Millennials perceptions of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland

Word Count: 4,045

Abstract

This project examines how millennials who are non-homeowners make sense of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. According to New Zealand politicians and media, millennials face unprecedented hardship within the housing market, with unaffordable housing and supply shortages becoming commonplace in many cities. To alleviate these burdens, the New Zealand government has deregulated planning legislations to open up cities for densification and redevelopment, marketed as regeneration projects. However, these projects are fast-resembling a shift towards mass state-led gentrification, placing lower-income groups at risk of further housing instability and insecurity. This research project discusses two key findings by analysing focus group data from four millennials living in Onehunga, a suburb currently undergoing gentrification. It is argued that millennials view gentrification through two ideological lenses of egalitarianism and tall poppy syndrome, both of which are deeply entrenched attitudes within New Zealand culture. These lenses pose insights and further challenges as to how processes like gentrification that are propounded by inequality are understood and countered by those at most risk of being adversely affected.

Introduction

For some years, it has become widely accepted that Aotearoa New Zealand is facing a housing crisis (Eaqub & Eaqub, 2015; Howden-Chapman et al., 2013; Paul et al., 2020). In recent years, millennials – those born between 1981to 1996 (Pew Research Centre, n.d) - have been highlighted as disadvantaged in the housing market. This is especially true for millennials based in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland, where the cost of housing has become increasingly unaffordable (Eaqub & Eaqub, 2015). To capitalise on rising house prices, areas of Tāmaki Makaurau have been earmarked for regeneration, otherwise critiqued as gentrification (Gordon et al., 2017; Henry et al., 2019; Roche, 2019; Terruhn, 2019; 2020).

Despite homeownership being an unattainable notion for many, it remains firmly ingrained in our national identity (Eaqub & Eaqub, 2015). In Tāmaki Makaurau, divisions between renters and homeowners can be mapped out spatially along with other characteristics of residential segregation such as ethnicity and income level. Alongside all of this sits the issue of gentrification, a process of residential segregation involving the displacement or exclusion of the lower-class (Glass, 1964). However, gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau has quietly festered away under state and industry whitewashing (Terruhn, 2019; 2020) and a lack of critical media attention (Donnell, 2021a; Donnell, 2021b).

As a group that is seemingly disenfranchised by the housing crisis, it is curious as to how millennials who are non-homeowners make sense of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau. This research project discusses two key findings by analysing focus group data from four millennials living in Onehunga, a suburb currently undergoing gentrification. It is argued that millennials view gentrification through two ideological lenses of egalitarianism and tall poppy syndrome, both of which are deeply entrenched attitudes within New Zealand culture. These lenses pose insights and further challenges as to how processes like gentrification that are propounded by inequality are understood and countered by those at most risk of being adversely affected.

Review of Literature

For decades, urban cities worldwide have undergone waves of gentrification in response to social and economic changes (Latham, 2003). Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland is no exception. As a result of suburbanisation, urban and transnational migration, and prior housing crises,

Auckland's inner-city suburbs have previously been subject to the academic critique of gentrification (Latham, 2003; Murphy, 2003; Murphy, 2008). Since then, gentrification has become increasingly state-led (Gordon et al., 2017; Murphy, 2008; Roche, 2019) and has extended beyond just urban areas (Freeman & Cheyne, 2008). This brief but rapid history of gentrification forms part of the backdrop for which millennials find themselves amidst the current housing crisis.

Although understanding gentrification shines a spotlight on how spatial and social inequality maps out in Tāmaki Makaurau, it rarely features in dominant discourses. Terruhn (2019; 2020) argues that gentrification discourses have been repackaged by developers and the state to distract from its negative implications on marginalised groups. 'Regeneration,' 'revitalisation,' 'mixed-tenure,' and 'social mixing' are terms commonly used to refer to development projects that are essentially gentrifying in nature (Terruhn, 2019; 2020).

On the other hand, mainstream media tends to focus primarily on declining homeownership rates (Edwards, 2021; Leahy, 2021; NZ Herald, 2021), burying issues like gentrification. Homeownership has long been equated with egalitarianism; an ideal constructed as part of the colonial imagination (and now, legacy) of Aotearoa as a place of refuge from Britain's rigid class confines (Saville-Smith & Saville-Smith, 2018; Woodhams, 2019). The media's emphasis on homeownership, along with the state and industry reframing of gentrification work congruously to reconstruct regeneration projects as productive solutions to the housing crisis. However, it creates inverse impacts for lower-income groups who are subsequently priced out of the housing market and concentrated within areas prone to disinvestment.

Despite frequent media reports that millennials are becoming more and more disadvantaged in terms of homeownership, little research exists on how millennials perceive less understood issues of housing inequality like gentrification. International studies like Ehlenz et al. (2020) argue that millennials are partly causing gentrification in cities in the United States because of their preference for housing in walkable, high-amenity locations. What is more, delays to starting families and the prioritisation of higher-education suggests to Ehlenz et al. (2020) that there a millennial housing market has developed from the demand for inner-city living. A local study by Grimes et al. (2020) discusses related findings, stating that access to tertiary education in urban cities is a significant pull-factor for young people in Aotearoa. However, Grimes et al. (2020) explain that upon graduation, young people are unlikely to return to their smaller

hometowns, preferring to stay in cities for lifestyle reasons and to pursue career opportunities. Together, these factors contribute to growing housing pressures, especially amongst groups facing relative housing instability such as non-homeowning millennials.

