Urban Regeneration and Social Cohesion

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Abstract: Glen Innes was built in the 1950s, close to central Auckland, and was a primarily low socio-economic suburb, with a significant Māori population, living in State (social) housing. Housing New Zealand transferred 2,700 properties to Tamaki Regeneration Company (TRC), a collaboration between Housing New Zealand and Auckland Council. The aging housing stock was built on large sections, and these houses are being replaced to increase density by three times. The replacements are modern town-houses, with mixed typologies and occupation. Some have been sold at market rates, others remain social housing, developed and managed by TRC. During the on-going development, tenants are displaced. This has caused stress for many low-income families who have lived in the area for decades. TRC has initiated an extensive programme of collaboration with community organisations, with social goals to address these stresses. This study has found that the relationship between TRC and community organisations, dealing with the breakdown, and replacement of this community, has been pivotal in ameliorating some of those stressors and enabling empowerment for the communities being studied. This paper will present early findings from the case study, looking at the impacts on a local community, of an urban regeneration programme in Auckland, New Zealand. The study is part of the National Science Challenge, Building better homes, towns and cities, 2016-2019. The study also shows the critical importance of collaboration and co-design in the implementation of urban regeneration projects, initiated by the Government to address the housing shortage in New Zealand.

Key words: Social cohesion; urban regeneration; grassroots; culture.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the effectiveness of a top-down policy-driven urban regeneration programme. This is in reference to social cohesion outcomes which are driven by grassroots and bottom-up neighbourhood-based endeavours, as well as top-down policy. Social cohesion and urban regeneration are inherently propelled by different mechanisms, but their characteristics can be understood through the case study of Glen Innes Auckland.

The significance of culture relevant to urban regeneration and social cohesion is important to this case study. We examine the 'quality of public space' as a 'socio-spatial prerequisite' for civic integration (Fonseca, Lukosch & Brazier 2019) as well as provision for education, sports, cultural facilities, and infrastructure. The findings indicate opportunities for urban regeneration and social cohesion through inclusive urban design tools, such as the Te Aranga Māori-developed urban design principles, (Paul 2017) outlined in the project section below. These principles were developed to address bi-cultural aspects of Aotearoa New Zealand by making provision for Māori values in urban design.

The literature on urban regeneration and social cohesion is considered, and findings from the literature as they apply to neighbourhood grass-roots activities are identified. We discuss what neighbourhood regeneration could be, social initiatives, co-design, the integrity of grass-roots interventions, and the impacts of gentrification. Community initiatives which have occurred over several years, and social support and collaboration programmes initiated by both the development company Tamaki Regeneration Company (TRC), such as an employment hub, and the community, are reviewed. Resident's concerns about construction impacts include mental, social and economic

dislocation effects are recounted (Coles 2015), in contrast to the success of recent neighbourhood events. The relevance of social justice as an important aspect of social cohesion is noted.

Background Context

Glen Innes is an Auckland suburb which was developed in the 1940s to '50s by the New Zealand Government as a state (social) housing area (Schrader 2005). It is relatively close and accessible to central Auckland, the largest city in Aotearoa New Zealand.

**Figure 1. Location of Auckland, New Zealand**

Source: Google maps adapted by J. Paul, 2019

Auckland is located on an isthmus between two large harbours. Before the colonisation of Auckland by British settlers in the 1830s onwards, three Māori tribes held historic and territorial rights (mana whenua) over the land area where Glen Innes is now located. A chief of one of the Māori tribes, Ngāti Whātua, gifted a large area land to the New Zealand Government and early Auckland development was paid for by the sale of land to settlers. The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 between representatives of the British Crown and Māori chiefs granted Māori the right to exercise chieftainship over their lands, and in return granted the Crown the right to govern and the exclusive right to deal with Māori over land. However, the Crown subsequently set about asset-stripping Māori of land (Rout, Reid, Menzies, Macfarlane 2019), and by the time Glen Innes was developed as a suburb, very little Māori land remained, especially in cities. The three 'Glen Innes' tribes retain little land and a diminished presence in the area, although they still hold their territorial connections.

The layout and development of Glen Innes suburb proceeded with alacrity following the end of the Second World War. Many Māori could no longer sustain themselves on small rural land blocks, and returning servicemen sought employment in cities to support their new families (Schrader 2005, Williams 2015;). The design concept for Glen Innes followed British Ebenezer Howard's garden city concept with larger lots and interconnecting open space, albeit hidden from safe oversight in gullies (Tamaki Regeneration Company 2016a). The development undertaken by the Government responded to these multiple needs including the provision for workers in the factories being constructed nearby. It was intended to be a low socio-economic suburb (Schrader 2005). Many

businesses closed in the economic downturn of the 1990s. Remaining in aging housing stock Glen Innes long-term residents suffered unemployment, overcrowded living conditions and health impacts. After the introduction of neo-liberal market-driven rent policies by the New Zealand Government, Māori and Pasifika populations in Glen Innes fared badly (Murphy 2003), and poverty has become increasingly desperate (Waldergrave, Love, Stuart 2000; Thorns 2006). These communities had little resilience and for the state housing residents who are amongst the highest proportion of Māori and Pasifika of any Auckland suburb, poverty remains a key issue (Pfitzner, Flynn, & Carner 2009; Lysnar, Tuatagaloa, & Joynt 2016; Rout, Reid, Menzies, Macfarlane 2019).

