe because it was created by residents to one that is being directed by external forces. Safety in this context relates to social and cultural as well as economic security, feelings of being able to bring some space under control and work with others to develop shared aspirations and responses. The transformation of Glen Innes has undermined this safety and, in effect, worked against the preservation of community rather than its maintenance.

The viability of community in the face of gentrification was also noted by the principals at Tāmaki College and Glen Innes Primary. In both schools student numbers decreased because of the substantial declining number of state houses, and because of the interim period between house demolition/relocation and rebuilding. In the CC redevelopment area 23 families were required to leave both Glen Innes Primary and Tāmaki College. In many instances there were multiple school-aged children per family and 40 students from each school were affected, which for Glen Innes Primary meant a 20% reduction in students:

We did our planning in 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 (principal, Glen Innes Primary).

The time lag between house removal and redevelopment (i.e. between displacement and then incoming population; cf. Hackworth, 2002), and the unexpected delays, exacerbated pressure on a school that was already facing significant challenges. Tāmaki College's principal described a similar situation and the financial pressure this generated. Notably, she highlighted that despite the state's involvement in the reduction of students there was no capacity within the Education Act to increase funding and no effort by agencies involved to address the financial shortfall.

Lastly, while both schools were seeking to prepare for the arrival of new residents when houses are eventually built, there was anxiety about whether new middle-class residents would send their children to either school:

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 enrol 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 let's say so they bring their children here and that's perfectly fine. We do have people that [sic] enrol 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 (principal, Tāmaki College, 2014).

As the principal highlights, even when new residents arrive, the schools in the area may face challenges around attracting new students and maintaining viability relating to image. The perception is that the college has a negative reputation that might act to deter some parents, particularly those who view education as critical to future success. This is a recognized pattern in gentrification literature (DeSena, 2006). While new Glen Innes residents may seek to contribute to local schools in the way that these principals hope, they may also seek out places in neighbouring schools that have generated more positive reputations. In addition to the immediate impact on student numbers, then, gentrification carries longer-term risks for these schools and their place in maintaining the viability of Glen Innes as a community.

Conclusion

The foregoing evidence has indicated ways in which state-led intervention is advancing gentrification at a faster pace and in more disruptive ways than in the past experience of more centrally located Auckland suburbs. Given the density of state-owned rentals in Glen Innes and their longstanding and multi-generational occupancy by largely Māori and Pasifika families, the effects of enforced relocations of residents and removals of houses have been significant. Changes that have brought a middle-class consumption aesthetic to local retailing and losses to local school rolls demonstrate the multiplier effects that rapid and widespread gentrification can bring in its wake. Both local shops and schools are integral to the fabric of any community and the symbolic 'otherness' of such places—whether to long-time residents in the case of schools or newcomers in the case of retail outlets—speak to a reconfiguration of both place and community through 'regeneration'.

In addition to these significant implications for Glen Innes and its people, this article points to three wider issues. First, we note the ways in which the rhetoric of community preservation and social mixing that have become common features of state-led urban change (Slater, 2006) can differ from the reality of gentrification. The claim by the agencies involved that their concern is with 'the preservation of this unique community for future generations' (Tāmaki Redevelopment Company Ltd, 2015) misaligns with the reality that is taking place on the ground. The accounts offered by residents and community representatives in this paper clearly point to the ways in which state-led processes of gentrification are undermining long-established patterns of social life and place attachment in Glen Innes. This contention is amplified by the fact that the CC redevelopment process has involved an absolute reduction in the number of state houses and an absolute increase in private properties. In the much larger TRC project it remains unclear whether there will be absolute reductions in state housing, but the planned increase in private housing will change the proportion substantially in a way that has implications for ongoing processes of phenomenological displacement. As the article has revealed, the state has also presided over considerable delays in new house construction in Glen Innes. This further reinforces the contention that the 'preservation of uniqueness' does not involve prioritizing the people who have made this community unique themselves. In this sense, we have demonstrated the ways that 'socially mixed' gentrification can occur simultaneously through spatial relocation of existing residents and phenomenological displacement for those who remain. Moreover, as the Glen Innes case demonstrates, the political rationalities of social housing and mixing downplay the consequences of gentrification and normalize the process of displacement as a natural outcome to urban development.

This research also speaks to the complexity of trying to document the displacement effects of gentrification (Atkinson, 2000; Newman and Wyly, 2006;

Slater, 2006). While we can identify price and rental increases, observe demographic shifts over several years, and witness built and social environment changes, recording the narratives of the displaced is often very challenging for researchers. This is, ironically, particularly the case in situations of state-led gentrification where displacement happens very quickly and is mediated by government agencies like HNZ. Indeed, unlike other recent research that has partnered with housing authorities (Kearns and Mason, 2013), our research has taken place in a context of ideologically driven shifts in state involvement in housing (Johnson, 2013) and in relation to an observed decline in government transparency.⁵ These agencies have a stake in the dominant narrative of redevelopment but they are also, for good reason, not permitted to provide information that might allow researchers to identify the displaced. The happenstance of Rosie's involvement in this research as a returning resident highlights the ways in which narratives such as hers are often silenced through displacement and exiled from the narration of gentrification.

