

A New Housing Development at Hobsonville: promoting and buying into a 'natural' community

Simon Opit and Robin Kearns

*School of Environment, The University of Auckland, 10 Symonds St, Auckland
1142, New Zealand*

Abstract: Like many Australasian cities, Auckland faces a growing housing 'crisis' through a chronic shortage in affordable housing stock. With its population set to rise by an estimated one million people by mid-century there is a serious need to consider new forms of higher-density housing. Such housing types need to be made attractive to a population that have traditionally idealised suburban stand-alone dwellings. One approach is to emphasise the benefits of 'community' living obtainable through medium-density developments. 'Community' is an ambiguous word, but can instil strong emotional responses and is almost always imbued with positive imagery. This paper explores the rhetoric and symbolism of community deployed to sell residential properties at Hobsonville Point, a new government-owned master-planned medium-density development of over 3000 new, 10km to the northwest of Auckland's CBD. Specifically, we ask what understandings of community are promoted in this development, and how are these understandings represented in promotional material? We then draw on interviews conducted with early buyers and those considering buying in the development to explore what understandings of community they hold, and how this accords with the promotion of the development. The study is informed by analysis of newspaper articles, advertising and planning documents as well as field observation and interviews. Tensions are found between the social aspirations of developers and the economic realities of the housing market. It concludes that appealing to a contemporary yearning for nature and social cohesion at an urban coastal location has generated a situation in which community is being 'sold' yet, paradoxically, is yet to be found at Hobsonville Point.

Introduction

With diminishing rates of affordable housing, many cities around Australasia are argued to be facing a so-called housing affordability crisis (Beer et al, 2007; Yates, 2008; Thorns, 2009). Auckland faces a chronic shortage in affordable housing. With its population set to rise by an estimated one million by mid-century (Friesen, 2009) there is a serious need to consider new forms of higher-density housing. Such housing types need to be made attractive to a population that has traditionally idealised suburban stand-alone dwellings (Ferguson, 1994). One approach is to emphasise the benefits of 'community' living obtainable through master-planned higher-density developments. This paper explores the role of pictorial and textual representations of 'community' in the quest to 'sell' new housing developments, both literally and metaphorically, and the interpretations of those who have bought or are considering buying houses in the development. Specifically, we examine the rhetoric and symbolism deployed by a land development company selling residential properties in Hobsonville Point, a government-led housing initiative in north-western Auckland.

This development is located on the former Hobsonville air force base and seeks to regenerate the site into a new suburb over the next decade. At 167 hectares, the development is one of the largest in Auckland. It is located on the urban-rural fringe; the metropolitan urban limits were extended to allow the development and significant road upgrades were undertaken to make it feasible. The project is being facilitated by the Hobsonville Land Company Limited (HLC), a wholly-owned subsidiary of Housing New Zealand Corporation Ltd (HNZC). The developers plan to build over 3000 houses, as well as community facilities and services such as schools, a community hall, recreational spaces and nature reserves. It is anticipated that the site will ultimately be home to approximately 10,000 residents and provide employment for up to 2000,

predominantly in its marine industry precinct. While other Auckland master-planned developments also currently offer a range of housing types, they do not incorporate such a clear emphasis on community and sustainability as Hobsonville.

While still in its early stages, the developers have produced a number of publications and advertisements advancing their vision. They claim that Hobsonville Point is 'not just another suburb; rather it is a 'community' and a place for people to 'live, learn, work, play and grow' (www.hobsonvillepoint.co.nz). Hence, alongside a stated aspiration for the development to be environmentally sustainable, we argue that the creation of a 'new community' at Hobsonville Point is an explicit part of the HLC's marketing strategy. The development is well under way, having sold out its first stage and work well underway on its second. At an early stage, the developer provided elements of community infrastructure, including: a Farmers Market, the Catalina Café (named for the flying boats that were formerly based there) and the children's playground (with a nature theme, its play equipment themed as stylised native plants). Additionally, the first of Hobsonville Point's schools opened its doors in 2012 to cater for the area's growing population and the secondary school is opening in 2014. Since the development is the first large-scale residential initiative on the land, we argue that promotional material is critically important in shaping impressions and understandings for potential consumers. Further, a focus on the language of advertising is important in this instance, given the relative novelty of a state-initiated foray into the housing market.