Figure 2. Location of the suburb of Glen Innes, by Waitematā Harbour, Auckland, New Zealand
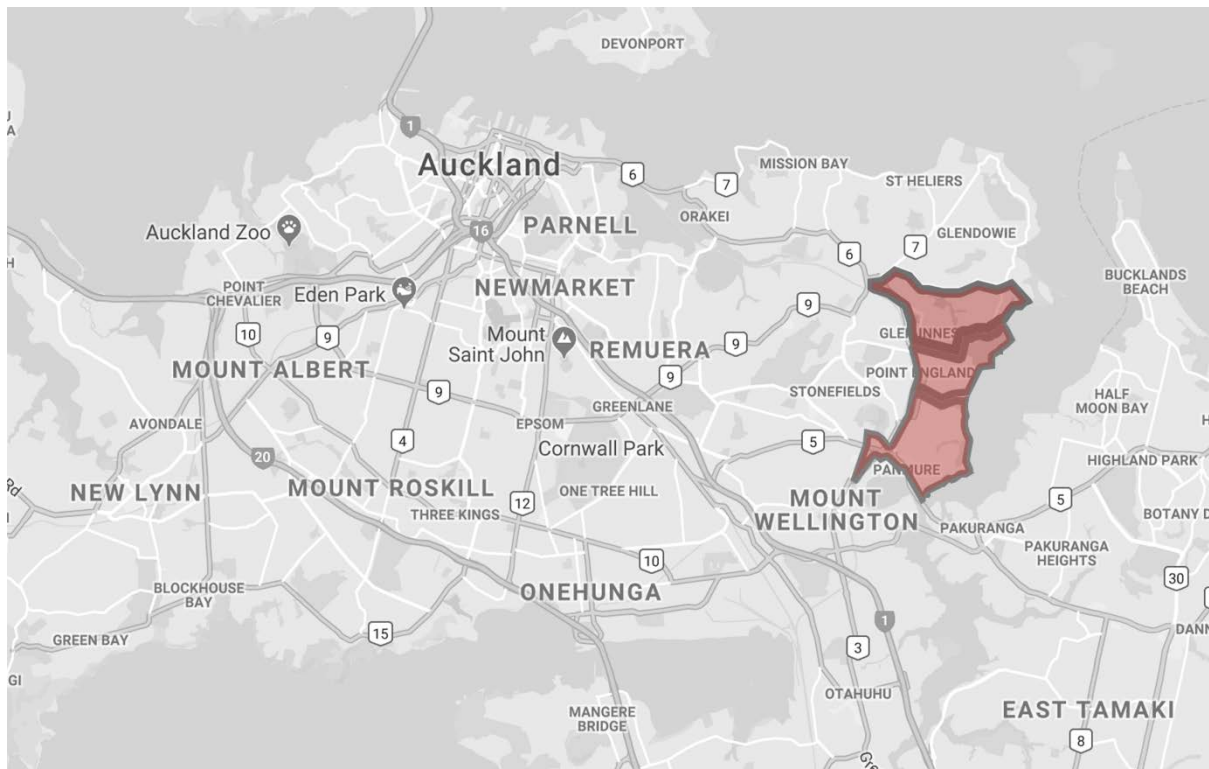

Source: Google maps adapted by J. Paul 2020.

The city has now expanded well-past Glen Innes, and the larger properties with a single, aging house, present an opportunity for intensification. The harbour views and convenient transport options make Glen Innes ideal for up-market redevelopment. The New Zealand Government and Auckland Council aim to intensify the density of the Glen Innes through their jointly owned Tāmaki Regeneration Company. The NZ Government provided 2700 single unit large-lot properties which are now intended to house 7500, to be sold for private ownership, and rental housing, with a third of the new development to be retained for state tenants: a roughly 30: 30: 30 split (Tamaki Regeneration Company 2016). The development is phased over 15-20 years and is now driven by the new Ministry for Housing and Urban Development, within the overall context of an urgent need for affordable housing. The economic model appears to be to sell Crown land to private buyers at greatly improved market value and reinvest the profit from sales in state housing (Tāmaki Regeneration Company 2016).

The economic model seems simple, but the execution is complex (Eaqub 2017). Those with an interest in planning and development in Glen Innes include the Auckland Council, the local community board, the three Māori tribes, local businesses, community groups and the existing state tenants, some of who have had several generations living in the same house and neighbourhood (Cole 2015). Tenants have been predominantly from other tribes, (as well as Pasifika). Relationships with their homelands have been disconnected or weakened but they retain close contacts with neighbours throughout the area. Very few of the original tenants were able to purchase their properties. While

many of the generations of state housing families have been stressed, and extremely poor, they have been close-knit, and supportive of their neighbourhood by raising each other's families when circumstances were grim.