Gentrification itself, particularly when it is managed by the state in such a direct fashion, involves a range of processes and experiences that can very rapidly rupture a long-established sense of community. As our account has suggested these processes generate a new community or at least a new set of social and cultural norms, and a new phenomenology of place (Davidson, 2009). There is a contrast between the tropes of urban consumerism involved in remaking place in Glen Innes and the narratives of longstanding residents in terms of feelings of belonging, styles of social interaction and values ascribed to features of urban life. Within the current hegemonic narration of urban life, these new middle-class consumer-oriented communities are considered an improvement, a revitalization of what has been in place previously (Shaw and Hagemans, 2015). These changes are valorized through discourses of mixing, valued through property rights and prices, and reinforced by the uneven power relations that make it possible for long-established residents to feel out of place. As our account has demonstrated, then, the creation of a new Glen Innes hinges on the eradication rather than preservation of a strong socially connected community.

Renee Gordon, School of Environment, University of Auckland, Private bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand, rgor032@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Francis L. Collins, School of Environment, University of Auckland, Private bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand, f.collins@auckland.ac.nz

Robin Kearns, School of Environment, University of Auckland, Private bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand, r.kearns@auckland.ac.nz

References

- Atkinson, R. (2000) Measuring gentrification and displacement in Greater London. *Urban Studies* 37.1, 149–65.
- Atkinson, R. (2004) The evidence on the impact of gentrification: new lessons for the urban renaissance? *International Journal of Housing Policy* 4.1, 107–31.
- Austin, P.M., N. Gurrán and C.M. Whitehead (2014) Planning and affordable housing in Australia, New Zealand and England: common culture; different mechanisms. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 29.3, 455–72.
- Blessing, A. (2012) Magical or monstrous? Hybridity in social housing governance. *Housing Studies* 27.2, 189–207.
- Blomley, N. (2004) *Unsettling the city: urban land and the politics of property*. Routledge, New York.
- Carlyon, J. and D. Morrow (2008) *Urban village: the story of Ponsonby, Freemans Bay and St Mary's Bay*. Random House, New York.
- Davidson, M. (2009) Displacement, space and dwelling: placing gentrification debate. *Ethics Place and Environment* 12.2, 219–34.
- Davidson, M. and L. Lees (2010) New-build gentrification: its histories, trajectories, and critical geographies. *Population, Space and Place* 16.5, 395–411.
- DeSena, J.N. (2006) 'What's a mother to do?' Gentrification, school selection, and the consequences for community cohesion. *American Behavioral Scientist* 50.2, 241–57.

5 New Zealand has declined several places over recent years in the annual Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, particularly in relation to changes in 'access to information' (see <http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/76317907/nzs-anticorruption-record-slipping-watchdog>).