According to Austin and Whitehead (1998) Onehunga was once a prominent working-class suburb in central Tāmaki Makaurau. Over time, Onehunga has become increasingly attractive to property investors (Hargreaves, 2011), and is currently undergoing gentrification (see Adams, 2019; Hawkes, 2017; Jonas, 2018; Nichol, 2019; Smith, 2018), or regeneration as it is referred to by Panuku Development Auckland (2017). Panuku Development is an arm of Auckland Council that manages a portfolio of council owned land and buildings throughout the city, including in Onehunga (Hawkes, 2017; Panuku Development, 2017). A key reason for the current development in Onehunga is due to the "strategic council and Crown landholdings that can act as catalysts for private sector investment and redevelopment" (Panuku Development, 2017, p. 12). These plans signify the beginnings of state-led gentrification in Onehunga. Examples of community activism resisting gentrification provide grounds for research on how this phenomenon is experienced by non-homeowning millennials in the area.

Method

The broad aim of this project is to understand how millennials who are non-homeowners make sense of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau. To achieve this, I conducted qualitative research with a focus group to capture the extent to which millennials recognise characteristics of gentrification and how they are perceived amidst the broader housing context. A focus group involves a collective discussion facilitated by a moderator amongst selected participants on a particular topic (Wilkinson, 1998). Its purpose is to stimulate interaction amongst participants and elicit people's attitudes and feelings towards a subject (Putcha & Potter, 2004). Given the complexity of housing experiences, a focus group provided opportunity for a diverse exchange of perspectives on gentrification.

Onehunga was identified as undergoing gentrification through online media articles (Adams, 2019; Hawkes, 2017; Jonas, 2018; Nichol, 2019; Smith, 2018). Based on the small size and short timeframe of this project, four participants were recruited over the course of a week from

Onehunga. Participants were identified as having lived in Onehunga for at least 12 months to be able to comment on the recent changes in their area. A combination of snowball sampling, promoting the project on Facebook community group pages and letterbox drops within Onehunga were used. Snowball sampling is a non-random technique involving recruiting participants referred by others who have identified them as fitting the sample criteria (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Recruitment began with snowball sampling by asking a friend who lives in Onehunga and a community group (the 312 Hub) to share information with people who fit the criteria. This friend also provided access to two Facebook community pages for Onehunga and helped distribute participant information sheets (see Appendix A) via a letterbox drop in their neighbourhood. In total, 40 information sheets were delivered at random and two Facebook posts per each community page were made.

Participants responded via Facebook messenger or email. An information sheet was shared, and a date and time preference confirmed individually with each participant. Participants were asked to provide personal information, contact details and to confirm they fit the criteria in an online form (see Appendix B). The focus group took place at the Onehunga Community Centre. Participants all gave written consent (see Appendix C) and agreed to confidentiality prior to the focus group beginning. The discussion lasted just over 1.5 hours and, with permission, was audio-recorded and transcribed.

As an indigenous undergraduate student (Māori/Samoan) and researcher, the focus group was loosely structured and facilitated using indigenous approaches and research methods. This included beginning and ending with a karakia (prayer), acknowledging the mana whenua (local indigenous people) of Onehunga and outlining tikanga (protocol) before commencing (Pere & Barnes, 2009). Tikanga included keeping personal information and details of the focus group confidential. I encouraged uninterrupted talanoa (open dialogue, story-telling) where appropriate to allow participants to fully elaborate on their thoughts and opinions (Tunufa'i, 2016). Kai (food) was provided as kōha (a gift) to thank participants for their time and contributions to the research project.

The details of the focus group were provided to participants in individual booklets (see Appendix D). Activities were ordered thematically and involved a ranking exercise, label generation exercise, and fantasy exercise as defined by Colucci (2007), with opportunity for

talanoa after each. The definition of gentrification was kept flexible so that various interpretations could be discussed. A description of each activity is given below:

Ranking exercise

Participants were asked to work together to rank a set of 10 housing issues (see Appendix D for full list) identified by Johnson et al. (2018) in a report on New Zealand housing. First, participants were to rank each issue based on how much impact they perceived each having on millennials who are non-homeowners in Aotearoa and secondly, on how much impact they were perceived to have on the same demographic group in Onehunga. One indicated the issue with the most impact and 10 the issue with the least impact. This exercise focused on gauging participants perceptions of gentrification amidst other issues within the housing crisis.

Labelling Exercise

Using a labelling tree, participants were asked to brainstorm together the factors they thought contributed to gentrification in Onehunga (represented as the roots of the tree) and the impacts caused by gentrification on their community (represented by the leaves of the tree). The purpose of this exercise was to discuss the extent to which participants perceived characteristics and effects of gentrification based on their experience as non-homeowning millennials in Onehunga.

Fantasy Exercise

The last exercise asked participants to write a collective letter to the local MP of Onehunga, outlining their experiences of gentrification. Participants were encouraged to describe what they wanted their community to look like in 10 years. The activity was designed to get participants thinking broadly about gentrification in Onehunga and what action they expected from their elected local community leader.

After the session, participants were advised again of their rights and assured findings from the group would not be published or shared outside of the course. The audio transcript was transcribed, coded thematically (Clarke & Braun, 2014) using NVivo software and analysed.

Discussion

The data analysis shows that participants discussed and made sense of gentrification through two ideological lenses. I refer to lenses as established conceptual frameworks for which an issue is perceived (Brooke et al., 2019). These lenses are egalitarianism and tall poppy syndrome. This discussion will first address how participants know about gentrification, then analyse how each lens shapes participants' understandings of gentrification.

Participants expressed several ways of 'knowing' about gentrification in their community. Knowing was demonstrated both implicitly and explicitly as recognising and understanding the phenomenon. The two main ways participants knew about gentrification were through observing changes in the community and personal or familial experiences. In many examples, observation and personal or familial experience were interconnected.

> I've been, you know…raised here and my nana's house, they're probably the only ones left in their street that can fit three properties on the one section, it's still got the big land…what I see going on is… they're developing all these apartments and places. And they're actually knocking down a few Housing New Zealand [state] houses and they are slowly pushing communities that have been here for so long out. And eventually it's going to happen to me too (Participant 2).

Here, the participant observed elements of state-led gentrification where densification schemes appeared to be replacing existing state houses but displacing established residents in the process. For this participant, gentrification seemed inevitable in Onehunga.