Figure 3. Tenure ratio and household incomes in Glen Innes
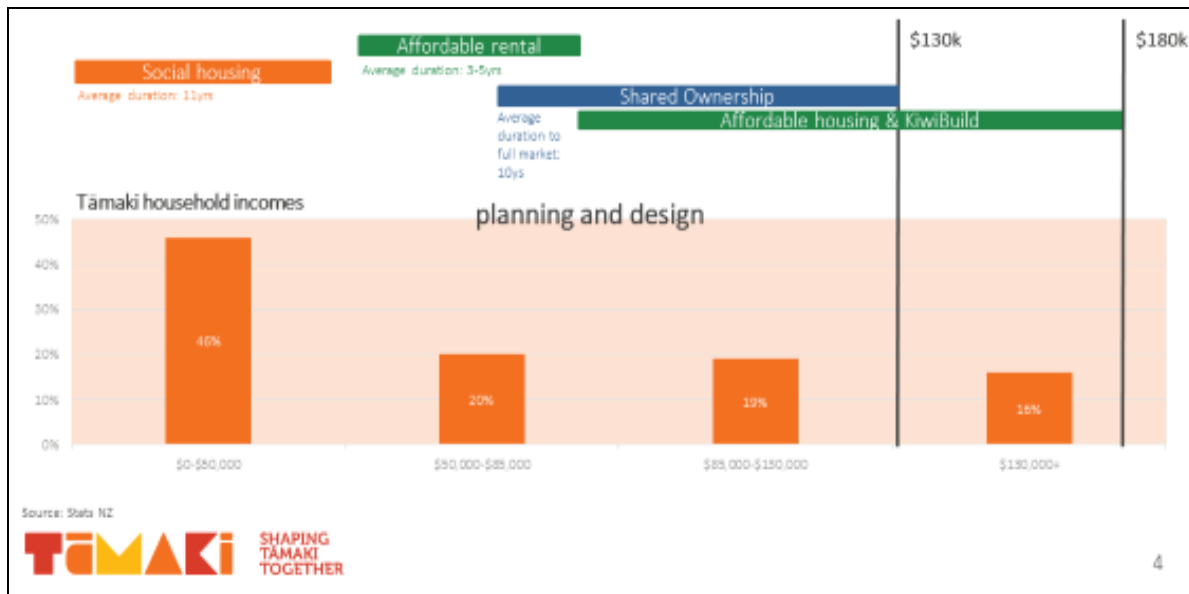
Source: Slide prepared by PriceWaterhouseCoopers for Tamaki Regeneration Company (TRC) using data provided by TRC, 2016.

Recent government changes have supplanted a policy and management layer of government over TRC. A new Ministry of Housing and Urban Development is now in place together with its operational entity Urban Development Authority (UDA) (Twyford press release 2018). TRC along with Housing New Zealand and another government development company HLC will be managed within UDA. The new Ministry and UDA are promoted as a vehicle for driving urban development policy and operations from the top down. The new entities are in their infancy, so the effects of the policy changes are yet to be tested.

Literature Review

This literature review identifies definitions and explores a better understanding of social cohesion (McGhee, 2003; Council of Europe 2008; OECD 2011; Fonseca, Lukosch & Brazier 2019) at a national civic societal, neighbourhood and individual level. Social cohesion has been held as 'difficult to define as its interpretation depends on the sociological and cultural context under consideration' but Lépineux provides this definition (Lépineux 2005): 'a state of civil concord, which does not boil down to the absence of violent conflicts or exclusion phenomena, but implies concern for others, an active will to maintain social inequalities at a reasonable level, the implementation of solidarity mechanisms, and provides everyone with the opportunity to blossom.'

Giardiello (2014) describes social cohesion theory in conjunction with generative theory at the macro, meso and micro levels of city and neighbourhood. The split adopted is macro- national civic level, meso- city to the local community level, and micro- family, friends and neighbourhood level. Giardiello supports Lockwood's (1999) work which identifies the regeneration of primary social ties to family and neighbourhood (the micro-level) as important for social cohesion. Conversely, current international attention to social cohesion is supra-national which is 'less linked to the role of place' and social justice and has concerns exacerbated by migration and ethnic conflicts. He argues that the top-down approach neglects the generative processes of social cohesion at an individual and neighbourhood level. His view is that both meso and micro levels of society are part of a circular process but that the social quality of neighbourhoods relates to the generative process. At this micro, to meso level, public spaces are important for generative reciprocal social bonding. The generativity includes 'care, commitment, action and responsibility' at the family and neighbourhood levels. This

might include rituals, traditional practices, and cultural customs: social cohesion being a dynamic process. Giardiello describes generative action as 'creative, care/responsibility-oriented, able to promote autonomy' (implying a trust in others and freedom). To Giardiello, public space is important for generating civic interaction, trust and participation. Generativity in his argument links social cohesion with civic integration through the public realm. We examine our findings with reference to the three components of creativity, responsibility/care and autonomy in the case study of Glen Innes where economic disparity is significant.