In this paper we examine the symbolic means contributing to the sale of properties at Hobsonville Point through deconstructing the messages contained in the company's promotional material. Of particular interest are the images featured on billboards displayed to those visiting the development, and which speak to attempts to build 'community'. Whereas earlier work has examined the tropes deployed in selling houses (e.g., Cheung & Ma, 2005; Collins & Kearns, 2008; Eyles, 1987; Perkins, 2010; Perkins et al, 2008), our paper examines 'building community' as a key strategy for the selling of Hobsonville Point as a place to live. Our paper explores the type of community 'imagineered' through this strategy. We consider the representations and meanings of community evident in material promoting the development, asking *what understanding of community is promoted in this development, and how is this represented in the promotional material for Hobsonville Point?* Following this we draw on interviews conducted with early purchasers of houses at Hobsonville Point and those considering buying. From these narratives we explore what understandings of community they hold, and how this accords with the promotion of the development. We argue that there are inherent contradictions found in the promotion of a development through the representation of community. While the 'glamour' (Thrift, 2008) of community can be an attractive prospect for buyers searching for meaningful places to live, its commodification is shown to be fundamentally limiting. Further, we identify tensions between the social goals of a state-owned developer and the economic realities of housing markets. Our study is informed by an analysis of newspaper articles, advertisements and planning/legal documents as well as observation of the development site itself, through visits in 2011-12, and through interviews conducted with buyers and potential buyers in mid-2011.

Signs of Community at Hobsonville

Through advertising, residential developers do not sell just bricks and mortar; rather they frequently imbue houses with deeper significance such that 'locality is 'created'...at the level of meaning' (Eyles 1987: 102).

Real estate developers frequently 'appropriate the established meanings of places and use them for their own ends' (Perkins, 2010, 72; see also Perkins et al, 2008). The vehicle for this process is invariably deftly selected tropes and images (Collins & Kearns, 2008). Property developers populate their advertisements with signifiers to generate reactions in the process of viewers reading and decoding the signs. In doing so they build more than just physical properties into their developments; they also socially construct understandings and ideological statements, which signify particular framings of urban environments (Perkins et al, 2008). 'Community' is an especially strong signifier and although it has been the focus of much social research over the last century, it continues to cause difficulty for researchers who worry about its amorphous and malleable nature. Notwithstanding, it seems 'community' is widely valued and is unlikely to be read unfavourably (e.g. Aitken, 2009: 221). This positive valence has led advertisers to produce images which attempt to visually capture and represent the abstract feeling and experiences of 'community'. While particular types of housing projects already promote community lifestyles and living environments, such developments (e.g., retirement villages) often focus on 'niche' markets for whom potential buyers comprise a pre-existing 'community of interest'. Unlike such specialised settings, this paper focuses on the promotion of a place-based form of community that is found in the many new master-planned estates established around Australia (Thompson, 2013; McGuirk & Dowling, 2007; Walters & Rosenblatt, 2008; Wood, 2002)

The state's development of Hobsonville Point originated under the previous Labour-led government (1999-2008), with a vision of building a diverse community. This vision has been modified under the current National-led administration to exclude the provision of social housing and to reduce the focus on affordable housing. However, Hobsonville Point continues to promote itself as a socially and environmentally sound development. The development is also advertised as an 'affordable' and 'integrated' community. However, many other contemporary residential developments instead tout opposing values: privacy and security, rather than inclusiveness and integration. Indeed, over recent years there has been a trend towards 'gated communities', where space is privatised (e.g. Blandy, 2006; Dixon & Dupuis, 2004; Webster et al, 2002). Promotional material for Hobsonville Point suggests that the development could offer a more open and inclusive form of living than gated communities.