Less common ways of knowing about gentrification were through the media, social media; especially the Onehunga Facebook community pages, and tertiary education. For the most part, however, gentrification was not described as a widely known concept. This reflects the need to analyse the interpretive frameworks through which participants make sense of gentrification in Aotearoa.

Egalitarianism and homeownership
Aspirations for homeownership frequently features in media and political discourse as part of a deeply established egalitarian ethos within New Zealand culture. The idea of an egalitarian

society has long been supported by government housing provisions and the relative accessibility of homeownership (Saville-Smith & Saville-Smith, 2018). Through an egalitarian lens, the decreasing capacity to attain homeownership is referred to by participants as a measure of societal inequality and injustice.

> [The housing crisis] affects everyone, even people that are not in my exact situation. Everyone's got…things like, you know, they might dream to buy a house, or to be comfortable and everyone has a right to be comfortable, I believe (Participant 2).

According to this participant, aspiring to own a house and the right to be comfortable are two liberties people should be entitled to in Aotearoa. Despite also commenting that particular groups, such as state housing tenants, will be adversely affected by gentrification, the participant also perceived the housing crisis as *affecting everyone*; as classless. However, homeownership in New Zealand plays a significant role in generational wealth disparities, with disproportionately low homeownership rates for Māori and Pacific peoples (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). This also provides a partial explanation for why certain groups are concentrated within state housing and are continuously disadvantaged through processes such as gentrification (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015). Even so, the connection between homeownership and wealth is diffused through an egalitarian lens. This perpetuation of egalitarianism requires closer interrogation.

During the ranking exercise, three participants listed unaffordable housing as the most impactful issue on millennials in Aotearoa and insecure housing tenure arrangements as the least. Long-term rental contracts, rent caps or secure social housing were not discussed as possible solutions for the instability and insecurity associated with unaffordable housing. The participants' discussion reflects political and media rhetoric on housing, where little consideration is given to a more stable rental market (Donnell, 2021a) or government housing. What is more, individual and community level action against inequitable housing policies is not as common in Aotearoa as opposed to other countries (see Annunziata & Rivas, 2018; Larsen, 2019). Much of the existing media rhetoric accentuates government and developer measures towards reducing housing inequality, adding to the sense of impending inevitability and lack of agency amongst individuals to resist gentrification. These factors naturalise power dynamics within housing discourse and perpetuate the positioning of homeownership as paramount to resolving housing inequality, from the state through to the individual level.

Specifically, the ability to own a house in Onehunga was described as a strategy for staving off displacement as an effect of gentrification. Participant 1 ranked unaffordable housing and barriers for first homebuyers as having the most impact upon millennials in Onehunga.

> I can't afford to buy in Onehunga. This is where I want to live but I can't afford to buy. It's my community. I've been here all my life. I love this community. I help children in this community. I help families in this community, and I can't afford to buy in it, and also gentrification in this area is a huge problem (Participant 1).

Again, gentrification is expressed as unavoidable, while homeownership is considered the only preventative solution to eventual displacement. The participant refers to their position as a long-standing, contributing member of the community. Their comments evoke frames of injustice; that regardless of an individual's preference or emotional, social, and familial connections to their community, their ability to withstand gentrification is dependent upon attaining homeownership. These comments suggest that people's sense of value and belonging within their community is also hinged upon homeownership.

Placing such importance upon homeownership obscures the potential for other forms of resistance against gentrification by rendering them invisible or, perhaps even, pointless. As Saville-Smith and Saville-Smith (2018) mention, the long-established discursive and structural forces that perpetuate gentrification as both inevitable and as a result of economic inequality rather than systematic, social injustice go on unaddressed.

Tall poppy syndrome
While prevalent in New Zealand's consciousness and national identity, Tall poppy syndrome has seldom been explored within housing and gentrification discourses. A tall poppy is an elite who gained high status through "achievement, rank or wealth" (Feather et al., 1991, p.85). Tall poppy syndrome functions as a means of maintaining the egalitarian ideal through a discursive and enacted distrust or dislike of elites (Bönish-Brednich, 2008; Kirkwood, 2007; Pierce et al., 2017; Woodhams, 2019). In this project, elites were regarded as people responsible for gentrifying Onehunga, those that were not locals but could purchase within the area. Within the participants' discussion, tall poppy syndrome was enacted in several ways, including pulling down and othering people perceived to be gentrifying Onehunga, or perceived physical

representations of gentrification; self-deprecating descriptions of New Zealand housing; and defensiveness over marginalised groups in the community. This section explores the process of othering gentrifiers.

I refer to the group of elites as 'gentrifiers', 'tall poppies' or 'others', though it should be acknowledged that participants refer to elites abstractly – their perceptions and conclusions about people perceived as gentrifying Onehunga were based on assumptions rather than specific examples. This could be for several reasons, including that the divide between gentrifiers and local residents may restrain social cohesion and create anxieties towards one another.

Discontent towards people perceived to be gentrifying Onehunga resulted in 'othering' tall poppies. *Othering* is a dialectical discourse which Brons (2015) describes as positioning the self within the in-group which, consequently, forms conceptions of the 'other' who does not fit the imagined norm. Implicitly, these imagined tall poppies were pulled down for choosing to live in Onehunga and causing house prices to rise.

> Because, literally, they [gentrifiers] can't afford to buy a house where their parents are in Mount Eden, where a lot of yuppies are, so they're choosing to buy here. Cause it is good for families, in this area but it drives the housing prices way up (Participant 1).

When compared with their previous comments, Participant 1 constructs the in-group; the long-term residents who have 'earned' their right to live in Onehunga by being raised and having strong ties to the area, and through a high level of contribution and engagement within the community. Contrastingly, people perceived as gentrifiers have the choice (not the right) to purchase housing in Onehunga due to their financial resources. Gentrifiers are, therefore, illegitimate residents of Onehunga. This example of tall poppy syndrome recognises a power hierarchy between long-term, low-income residents and gentrifiers, but not to the extent that the structures, mechanisms and background actors (the state and developers) that enable gentrification to take place are acknowledged, nor that the egalitarian ideal is challenged.