Urban regeneration literature (sometimes called urban renewal, and urban redevelopment in the U.S.) explains that the initiative sets out to reverse urban decay through physical changes as well as stimulating the local economy and generally requires public funding. More recently literature has emphasized the importance of social regeneration as an aspect of numerous successful urban and neighbourhood projects in European (Colantino & Dixon 2010) and US cities.

New Zealand writers' contribution to social cohesion and urban regeneration is pertinent. NZ Statistics examined attitudes to social cohesion (NZ Statistics 2008) but they did not consider social disparity. Ward and Liu (2012) found that Māori and Pacific people are disadvantaged from an economic, educational, and health standpoint. Their first recommendation to policymakers was 'New Zealand needs to work towards the elimination of social inequality.' Witten et al (2009) considered social cohesion from an education perspective. New Zealand research (Reid, Taylor-Moore & Varona 2014; Whitehead & Walker 2019; and Rout, Menzies, Reid and Macfarlane 2019) addresses social cohesion in the context of the ongoing impacts of colonisation on Māori through intergenerational trauma, income disparity, poverty and the housing crisis.

The literature review considers the historic Aotearoa New Zealand context and socioeconomic aspects of this suburban regeneration case study (Menzies 2019); as well as Kaupapa Māori methodology (Smith 1999, Kennedy & Jeffries 2009, Cram 2013, Henry 2017). Based on this review, social cohesion focusses on the link between top-down policy and neighbourhood generative activity as being mutually tied and indicates that trust, at the neighbourhood level and social equity at the national level is important. The case study we examine, Glen Innes is an urban area undergoing regeneration through public planning and funding.

Methodology
Kaupapa Māori Rangahau, or Māori research methodology is evolving but founded on Māori cultural principles. The term Kaupapa Māori means a Māori way, and refers to Māori philosophies, frameworks, and practices. It is within and appropriate to Māori culture and Māori knowledge as opposed to western scientific knowledge. The Māori world view understands the environment from a holistic interconnected perspective (Smith 1999) with people as an integrated part of the environment, not separate from and dominant over all things.

A review was undertaken (Kennedy & Jeffries 2009) to inform the development of a Kaupapa Māori methodology, paying particular regard to Māori perceptions of the environment. Almost all of the literature on environmental management stemmed from a western world view. The holistic, fundamental connections and patterns within mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) had been distorted or ignored. Defining key principles and knowledge in a Kaupapa Māori framework enabled environmental aspects to be better viewed from a Māori perspective. Kennedy and Jeffries (2009) selected a kaupapa/tikanga-based model as the preferred approach, that is, based on customs and principles. Contemporary expressions of Kaupapa Māori theory connect Māori sovereignty to Māori survival and cultural well-being, acknowledging that being Māori is valid and legitimate. Researchers are keen to ensure that their research is 'by Māori, for Māori'. Six principles were adopted when the methodology was first developed, and a further two have been proposed. These are Tino rangatiratanga (self-determination); He taonga tuku iho (cultural aspirations); Ako (culturally preferred pedagogy); Kia piki ake I ngā raruraru o te kāinga (socioeconomic mediation); Whānau (extended family structure); and Kaupapa (collective philosophy); and proposed are: the Treaty of Waitangi and Āta (growing respectful relationships) (Cram 2016). This methodology has become richer and more detailed as it develops and is applied as the philosophical approach to the National Science Challenge (Henry 2017). The goal of the research Henry expresses as tino rangatiratanga,

the capacity for Māori to control outcomes. Māori involvement in the research methodology, methods and process is a feature of the approach. Discussions on aspects of the research may be carried out in an informal and free ranging process called wānanga, where Māori may decide what information is to be public or pursued and what not. In addition, any interviews or discussions are carried out on a face-to-face basis, again with respect, and preferably in settings which reflect Māori culture. The research is carried out with by and for Māori, and they participate in the process at all stages.

For researchers unfamiliar with Kaupapa Māori research, action research explains some of the processes. Action research is a social research methodology or process for undertaking research in participatory, collaborative and iterative ways to produce knowledge and change outcomes (Iowa State University). Its link to Kaupapa Māori research is that the common goal is to undertake participatory research which enables improved knowledge and capabilities for those participants as well as positive outcomes for Māori.

This study focuses on the entire Glen Innes community, Māori and non-Māori: the research team on this project are all Māori. Kaupapa Māori values and worldview underpin engagement with participants. The principles of Kaupapa (meaning agenda) Māori Ethics have been adapted for this study, as follows:

Table 1. Kaupapa Māori Ethics

Āroha ki te tangata	Showing compassion to participants
Kanohi kitea	Being seen in person
Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero	Looking, listening, and speaking with care
Manaaki ki te tangata	Giving hospitality to participants
Kia tūpato	Being cautious with, and respectful to, participants
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Not trampling on the mana, dignity and wellbeing of participants
Kaua e māhaki	Not being offensive

Source: Adapted from Smith L. 1999, p.13.