In this section, we argue that images contained in Hobsonville Point's promotional material are carefully crafted *signs* that are an 'expression of community', revealing the type of community the HLC wishes to create (Wood, 2002: 3). Firstly, the development takes its name from the surrounding area of Hobsonville, but the HLC have differentiated it by adding the suffix 'Point' to the development's name. It is not surprising the HLC, wishes to promote its development with this new name, given the documented use of this technique to establish separation from the past (Joseph et al, 2013) and its general role in place-making (Eyles, 1987), especially in relation to community development (Petzelka, 2004). The name effectively maintains a link with the past and surrounding geography ('Hobsonville') but adds 'Point', leading to implications of a scenic vista and a fundamental change to the way one talks about the place. It creates Hobsonville as a (meaningful) *place* rather than a (generic) *space*. This wording encourages one to speak or write of 'at Hobsonville Point' rather than just 'in Hobsonville', which in turn helps to create a place, a focal point, and somewhere to be (Figure 1). In this sense, the elaborated name implies a particularity that sharpens the potential for community formation and implies a politics of distinction (Berg and Kearns, 1996). Another way that the suffix 'Point' can be read is that the new development in Hobsonville is *making a point*,

through its stated vision of 'leading edge sustainability' and promoting 'a strong and vibrant community' (see Figure 2).

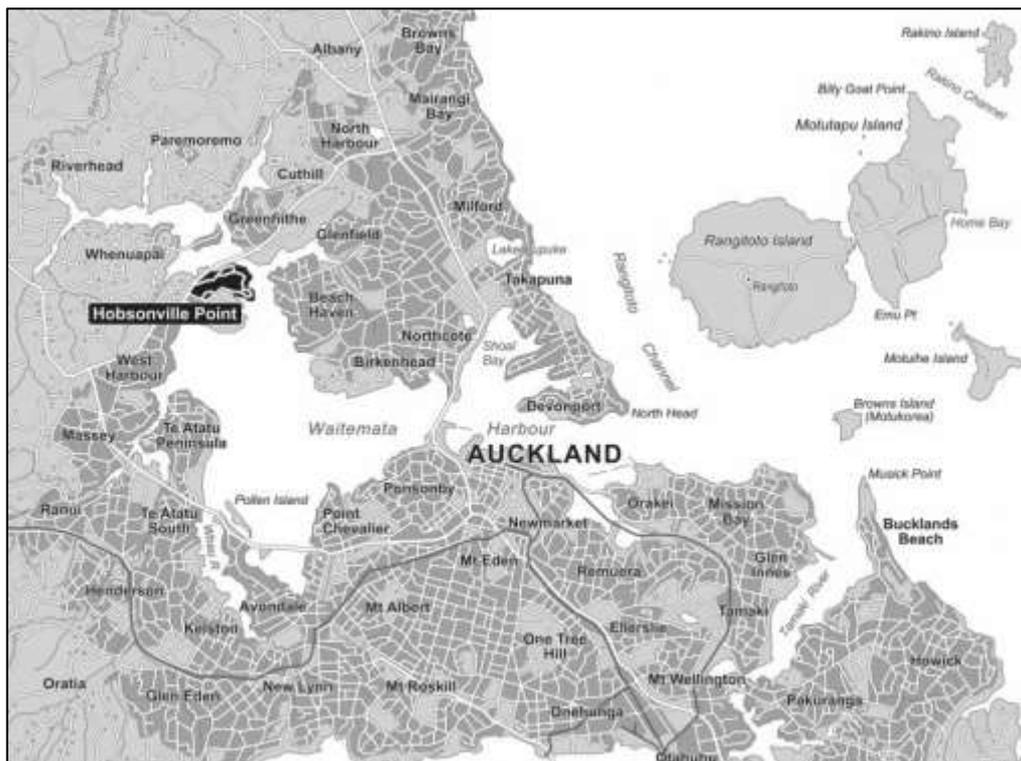


Figure 1 – Location of Hobsonville Point.



Figure 2 – Banners used on the website: www.hobsonvillepoint.co.nz

Promoting Hobsonville Point

We now turn to the billboards observed and photographed at Hobsonville Point 2011-12. As part of the place-making processes that occur while a development is in its infancy, such advertisements are fundamental in conveying an understanding of what is envisioned for the future landscape. There are many aspects that people consider in making their housing choices. House buyers often look for specific features and so advertisements are designed to inform and persuade potential buyers, but are also an attempt to evoke specific responses and perceptions. This contention led Wood (2002) to assert that community is constructed in master planned developments not only through being landscaped but also through being *mediascaped*.