Notably, tall poppy syndrome also revealed participants' perceptions of the intersecting identities and characteristics encapsulated within the imagined gentrifying group. In the previous example, Participant 1 referred to gentrifiers as yuppies or young urban professionals

(Latham, 2000), with parents that live in upmarket gentrified suburbs like Mount Eden. They associated the family-friendliness of Onehunga as being a pull factor for gentrifiers.

Throughout the discussion, participants brought up a local safe-street project being trialled in Onehunga by Auckland Transport. The project involved installing large plywood boxes to block off thoroughfare streets in an attempt to reduce traffic and speeding through residential areas and near schools (see Auckland Council, 2021). The boxes caused contention in the community and have since been removed following "concerns of public safety after vandalism and disruption at the project site" (Auckland Council, 2021). Participant 1 saw this project as a physical representation of gentrification or, as they referred to as *"blocking off the brownest part of Onehunga"*.

> Every stoplight has a camera now…they never used to, but they all do now, and they put extra traffic lights through the whole of Onehunga that they never had before. And these boxes are a sign of gentrification...I find it really weird that the boxes are placed on this side only (Participant 1).

The assumption here is that the project is a method of gentrification and residential segregation operating under the pretence of creating safer child-friendly streets. Together, these assumptions conjure up the characteristics of a 'yupp' or young urban professional parent, described by Karsten (2014) as "well-educated, middle classes with enough resources to buy themselves an urban family home" (p. 175). In Participant 1's view, the recent changes in Onehunga represent the power held by gentrifiers to dominate the production of space in a way that reflects their spatial realities. What is more, gentrification, is seen as manifesting as racial residential segregation.

A few intersecting identities come to light through this analysis, but perhaps more importantly, participants have identified that gentrification materialises other forms of inequality like wealth and race which determine people's place and value within their communities. When we consider what this may mean for the future of Tāmaki Makaurau, in the context of Terruhn's (2019) work which highlights developers and governments use of diversity in contemporary gentrification projects, the outcome of gentrification appears progressively more homogenous and unequal.

Conclusion

In the context of New Zealand's 'housing crisis,' millennials find themselves caught in the contradictions of egalitarianism and tall poppy syndrome. This analysis attempts to counter and extend the current scholarship on gentrification by exploring the ways in which millennials (as a marginal group) make sense of the phenomenon. From analysing focus group data with four non-homeowning millennials living in Onehunga, it is evident that the dominant framing of the crisis as an issue of supply and demand is not just so. Underlying ideological lenses provide interpretative frameworks for millennials to make sense of gentrification and housing inequality at a broader level.

Through an egalitarian lens, millennials understand gentrification to be inevitable for those who cannot attain homeownership, reinforcing this unquestioned aspiration despite acknowledging it is unfeasible for many. The tall poppy syndrome lens draws attention to how millennials perceive gentrifiers and the underlying inequalities explaining why certain groups are disadvantaged or privileged through gentrification. The lens also extended the critique to changes within Onehunga that were understood as gentrification and racial segregation, and again, benefitted people perceived to be gentrifiers. This understanding represents a fissure in the dominant housing narrative, for which a new framework could erupt to contest current approaches to redevelopment that are initiated and supported from the top-down and encourage deepening class divisions.

However, the ability to reframe the housing crisis and the potential for resistance against gentrification, in part, requires thinking outside the confines of both lenses. Recognising the structural and systemic inequalities that give rise to gentrification may help gain traction for new lenses or frames to emerge. What is more, drawing support from social movements from around the world that are contesting issues of housing inequality may provide support and alternative ways of thinking about gentrification. These suggestions provide useful starting points for further exploration of the topic.

References

Adams, J. (2019). *Onehunga: The beating heart of everything that's good about Auckland.* The Spinoff. https://thespinoff.co.nz/onehunga-arts-festival/18-06-2019/onehunga-the-beating-heart-of-everything-thats-good-about-auckland/

Annunziata, S., & Rivas, C. (2018). Resisting gentrification. In L. Lees & M. Phillips (Eds.), *Handbook of Gentrification Studies* (pp. 393–412). Edward Elgar Publisher. https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/4569756/mod_resource/content/1/resisting%20gentrifcation.pdf

Auckland Council. (2021). *Arthur Grey low traffic area.* https://akhaveyoursay.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/arthur-grey-low-traffic-area

Austin, P., & Whitehead, C. (1998). Auckland: Cappuccino city? *Urban Policy and Research, 16*(3), 233–240. https://doi.org/10.1080/08111149808727770

Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological Methods & Research, 10*(2), 141–163.

Bönisch-Brednich, B. (2008). Watching the Kiwis: New Zealanders' rules of social interaction – an introduction. *The Journal of New Zealand Studies,* (6/7), 3–15. https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.v0i6/7.131

Brons, L. L. (2015). Othering, an analysis. *Transience, a Journal of Global Studies, 6*(1), 69–90.

Brooke, M., Moubec, L., Tilakaratna, N. (2019). The analytical lens: Developing undergraduate students' critical dispositions in undergraduate EAP writing courses. *Teaching in Higher Education, 24*(3), 428–443. https://doi.org/10.1080/13562517.2018.1534822

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2014). Thematic analysis. In T. Teo (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of critical psychology* (pp. 1947–1951). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-5583-7

Colucci, E. (2007). "Focus groups can be fun": The use of activity-oriented questions in focus group discussions. *Qualitative Health Research, 17*(10), 1422–1433. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732307308129

Donnell, H. (2021a). *Media still covering house price rises as good news.* RNZ. https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/mediawatch/audio/2018781334/media-still-covering-house-price-rises-as-good-news

Donnell, H. (2021b). *Investor-economist alliance dominates media's housing response.* RNZ. https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/mediawatch/audio/2018789167/investor-economist-alliance-dominates-media-s-housing-response

Eaqub, S., & Eaqub, S. (2015). *Generation rent: Rethinking New Zealand's priorities.* Bridget Williams Books.