This has also transformed government approaches to policy. For example, the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) have adopted a Vision Mātauranga Policy, as a requirement to address Vision Mātauranga, a policy for "unlocking the innovation potential of Māori knowledge (Mātauranga Māori), resources and people" (Henry, 2017). This is important to highlight as this demonstrates the approach from a top-down influence which is operating in alignment to the bottom-up process through which this research is undertaken.

The Māori research team consists of:

- o   Dr Ella Henry, Māori Indigenous Development
- o   Dr Diane Menzies, Landscape Architect and Environmental Management
- o   Carin Wilson, Designer and Craftsman
- o   Lucy Tukua, Urban Designer and Regenerative Practitioner
- o   Jacqueline Paul, Landscape Architect.
- o   Desna Whaanga- Schollum, Designer

As part of the Kaupapa Māori research techniques are opportunities for the researchers to practice reciprocity, to give back to the community. One such event at which the researchers were able to contribute support, 'Home Fires', was a community-led creative research initiative and arts and engagement project, co-led with young people. 'Home Fires' was set in motion by the Mad Ave Community Trust (a local neighbourhood group). Their purpose was to create healing and

regeneration through art and cultural activation in Glen Innes, as a response to the current property and land developments in the area. The purpose of 'Home Fires' was to use community engagement and storytelling as a tool for regeneration and resilience, to encourage and promote healing and cohesion.

The Research Project

This paper is part of a wider project in response to the growing housing and urban development challenges. The National Science Challenge: Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities is a collective made up of institutional and independent researchers who partner with industry, iwi (tribes), communities and government, both local and central, to deliver robust evidence. It will identify new ways of living that reflect New Zealand's unique identity and respond to our changing lifestyle needs and aspirations (National Science Challenge: Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities, 2018). The National Science Challenge: Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities overarching project identifies 'Shaping Places: Future Neighbourhoods Research Area' which focuses on our larger cities, which is home to over half of all New Zealanders. The research will evaluate real neighbourhoods, including ones with a high proportion of Māori residents, to discover how successful they are and why this will lead to an understanding of the principles and processes that create more successful neighbourhoods. This will improve future urban environments, as local government, developers, iwi, and the community can implement practices known to be successful, as evidenced by the research. It will inform better planning practices and land-use decision-making about the structure of successful communities.

This study which began in 2016, is investigating the strategies that are being employed to bring TRC, developers, local government, mana whenua (tribal authorities) and the community together. The research questions that are being addressed are:

1. In what ways are the residents of Glen Innes integrated into their communities, and satisfied or dissatisfied with the developments in their suburb, their connections to place, and perceptions of identity?
2. In what ways are the Te Aranga Māori Design Principles (see below) useful and applicable in the development of policy and design in the area?
3. In what ways do the developments express Māori place, place attachment, and community cohesion?
4. How might the formation of enduring stakeholder groups contribute to design and development of future neighbourhoods?
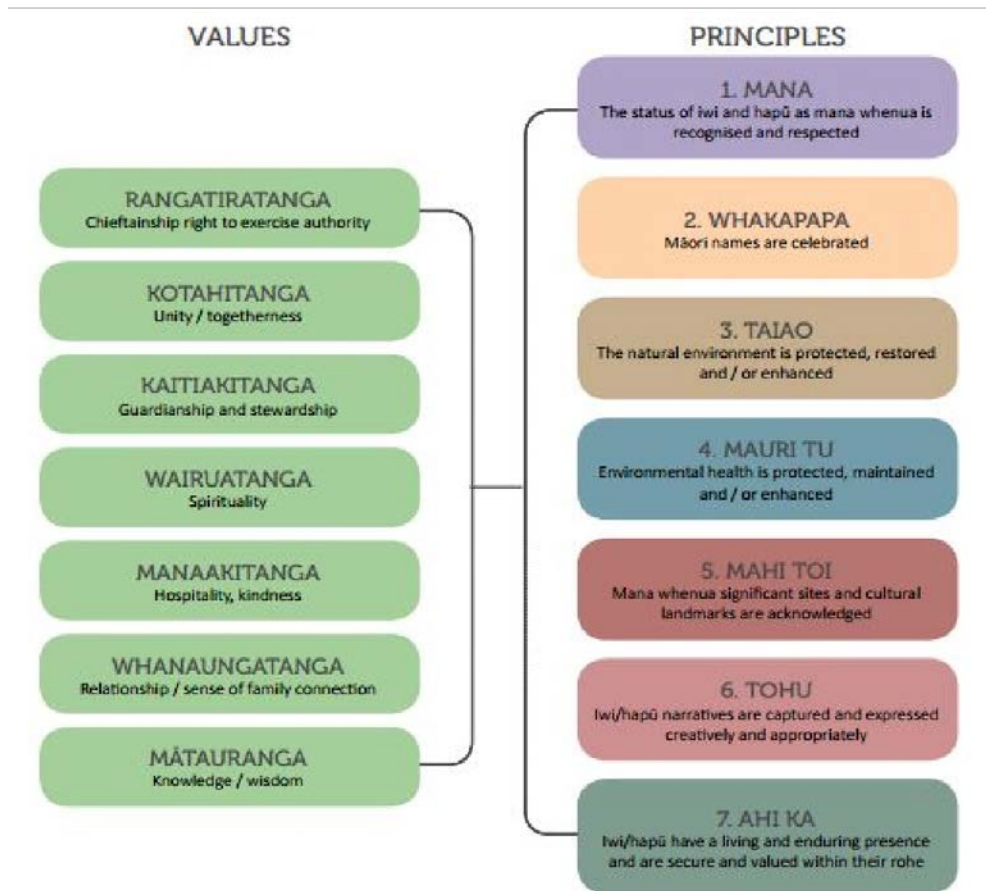
The relationships of Tāmaki Regeneration Company with mana whenua and stakeholders have been informed by the Te Aranga Design model. The Te Aranga Design principles are a set of outcome-based principles that are founded on Māori cultural values that were formulated to provide practical guidance for enhancing outcomes for the design environment. "Embedding the Te Aranga Design Principles (TADP) within our programme and co-designing the process and protocols with mana whenua," is described by community engagement manager Mihi Tibble. This indicates that TADP is a useful tool for landscape planning and design strategy for the Tāmaki Region (Paul 2017).