- Douglas, M. (1991) The idea of a home: a kind of space. *Social Research* 58.1, 287-307.
- Duany, A. (2001) Three cheers for gentrification. *American Enterprise Magazine* April/May, 36-9.
- Foster, C. (2011) My Auckland: Wai-O-Taki Bay. *The New Zealand Herald* [WWW document]. URL http://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=10732791 (accessed 10 December 2014).
- Hackworth, J. (2002) Postrecession gentrification in New York City. *Urban Affairs Review* 37.6, 815-43.
- Hamnett, C. (2003) Gentrification and the middle-class remaking of inner London, 1961-2001. *Urban studies* 40.12, 2401-26.
- Hartman, C. (2002) *City for sale: the transformation of San Francisco*. University of California Press, Oakland, CA.
- Housing New Zealand (HNZ) (2013a) Northern Glen Innes redevelopment to provide homes to those in need. Press release, Housing New Zealand, 15 August 2013 [WWW document]. URL <http://www.hnzc.co.nz/news/august-2013/northern-glen-innes-redevelopment-to-provide-homes-to-those-in-need> (accessed 31 January 2014).
- Housing New Zealand (HNZ) (2013b) Briefing to the incoming minister [WWW document]. URL <https://www.hnzc.co.nz/assets/Publications/Corporate/Briefing-for-the-Incoming-Minister/briefing-for-the-incoming-minister-2013.pdf> (accessed 10 April 2014).
- Huning, S. and N. Schuster (2015) 'Social mixing or gentrification'? Contradictory perspectives on urban change in the Berlin district of Neukölln. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39.4, 738-55.
- Johnson, A. (2013) Give me shelter: an assessment of New Zealand's housing assistant policies [WWW document]. URL <http://www.salvationarmy.org.nz/sites/default/files/uploads/GiveMeShelter2013FinalWeb.pdf> (accessed 31 January 2014).
- Kearns, A. and P. Mason (2013) Defining and measuring displacement: is relocation from restructured neighbourhoods always unwelcome and disruptive? *Housing Studies* 28.2, 177-204.
- Kearns, R.A., C.J. Smith and M.W. Abbott (1991) Another day in paradise? Life on the margins in urban New Zealand. *Social Science & Medicine* 33.4, 369-79.
- Keene, D. and E. Ruel (2013) 'Everyone called me grandma': public housing demolition and relocation among older adults in Atlanta. *Cities* 35.6, 359-64.
- Lees, L. (2012) The geography of gentrification: thinking through comparative urbanism. *Progress in Human Geography* 36.2, 155-71.
- Lees, L. and D. Ley (2008) Introduction to special issue on gentrification and public policy. *Urban Studies* 45.12, 2379-84.
- Manzo, L. and D. Perkins (2006) Finding common ground: the importance of place attachment to community participation and planning. *Journal of Planning Literature* 20.4, 335-50.
- Morrison, P.S. (1995) The geography of rental housing and the restructuring of housing assistance in New Zealand. *Housing Studies* 10.1, 39-56.
- Murphy, L. (2008) Third-wave gentrification in New Zealand: the case of Auckland. *Urban Studies* 45.12, 2521-40.
- Murphy, L. (2016) The politics of land supply and affordable housing: Auckland's housing accord and special housing areas. *Urban Studies* 53.12, 2530-47.
- Murphy, L. and R.A. Kearns (1994) Housing New Zealand Ltd: privatisation by stealth. *Environment and Planning A* 26.4, 623-37.
- Newman, K. and E.K. Wyly (2006) The right to stay put, revisited: gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York City. *Urban Studies* 43.1, 23-57.
- QV.co.nz. (2014) Area profile for Glen Innes [WWW document]. URL <http://www.qv.co.nz/suburb/area-profile/glen-innes-auckland/435> (accessed 10 December 2014).
- Raeburn, J., M. Akerman, K. Chuengsatiansup, F. Mejia and O. Oladepo (2006) Community capacity building and health promotion in a globalized world. *Health Promotion International* 21.1, 84-90.
- Rérat, P., O. Söderström and E. Piguet (2010) New forms of gentrification: issues and debates. *Population, Space and Place* 16.5, 335-43.
- Scott, K., A. Shaw and C. Bava (2010) Social equity and social housing densification in Glen Innes, New Zealand: a political ecology approach. In E. Dürr and R. Jaffe (eds.), *Urban pollution: cultural meanings, social practices*, Berghahn, Oxford.
- Shaw, W.S. (2000) Ways of whiteness: Harleminising Sydney's aboriginal Redfern. *Australian Geographical Studies* 38.3, 291-305.
- Shaw, K.S. and I.W. Hagemans (2015) 'Gentrification without displacement' and the consequent loss of place: the effects of class transition on low-income residents of secure housing in gentrifying areas. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39.2, 323-41.
- Slater, T. (2006) The eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30.4, 737-57.
- Slater, T. (2011) Gentrification of the city. In G. Bridge and S. Watson (eds.), *The new Blackwell companion to the city*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.
- Slater, T. (2013) Expulsions from public housing: the hidden context of concentrated affluence. *Cities* 35.6, 384-90.
- Smith, N. (2002) New globalism, new urbanism: gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode* 34.3, 427-50.
- Statistics New Zealand (2016) Ethnic profiles [WWW document]. URL <http://stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/ethnic-profiles.aspx> (accessed 14 September 2016).
- Tāmaki Redevelopment Company Ltd (2015) Annual report [WWW document]. URL <http://www.tamakiregeneration.co.nz/sites/default/files/site-files/9064%20TRC%20Annual%20Report%202015%2028.pdf> (accessed 6 October 2017).
- Thorns, D.C. (2000) Policy review: housing policy in the 1990s: New Zealand a decade of change. *Housing Studies* 15.1, 129-38.
- Watt, P. (2009) Housing stock transfers, regeneration and state-led gentrification in London. *Urban Policy and Research* 27.3, 229-42.
- Watt, P. (2013) 'It's not for us' regeneration, the 2012 Olympics and the gentrification of East London. *City* 17.1, 99-118.
- Whare Tapu Whā (2014) Whare Tapu Whā website. URL <http://www.maoritelevision.com/tv/shows/pakipumeka-aotearoa-new-zealand-documentaries/S05E001/whare-tapa-wha> (accessed 31 August 2017).
- Wiles, J. and R. Jayasinha (2013) Care for place: the contributions older people make to their communities. *Journal of Aging Studies* 27.1, 93-101.
- Witten, K., T. McCreanor, R. Kearns and L. Ramasubramanian (2001) The impacts of a school closure on neighbourhood social cohesion: narratives from Invercargill, New Zealand. *Health & Place* 7.4, 307-17.
- Zukin, S., V. Trujillo, P. Frase, D. Jackson, T. Recuber and A. Walker (2009) New retail capital and neighborhood change: boutiques and gentrification in New York City. *City & Community* 8.1, 47-64.