Edwards, B. (2021). *Political roundup: Housing announcement a blow for those at the bottom.* NZ Herald. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/politics/political-roundup-housing-announcement-a-blow-for-those-at-the-bottom/6LWN2MRSOGXTAV32QRJ6F5NH6I/

Ehlenz, M. M., Pfeiffer, D., & Pearthree, G. (2020). Downtown revitalisation in the era of millennials: How developer perceptions of millennial market demands are shaping urban landscapes. *Urban Geography, 41*(1), 79–102. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2019.1647062

Feather, N. T., Volkmer, R. E., & McKee, I. R. (1991). Attitudes towards high achievers in public life: Attributions, deservingness, personality, and affect. *Australian Journal of Psychology, 43*(2), 85–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/00049539108259105

Freeman, C., & Cheyne, C. (2008). Coasts for sale: Gentrification in New Zealand. *Planning Theory & Practice, 9*(1), 33–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649350701843846

Gordon, R., Collins., F. L., & Kearns, R. (2017). 'It is the people that have made Glen Innes': State-led gentrification and the reconfiguration of urban life in Auckland. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 41*(5), 767–785. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12567

Glass, R. (1964). Introduction: Aspects of change. In Centre for Urban Studies (Eds.), *London: Aspects of change* (pp. 12–42). MacGibbon & Kee. https://hakka3.files.wordpress.com/2017/11/glass-aspects-of-change.pdf

Grimes, A., Badenhorst, S., Maré, D. C., Poot, J., & Sin, I. (2020). *"Hometown & whānau or big city & millennials?": The economic geography of graduate destination choices in New Zealand* [Motu Working Paper 20-04]. Motu Economic and Public Policy

Research. https://www.buildingbetter.nz/publications/thriving_regions/Grimes_et_al_2020_hom etown_whanau_or_big_city_millennials.pdf

Hargreaves, B. (2011). Exploring past and possible future investor housing performance in 19 Auckland City suburbs. *International Journal of Housing Markets and Analysis, 4*(2), 130–143. https://doi.org/10.1108/17538271111137912

Hawkes, C. (2017). *The high-life: No land, no worries for these first-home owners buying an apartment off the plans.* Stuff NZ. https://www.stuff.co.nz/life-style/homed/the-high-life/93471820/the-high-life-no-land-no-worries-for-these-firsthome-owners-buying-an-apartment-off-the-plans

Henry, E., Menzies, D., & Paul, J. (2019, 30 November–5 December). *Urban regeneration and social cohesion* [Paper presentation]. State of Australian Cities Conference and PhD Symposium, Perth, Australia. https://apo.org.au/sites/default/files/resource-files/2019-12/apo-nid303680.pdf

Houkamau, C. A., & Sibley, C. G. (2015). Looking Māori predicts decreased rates of home ownership: Institutional racism in housing based on perceived appearance. *PLoS ONE, 10*(3), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0118540

Howden-Chapman, P., Bierre, S., & Cunningham, C. (2013). Building inequality. In M. Rashbrooke (Ed.), *Inequality: A New Zealand crisis* (pp. 112–124). Bridget Williams Books.

Johnson, A., Howden-Chapman, P., & Eaqub, S. (2018). *A stocktake of New Zealand's housing* [Government report]. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2018-02/A%20Stocktake%20Of%20New%20Zealand%27s%20Housing.pdf

Jonas, N. (2018). *How to claim a space for youth amid Auckland's gentrification.* Vice. https://www.vice.com/en/article/9kv3p5/how-to-claim-a-space-for-youth-amid-aucklands-gentrification

Karsten, L. (2014). From yuppies to yupps: Family gentrifiers consuming spaces and re-inventing cities. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 105*(2), 175–188. https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12055

Kirkwood, J. (2007). Tall poppy syndrome: Implications for entrepreneurship in New Zealand. *Journal of Management & Organisation, 13,* 366–382. https://doi.org/10.5172/jmo.2007.13.4.366

Larsen, H. (2019). *Contemporary co-housing in Europe*. Routledge.

Latham, A. (2000). Urban renewal, heritage planning and the remaking of an inner-city suburb: A case study of heritage planning in Auckland, New Zealand. *Planning Practice and Research, 15*(4), 285–291. https://doi.org/10.1080/713691906

Latham, A. (2003). Urbanity, lifestyle and making sense of the new urban economy: Notes from Auckland, New Zealand. *Urban Studies, 40*(9), 1699–1724. https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000106564

Leahy, B. (2021). *House prices: First home-buyers big winners in housing sector shake-up.* NZ Herald. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/house-prices-first-home-buyers-big-winners-in-housing-sector-shake-up/FETWX22S4ABLFH52LGGI6E32BE/

Murphy, L. (2003). To the market and back: Housing policy and state housing in New Zealand. *GeoJournal, 59*, 119–126. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:GEJO.0000019970.40488.d5

Murphy, L. (2008). Third-wave gentrification in New Zealand: The case of Auckland. *Urban Studies, 45*(12). 2521– 2540. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098008097106

Nichol, T. (2019). *Onehunga: A suburb in flux.* Metro. https://www.metromag.co.nz/city-life/city-life-property/onehunga-auckland-rent-house-prices-gentrification

NZ Herald. (2021). *What govt's $3.8b housing move means for home buyers.* NZ Herald. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/what-govts-38b-housing-move-means-for-home-buyers/XZ7HZRR43B23IW6RGBHJCT7J2I/

Panuku Development Auckland. (2017). *Onehunga – Transform Onehunga: High level project plan – March 2017.* https://www.panuku.co.nz/downloads/assets/4838/1/onehunga%20high%20level%20project%20plan%20(part%20one).pdf

Paul, J., McArthur, J., King, J., Harris, M., & Figenshow, S. (2020). *Transformative housing policy for Aotearoa New Zealand: A briefing note on addressing the housing crisis* (Policy Briefing: 7/2020). Public Policy Institute, University of Auckland.