This study has utilized the Te Aranga Design strategy and framework to assess and evaluate the design processes and outcomes for urban regeneration projects in Glen Innes. The framework is an interpretation of built form, public art, experiential purposes, and signage wayfinding.

The development in Glen Innes is mirrored in other parts of the city. Auckland faces a housing shortage (Lysnar, Tuatagaloa, & Joynt 2016), and ongoing problems of housing affordability for the most vulnerable of its citizens. This is project is looking at a range of strategies that might empower and engage communities, whilst meeting the needs of government, local and central, planners, policy-makers and developers. This study intends to complement the research that Tāmaki Regeneration Company has undertaken (Tamaki Regeneration Company Neighbourhood Survey 2016), and provide additional insights into the experiences of, and aspirations for the local community.

Figure 4. Te Aranga Design Principles

VALUES

- RANGATIRATANGA — Chieftainship right to exercise authority
- KOTAHITANGA — Unity / togetherness
- KAITIAKITANGA — Guardianship and stewardship
- WAIRUATANGA — Spirituality
- MANAAKITANGA — Hospitality, kindness
- WHANAUNGATANGA — Relationship / sense of family connection
- MĀTAURANGA — Knowledge / wisdom

PRINCIPLES

1. MANA — The status of iwi and hapū as mana whenua is recognised and respected
2. WHAKAPAPA — Māori names are celebrated
3. TAIAO — The natural environment is protected, restored and / or enhanced
4. MAURI TU — Environmental health is protected, maintained and / or enhanced
5. MAHI TOI — Mana whenua significant sites and cultural landmarks are acknowledged
6. TOHU — Iwi/hapū narratives are captured and expressed creatively and appropriately
7. AHI KA — Iwi/hapū have a living and enduring presence and are secure and valued within their rohe

Source: Tamaki Strategy Framework, Tamaki Regeneration Company, 2016, p.60.

Key Findings

The key project findings since 2016 are outlined in relation to the specific research questions identified. These are not conclusive findings, as new information, tools and techniques continue to be identified, analysed and applied.

Tamaki Regeneration Company and Mad Ave Community Trust have tried to maintain and develop social cohesion while the redevelopment activity is underway. Tamaki Regeneration Company invested in an employment hub (Lockwood 1999, Giardiello 2014) as well as regular social surveys of the residents, carried out by residents to enable a higher than usual response rate. Their regeneration strategy identifies community, social transformation, economy and place transformation, and new homes. They have a social services unit undertaking research and co-design work in conjunction with Tamaki College (the local secondary school) and university researchers. TRC has targeted social procurement as an opportunity to return advantage to the community and 1% of the value of each contract is for community benefits (Menzies, 2018).

Mad Ave Community Trust (Mad Ave) seek to explore aspects of social cohesion through Māori rituals and ceremonies. This application of Māori and Pasifika values indicates vigorous seeds of trust, hope and success through collaborations with the community and TRC. Mad Ave Community Trust has led the community learning projects such as 'River Talks' aimed to encourage community action on environmental issues and in the last two years has initiated 'Home Fires,' (see Figure 5) with the aim of bringing family, neighbours and new residents together (Lépineux 2005): Mad Ave also encourages community cohesion and leadership through a wide range of creative and innovative programmes with youth and neighbours in Glen Innes (Giardiello 2014).

Figure 5. MAD Ave Community Trust Home Fires event

Source: Photo by Ella Henry, 2018.

Mad Ave Community Trust hosted its annual symposium in 2018 with a series of events (Fonseca, Lukosch & Brazier 2019, Mills 2000), commencing with weaving, poetry, and movement with Tamaki College. The teenagers responded positively and expressed greater hope than in the previous year, while construction was around them.