The billboard depicted in Figure 3 states that 'coastal living is affordable again'. Although not specifically referencing 'community', this advertisement signals the type of community that is purportedly present at Hobsonville Point. The statement is written in a large and clear font, occupying half of the billboard. Beneath it is a tranquil picture of the northern end of the Hobsonville peninsula. This is a potent image, as the coast is strongly associated with New Zealand culture and identity. The image of the coast suggests a stereotypical New Zealand scene, with its quaint and quiet nature suggesting memories of summer holidays spent with the family at the coast (Kearns & Collins, 2006). However, the coastline is also a zone of conflict for New Zealanders, where there is increasing demand for housing, and where residential developments are increasingly large, expensive and conspicuous, often dwarfing or replacing traditional 'baches' and campgrounds (Cheyne & Freeman, 2006; Collins & Kearns, 2008). The combination of the statement: 'coastal living is affordable *again*' [emphasis added], with the peaceful and rustic image below it, signals that this development is intended as a counter to the widespread privatisation of the New Zealand coast.

The billboard attempts to symbolise the developer's plans to include more affordable housing, so that young and/or less well-resourced people can afford to live in this urban coastal location, somewhere behind the larger more expensive houses planned for the more scenic locations with harbour views. Thus a socially-integrated community is implied. Arguably such a vision also plays to the long-standing myth of New Zealand being a 'classless society', where everybody can enjoy the land's bounty, including its pristine coastline (Sinclair, 1969). This is an enticing vision yet, with the aforementioned removal of social housing, the inclusion of all sectors of New Zealand society is not possible and any inclusive vision has therefore been curtailed.

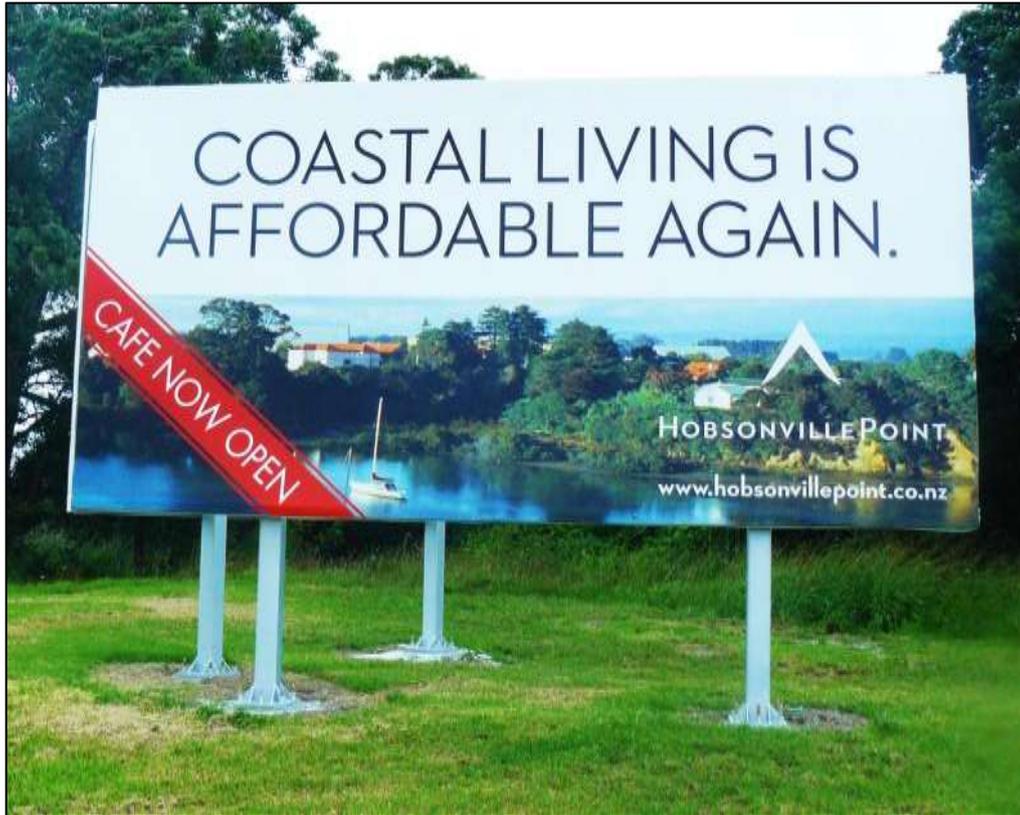


Figure 3 – ‘Coastal living is affordable again’ (photo: first author, 2011).