Pere, L., & Barnes, A. (2009). New learnings from old understandings: Conducting qualitative research with Māori. *Qualitative Social Work, 8*(4), 449–467. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325009345796

Pew Research Centre. (n.d.). *Millennials*. Pew Research Centre. https://www.pewresearch.org/topics/millennials/

Pierce, S., Hodge, K., Taylor, M., & Button, A. (2017). Tall poppy syndrome: Perceptions and experiences of elite New Zealand athletes. *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 15*(4), 351–369. https://doi.org/10.1080/1612197X.2017.1280834

Putcha, C., & Potter, J. (2004). *Focus group practice*. Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849209168

Roche, J. A. (2019). *The suburbanisation of the poor? Investigating the distribution and concentration of deprivation in Auckland and Wellington, New Zealand 1991-2013* [Masters thesis, Victoria University]. Research Archive. http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10063/8108/thesis_access.pdf?sequence=1

Saville-Smith, K., & Saville-Smith, N. (2018, June 27-29). *Declining egalitarianism and the battle for affordable housing in New Zealand* [Paper presentation]. European Network of Housing Researchers Conference, Uppsala, Sweden. https://www.buildingbetter.nz/publications/homes_spaces/adm/Saville-Smith_2018_declining_egalitarianism_affordable_housing.pdf

Smith, C. (2018). *In your neighbourhood: Why Onehunga is all heart.* One Roof. https://www.oneroof.co.nz/news/the-auckland-suburb-thats-quietly-living-up-to-the-outside-hype-35680

Statistics New Zealand. (2016). *Changes in home-ownership patterns 1986-2013: Focus on Māori and Pacific people.* https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57176f9f20c6478937696378/t/5a21e3fc419202083af7f0a9/1512170501777/home-ownership-maori-pacific.pdf

Terruhn, J. (2019). Whose dividend? Diversity as a selling point in urban development projects in Auckland. *New Zealand Population Review, 45*, 160–184.

https://population.org.nz/app/uploads/2019/12/NZPR-45_whole-doc-final.pdf#page=162

Terruhn, J. (2020). Urban diversity and inequality in Auckland. In R. Simon Kumar, F. L. Collins, & W. Friesen (Eds.), *Intersections of inequality, migration, and diversification: The politics of mobility in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 131–151). Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-19099-6_7

Tunufa'i, L. (2016). Pacific research: Rethinking the talanoa 'methodology'. *New Zealand Sociology, 31*(7), 227–239.

Wilkinson, S. (1998). Focus group methodology: A review. *Journal of Social Research Methodology, 1*(3), 181–203. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.1998.10846874

Woodhams, J. M. (2019). *Political identity in discourse: The voice of New Zealand voters.* Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-18630-2

Millennials perceptions of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

This information has been redacted for anonymity. As part of this, I am conducting a small research project interested in millennials perceptions of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland.

This project recognises the mana whenua (local indigenous peoples) of Onehunga, descendants of Waiohua, Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki, Ngāti Tamaoho, Ngāti Te Ata Waiohua, Te Ākita Waiohua, Te Kawerau ā Māki, Marutuahu, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Pāoa, Ngāti Tamaterā, Te Patukirikiri, Ngaati Whanaunga, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāti Whātua o Kaipara, Ngāti Whātua Orākei, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whātua, Waikato Tainui and Te Ahiwaru Waiohua.

What is this project is about?
The purpose of this project is to understand how millennials who are non-homeowners make sense of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau. Currently, very little research exists in this area with this kind of scope. Considering where non-homeowning millennials are placed within the housing market, it is important that researchers gain a better understanding of this phenomenon. I'm interested in gentrification because it impacts how our communities are formed, who we interact with, and the differences in available opportunities based on our residential locations.

You've been identified as a non-homeowning millennial who has been living in Onehunga for at least 12 months. Given that Onehunga is currently undergoing gentrification, I'd like to invite you to participate in a focus group aimed at understanding your experiences of the changes happening in your community.

What is involved?
The focus group will take approximately 1.5 hours at a venue in your community. The group will consist of 4-6 participants who are also non-homeowning millennials. Most of the session will involve you participating in 3-4 activities about gentrification in Onehunga and how it impacts you. The focus group will be audio-recorded.

You are welcome to take part in as many or as few of the activities as you feel comfortable. My role is to learn from the group's discussions by encouraging talanoa (open dialogue) to flow freely, using activities as prompts. I will provide kai (food) as kohā (a gift) to thank you for your time and contributions to the research project.

What will I do with the information you provide?
The project will be written up as a report and submitted in partial fulfilment of a research course. No part of the research will be published publicly, nor will anyone other than myself (the researcher), the marker and my supervisor have access to the report. Any information that could be used to identify you will either be coded or deleted before the final submission. Given the small size of this project, the findings will not represent the wider community's opinion.

Your rights

If you choose to accept this invitation, you have the right to:
- Choose not to participate at any point
- Ask for the recorder to be turned off any time during the session
- Withdraw from the focus group before, during or after (up to 2 business days) the session
- Ask any questions about the study
- Confidentiality: only the researcher will have access to your personal information

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form and confidentiality form. All your information will be stored securely with any personal details (such as your name etc.) deidentified.

Because of the small size of this project, I will be recruiting via my own social networks and by referral from other prospective participants. Using this recruitment strategy means you may know someone else prior to the focus group – that's okay! Each participant will be asked for written agreement that any information shared within the focus group remains confidential. This is, so you and each of the other participants feel comfortable sharing your thoughts and experiences of the changes happening in your community.