A Kava ceremony (a Samoan and Fijian ceremony of welcome using a mildly narcotic root-derived drink), incorporating the traditions of Glen Innes Pasifika neighbours was held by Mad Ave to explore inclusive ideas of bringing neighbours together. Those invited were tribal leaders, researchers, artists, local developers, regenerative advisers and TRC. The following day's event was a collaboration with all of those, as well as local families and new residents (Mills 2000). This commenced with a pōwhiri, a Māori ceremony of recognition, hospitality and welcome for new local residents. It was held with some 50 new residents attending. Resident families from India, Iran, South Africa, Philippines, England as well as from other New Zealand localities, and from diverse ethnicities, shared their backgrounds, food, dogs' names and their hopes. They started to develop contact and asset lists so that they could support one another (Giardiello 2014). Local families admitted that the gentrification (Lysnar, Tuatagaloa, & Joynt 2016) of the neighbourhood, with new neighbours with whom they feared there would be no commonality, had been a barrier they had faced with apprehension. The event was a success, with new residents calling for further neighbourhood activities.

Tamati Patuwai, a staunch Glen Innes resident from Mad Ave said that they had done their best to create a programme that aligned with who they are and what they felt they could contribute to their communities. As the literature indicated, generative social cohesion is encouraged through rituals, commitment, and leadership (Lépineux 2005). Cultivating networks and spiritual connections were the basis for this success, together with generosity, a welcome to diversity, collaboration with a range of groups continued listening, and most of all trust in cultural processes.

A notable series of events recounted by Mad Ave (Patuwai 2019) was the engagement process undertaken by Auckland Council Parks Department. This took place without the involvement of the community from the start rather plans were produced for comment, without understanding the community or building a relationship with them. Initially, residents were invited to a consultation meeting, to view and comment on the proposals developed by the Council for parks in Glen Innes. The residents were unhappy, as this approach did not reflect Māori culture and values or good-faith participation to them and co-design participation was sought.

Figure 6. Home Fires Invitation for Kava Ceremony

Source: Mad Ave Community Trust, 2019.

After reflection, the Council staff undertook this. The community members took part in designing their park with parks staff, not simply responding to a plan, and the proposals had meaning for them. "The results of engagement with twenty community members on the plan were powerful. The emphasis was on developing trust and relationships, not just consultation," Patuwai said.

The three components identified by Giardiello (2014) were all demonstrated through co-creation and co-design (Mills 2003). Creativity took place through school arts activities; and cultural rituals, responsibility and care, through a sincere and moving welcome ceremony with shared food, ongoing contact; and finally autonomy through encouragement for innovative neighbourhood activities. Literature emphasized the importance and interrelationship with a state-led policy on aspects of social cohesion (Lépineux 2005, Ward and Liu 2012). The sizeable Māori economic disparity which inhibits social cohesion at the national level has yet to make policy traction change (Fonseca, Lukosch & Brazier 2019). However, the work on economic change such as through social procurement and policy initiatives at the local level, which have been underway for a number of years, is now reflected in small but more vibrant businesses change in Glen Innes. This may advance with the new links between TRC and government urban development entities HLC/ UDA. Should this be transposed to other numerous regeneration developments now underway, new government budget initiatives for social equality, and instigating positive changes may have a growing benefit for social cohesion.

Perceptions of Place & Identity

This research has explored the ways that the residents of Tāmaki-Glen Innes are integrated into their communities and satisfied or dissatisfied with the developments in their suburb, their connections to place, and perceptions of identity. There is an increasingly diverse population and typology of dwellings. TRC research has identified higher levels of dissatisfaction with the redevelopment process from private-sector households, compared to social housing tenants. Their research also found good levels of understanding and support for the redevelopment process, but private households sought greater levels of communication and consultation. There is an ongoing concern from private and social housing residents, about the lack or loss of facilities, particularly for children, during the development. There is ongoing concern about walkability, safety, security, and getting around the suburb (Tamaki Regeneration Company Neighbourhood Survey 2016).

These findings suggest different connections to place and perceptions of identity, based on factors such as housing tenure, which may be exacerbated by socio-economic and cultural differences (Giardiello 2014). There appears to be different perceptions of social cohesion, including how people perceive each other, and their connection to the community.

Te Aranga Design Principles have been integrated into the TRC programme at design levels but need to be applicable at the policy level in order for development to be enhanced on different scales (Ward and Liu 2012). This would be achievable by embedding the TADP into the procurement process and will need to be further developed as a set framework so that it is translated into the entire design process and formally implemented into contracts. This will need to be assessed, monitored, and reviewed over the process in order to make sure the TADP is used efficiently and consistently in projects (Menzies 2016). This process will also influence the Tāmaki region by ensuring Māori place and community is taken into consideration throughout the project and will initiate co-design and collaboration (Steen, Manschot, & De Koning 2011). from diverse groups working together to ensure community cohesion in Tāmaki (Paul, 2017). And, as the literature indicates, this will better encourage social cohesion in the community if greater attention is given to greenspace development (Giardiello 2014), as well as education (Witten 2016), recreation and co-design. The design principles can be utilized as tools to enable and unlock potential opportunities to enhance mana whenua presence within the built and natural environment. This allows for creative expressions to tell narratives of place and embed identity within environments so that Māori see 'our faces in our places' (Mills 2003).