Ethics Statement

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.
The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact **X**

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Appendix B

Participant Contact Form (Google Forms)

Kia ora koutou katoa (Greetings all),

Thank you for your interest in the research project: Millennials perceptions of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau.

This project recognises the manawhenua of Onehunga, descendants of Waiohua, Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki, Ngāti Tamaoho, Ngāti Te Ata Waiohua, Te Ākita Waiohua, Te Kawerau ā Māki, Marutuahu, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Pāoa, Ngāti Tamaterā, Te Patukirikiri, Ngaati Whanaunga, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāti Whātua o Kaipara, Ngāti Whātua Orākei, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whātua, Waikato Tainui and Te Ahiwaru Waiohua.

Filling out this form provides me with your contact details and some information about yourself. Whatever information you share is confidential and will be stored securely by the researcher (me) until the research project has been completed.

If you have any questions, please feel free to get in touch.

Ngā mihi nui (thank you very much).

Full name*:

Preferred name (if you have one):

Email*:

Phone number*:

What is your gender?*:

What is your ethnicity?*:

How old are you?*:

Are you currently living in Onehunga?*:

Have you been living in Onehunga for the last 12 months?*:

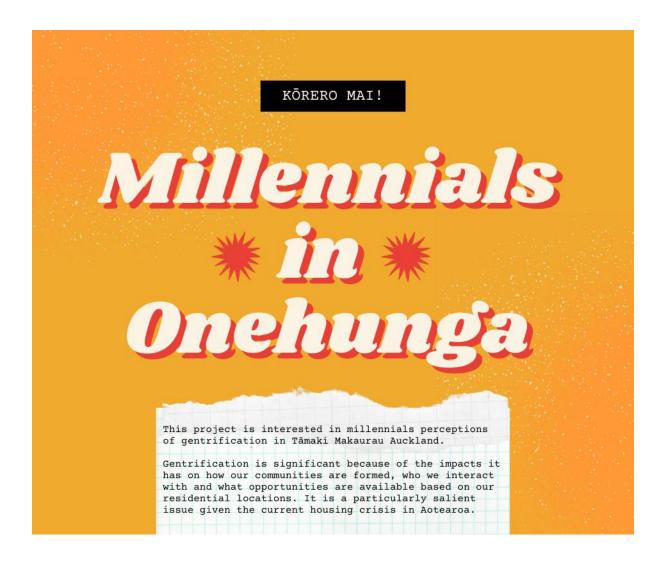Do you own your own home in Onehunga?*:

Millennials perceptions of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me.

My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree not to disclose anything discussed in the Focus Group.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: .... **Date:** ....

Full Name - printed ....

KŌRERO MAI!

Millennials in Onehunga

This project is interested in millennials perceptions of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland.

Gentrification is significant because of the impacts it has on how our communities are formed, who we interact with and what opportunities are available based on our residential locations. It is a particularly salient issue given the current housing crisis in Aotearoa.

Millennials perceptions of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

This information has been redacted for anonymity. As part of this, I am conducting a small research project interested in millennials perceptions of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland.

This project recognises the mana whenua (local indigenous peoples) of Onehunga, descendants of Waiohua, Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki, Ngāti Tamaoho, Ngāti Te Ata Waiohua, Te Ākita Waiohua, Te Kawerau ā Māki, Marutuahu, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Pāoa, Ngāti Tamaterā, Te Patukirikiri, Ngaati Whanaunga, Ngāti Whātua, Ngāti Whātua o Kaipara, Ngāti Whātua Orākei, Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whātua, Waikato Tainui and Te Ahiwaru Waiohua.

What is this project is about?
The purpose of this project is to understand how millennials who are non-homeowners make sense of gentrification in Tāmaki Makaurau. Currently, very little research exists in this area with this kind of scope. Considering where non-homeowning millennials are placed within the housing market, it is important that researchers gain a better understanding of this phenomenon. I'm interested in gentrification because it impacts how our communities are formed, who we interact with, and the differences in available opportunities based on our residential locations.

You've been identified as a non-homeowning millennial who has been living in Onehunga for at least 12 months. Given that Onehunga is currently undergoing gentrification, I'd like to invite you to participate in a focus group aimed at understanding your experiences of the changes happening in your community.

What is involved?
The focus group will take approximately 1.5 hours at a venue in your community. The group will consist of 4-6 participants who are also non-homeowning millennials. Most of the session will involve you participating in 3-4 activities about gentrification in Onehunga and how it impacts you. The focus group will be audio-recorded.

You are welcome to take part in as many or as few of the activities as you feel comfortable. My role is to learn from the group's discussions by encouraging talanoa (open dialogue) to flow freely, using activities as prompts. I will provide kai (food) as kohā (a gift) to thank you for your time and contributions to the research project.

What will I do with the information you provide?
The project will be written up as a report and submitted in partial fulfilment of a research course. No part of the research will be published publicly, nor will anyone other than myself (the researcher), the marker and my supervisor have access to the report. Any information that could be used to identify you will either be coded or deleted before the final submission. Given the small size of this project, the findings will not represent the wider community's opinion.

Your rights
If you choose to accept this invitation, you have the right to:
- Choose not to participate at any point
- Ask for the recorder to be turned off any time during the session
- Withdraw from the focus group before, during or after (up to 2 business days) the session

- Ask any questions about the study
- Confidentiality: only the researcher will have access to your personal information

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form and confidentiality form. All your information will be stored securely with any personal details (such as your name etc.) deidentified.

Because of the small size of this project, I will be recruiting via my own social networks and by referral from other prospective participants. Using this recruitment strategy means you may know someone else prior to the focus group – that's okay! Each participant will be asked for written agreement that any information shared within the focus group remains confidential. This is, so you and each of the other participants feel comfortable sharing your thoughts and experiences of the changes happening in your community.