Discussion

The initial impact of the regeneration process displaced residents as they were moved to alternative accommodation (Coles 2015), when large blocks of housing were cleared for redevelopment. Many residents initially resisted relocation and fought to retain the neighbourhood contacts they had developed over many years. The changes were both too fast, and too slow: empty houses became squatter residences and drug manufacturing sites, so larger scale demolition was advanced, with subsequent open weedy sites patching the suburb. The rebuilding process also caused anxiety and disruption through contractors working long hours, concrete mixers and trucks blocking access for residents, and noise, dust, blown debris and lack of privacy angering residents. Authorities seemed unresponsive to complaints (Lépineux 2005). Few areas have now been rebuilt in the increased density configuration intended, and new and longer-term residents are reviewing the process and future plans.

Policy Relevance/ Implications

The policy discussion addresses the importance of grass-roots neighbourhood-led social cohesion initiatives and the contribution which top-down international and national-driven policy might make (McGee 2003; Werbner 2005; Colantino, A., & Dixon, T. 2010). At the national level the new departmental structures provide an opportunity to address the economic disparity between the long-time residents of Glen Innes and the new residents settling there (or more broadly the Māori economic disparity with the balance of New Zealand) so that social cohesion through top-down policy intervention can advance (Council of Europe 2008; OECD 2011; Fonseca, Lukosch & Brazier 2019). Literature and research in Glen Innes strongly indicate that building houses is not enough, despite

their need, and that areas will not be regenerated unless economic and social cohesion is addressed (Colantino & Dixon 2010). At the grassroots and neighbourhood level, generative initiatives have shown their efficacy for social cohesion in Glen Innes, through creative, responsible and autonomous programmes. However, the challenge of how to take those who are at the base of the income ladder, the poorer Glen Innes residents, towards a level of economic equality remains, and requires particular attention (Rout, Reid, Menzies & Macfarlane 2019). Targeted educational and cultural programmes are likely to be steps along this path.

This research found that it is vital to maintain a collaborative process throughout the entire regenerative design process through to and past implementation and construction. This allows for coordination between all parties involved in the process to maximise outcomes (Colantino & Dixon 2010). Policies such as procurement can play a significant role as a tool and enabler to working collaboratively. Additionally, this encourages a strengthening of identity and sense of place founded on neighbourhood values. Through the procurement of the regeneration programme, consistency can be achieved by adopting Te Aranga Design Principles as an overarching framework. The transformation of the physical environment will be delivered by a small set of developers who will aim to provide opportunities and beneficial outcomes for the local community.

Co-design can deliver alternative methods and approaches that will be used to recognize Māori values and identity including non-Māori. This will demonstrate how Te Aranga Design Principles are useful tools for landscape and planning which will have a significant influence on the Glen Innes transformation (Paul 2017). These tools and processes will encourage strength, unity, trust and confidence in developers, stakeholders, community members and local Māori who have ancestral land in Glen Innes.

Social cohesion processes such as co-design and co-creation are an inclusive process (Steen, Manschot, & De Koning 2011) which seeks to instil hope in those involved that they are being valued and can contribute to the places in which they live. Policies may provide a framework for practice but it is evident that there needs to be a heavier weighting of intangible heritage - specifically Māori values and approaches within policies. These need to be fundamentally integrated within practices and governance structures.

Conclusion

Regeneration, reinvigoration and reintegration of the Glen Innes neighbourhood as a vibrant and cohesive place is occurring through open and hopeful events incorporating stories from the past. The challenge now is how to carry the stories into the future, and how to move those who struggle financially to a more equitable and secure future. The neighbourhood is resilient but additional strategies and urgent attention is required to sustain local economic growth. At a community civic level, further development of community green spaces where neighbours can meet and socialise, and see their values reflected through such innovations as the Te Aranga Design Principles can also offer hope and strengthen further social cohesion.

Fostering social cohesion favours thoughtful grassroots leadership. This should engage the breadth of the neighbourhood including schools and youth, through arts and culture, with co-design and co-creation encouraged. These can be assisted by diverse support opportunities. The increasing social disparity in New Zealand reflected in poverty and homelessness (Lysnar, Tuatagaloa, & Joynt 2016; Reid, Rout, Tau, Smith 2017; Rout, Reid, Menzies Macfarlane 2019) and their impact on social cohesion is highlighted with respect to large scale urban development changes in New Zealand. The cultivation of generosity, networks and cultural and spiritual connections through rituals have shown how urban regeneration can proceed in tandem with generative social cohesion.

However, the increasing economic disparity of the nation in New Zealand reflected in poverty and homelessness most disastrously affecting Māori and the impact on social cohesion is anticipated to be a continuing disruptor (Rout, Reid, Menzies & Macfarlane 2019). New larger scale urban development changes elsewhere in New Zealand are likely to be affected, as well as Glen Innes. Urgent consideration of social justice and economic structures is advocated as a response to these research findings.

Acknowledgements

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