Ethics Statement
This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.
The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact **X**

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Tikanga and Mana Whenua

Tikanga (Code of Conduct)

- Please respect one another
- Feel free to participate as you feel comfortable
- Please keep what is discussed confidential
- Please only share what you would feel comfortable discussing outside the focus group

Any other tikanga?

Mana Whenua of Onehunga

This research project recognises the mana whenua (local indigenous peoples) of Onehunga, descendants of:

- Waiohua
- Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki
- Ngāti Tamaoho
- Ngāti Te Ata Waiohua
- Te Ākita Waiohua
- Te Kawerau ā Māki
- Marutuahu
- Ngāti Maru
- Ngāti Pāoa
- Ngāti Tamaterā
- Te Patukirikiri
- Ngaati Whanaunga
- Ngāti Whātua
- Ngāti Whātua o Kaipara
- Ngāti Whātua Orākei
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whātua
- Waikato Tainui
- Te Ahiwaru Waiohua.

Focus Group Schedule

Time	Item	Description
6.00pm	Welcome	• Welcome • Researcher to bless the food before we eat
6.10pm	Introductions	• Opening karakia (prayer) • Researcher - introduction • Participant introductions
6.20pm	How it all works	• Info sheet and consent form • Tikanga (code of conduct) • Mana whenua (local indigenous peoples) of Onehunga • Go through the structure of the focus group
6.30pm	**Activity 1:** Housing Issues	There are two parts to this exercise: 1) Everyone will be given a list of 10 housing issues with definitions and asked to rank them in terms of which have the biggest or smallest impact on millennials in Aotearoa. 2) Next, we'll rank the same 10 housing issues by which have the biggest or smallest impact on millennials living in Onehunga.
6.45pm	**Activity 2:** Gentrification in Onehunga	There are two parts to this exercise: 1) First, everyone will be asked to write down what factors they think contribute to gentrification in Onehunga 2) Next, we'll write down what the impacts of gentrification are on Onehunga
7.00pm	**Activity 3:** Thinking Ahead	The last exercise involves thinking about the future of Onehunga: • Imagine we are writing a collective letter to the local MP about gentrification in Onehunga • In your own words, what would you want Onehunga to look like in 10 years' time? Prompts: 1. Who will live in the community? 2. What are the major changes that need to happen? 3. What does Panuku and the Auckland Council need to consider in terms of housing? 4. What do you not want to happen to Onehunga?
7.15pm	Closing karakia	• Researcher to close with a karakia

Activity One: Housing Issues

Housing Issue (Johnson et al., 2018)	**Explanations** (Johnson et al., 2018)
Unaffordable housing (renting and buying)	Rent costs are the highest in Tāmaki Makaurau with data showing that the cost of renting is rising faster than wages. In addition, house prices are the highest in Tāmaki Makaurau meaning many are forced to continue renting.
Overcrowded housing	The level of household crowding is affected by social and economic factors such as the decline in affordable housing. Overcrowding, like poor quality housing, has a negative effect on people's health.
Poor quality housing	Housing (especially rental properties) in Aotearoa have been known to have poor thermal efficiency, which adds to the disadvantages faced by lower-socioeconomic families. While there are other indicators of poor-quality homes, poor heating and insulation has a significant health impact.
Homelessness	According to Census data, there has been a significant rise in homelessness between 2006 and 2013. Data collected from a group of community emergency housing providers in 2017 showed the level of homelessness outweighed the available assistance.
Demand for state housing	Many factors such as the selling off of state housing and migration have contributed to the demand for state housing. Figures show a sharp increase in the number of households on the waiting list for social housing since mid-2016.
Barriers for first-home buyers	Although data shows the first-home buyers have been faring better in gaining home ownership, home ownership has been declining across Aotearoa. Māori and Pacific peoples have very low home ownership rates in comparison to Europeans/Pākehā.
Insecure housing tenure arrangements	Security of tenure (length of occupation of a property) has been declining for both the private rental and public housing market.
Housing shortages	According to the data, Aotearoa has not increased the number of houses available for our growing, aging population. What is more, between the 1900s to early 2000s, the government took a hiatus from building new state housing leading to a shortage of public housing.
Privatising state housing	The number of dwelling owned by the state have fallen considerably from mid-2011 to 2017, with a large number now being leased by private investors or owners. The sharp decline in dwellings in Tāmaki Makaurau is due to the transferral of 2,800 units to Tamaki Regeneration Company in 2016. Tamaki Regeneration Company is leading the redevelopment of Point England, Glen Innes and Panmure in East Auckland.
Gentrification	Gentrification was first coined in the 1960s by British sociologist, Ruth Glass. Glass (1964) claimed gentrification occurred when affluent and educated people moved into a working-class neighbourhood and subsequently, pushed their working-class neighbours out. Nowadays, gentrification has taken on various forms and definitions.

Activity Three: Thinking Ahead

In a 2017 Project Plan, Panuku Development Auckland (council organisation in charge of development in Onehunga) listed the following reasons as to why Onehunga was chosen to undergo transformation:

- A high level of local board planning and political and community support for change in the area
- A strategic town centre location, with good infrastructure and access to public transport
- Strategic council and Crown landholdings that can act as catalysts for private sector investment and redevelopment
- A range of council facilities that can be optimised to create value for reinvestment in the area
- A good level of market attractiveness for residential development, with market demand for different housing types (terrace, apartment)
- Significant public investment in the past, including major recreational asset – Taumaru Reserve (Onehunga Foreshore project)
- A location on the Manukau Harbour and future potential around Onehunga Wharf that will increase connectivity to the water

Prompts for letter to MP

1. Who will live in the community?
2. What are the major changes that need to happen?
3. What does Panuku and the Auckland Council need to consider in terms of housing?
4. What do you not want to happen to Onehunga?
5. Why?