A second promotional image worth considering is one of a number that were attached as canvas veneers to the chain-link fence surrounding the area under development (Figure 4). Again we can note features such as greenery around the coast and still water. In the distance the historic landing area can be seen, with its jetties extending into the water. As emphasised by the image, the ‘vision and 270° views’ refers to Hobsonville Point being on a peninsula with an outlook over Auckland’s upper Waitemata Harbour. This image reflects the common marketing technique of promoting housing through showing – especially water – features beyond the actual boundaries of the property (Cheung and Ma, 2005; Collins and Kearns, 2008). Furthermore, the connection of community with aspects of the natural environment is argued by Winstanley et al (2003, 176) to be an especially powerful trope in New Zealand, due to the ‘powerful legacy of New Zealand’s indigenous Maori and European colonial settler pasts’.

The statement: ‘a community with a vision’ can also be read to mean that the purchasers of houses at Hobsonville Point will also be buying into a locality with strong character and a clear direction. Indeed, the development’s website states under the heading of ‘vision’ that they are ‘building a world-class township for Aucklanders of all ages and stages who want to live in a thriving community’ (www.hobsonvillepoint.co.nz). This promotional display suggests that buying a house at Hobsonville Point offers a chance to be part of such a vision. However, as Bauman (2001) warns, community cannot be bought. Implying that there is ‘a community with a vision’ at Hobsonville Point therefore seems rather premature, since the residential community is yet to become established.



Figure 4 – ‘A community with a vision and 270° views’ (photo, first author 2011).

The promotion of Hobsonville Point to young Pakeha (white) nuclear families is neither surprising nor unique. As reported by Winstanley et al (2003, 185), the promotional material for many new urbanist developments, despite claims to be ‘*suitable for people of all ages*’ and for ‘*any family of any age*’ – as Hobsonville Point does – almost always show people who are ‘young, white, and approximately half have pre-school aged children’. As can be seen in the billboards presented in Figure 5, Hobsonville Point certainly continues this trend, with scenes frequently including depictions of young white families. Advertising for Hobsonville Point repeatedly promotes this idealised and homogenous image of the resident community at the new development, yet on their website the developer claims that ‘Hobsonville Point will attract people of all ages from all walks of life’ and will ‘cater for a diverse community’ and ‘a range of families’. Of course, those selling the houses are unlikely to turn away potential buyers who do not conform to the image presented on the billboards, and so the community at Hobsonville Point may well become diverse in terms of age and ethnicity. However, the promotional material suggests a contradiction in that the stated vision is of a demographically diverse community, while the promotional material seems aimed at a very narrow demographic. The appeal to community is at the core of this paradox, because as Young (1990: 234) suggests, ‘commitment to an ideal of community tends to value and enforce homogeneity’.

The two billboards at the top of Figure 5 also emphasise that at Hobsonville Point you can ‘discover your new lifestyle’ and that ‘your new lifestyle starts here’. The ‘new lifestyle’ referred to is presumably the more sustainable and communal type that is promoted concurrently in the marketing material. However, Hobsonville Point is not only presented as the future of living in Auckland, it is also claimed as ‘the best of the past, present, and the future’. In the advertisement shown in Figure 6 these words hang in the sky and the depicted landscape contains symbols for each of these elements. To the left, trees encroach, looking

disorderly and organic, and to the right a small remnant air force building stands. These images comprise strategically arranged imaginaries. The building symbolises the culture of the Hobsonville peninsula by including a 'relic' of the history of past human activities on the landscape. The present is the natural environment that can be enjoyed today at Hobsonville Point, and is represented by the trees and the lush green landscape. The future is the open space in the middle of the image. It is where the new community will grow, respectful of, and alongside, the natural and cultural environments. The sunlight which bathes the landscape could be alternatively interpreted as the sun rising over a new development, a new community and a new way of living, or the sun setting on this serene landscape, soon to be replaced by 3000 houses.



Figure 5 – Billboards photographed at the Hobsonville Point (photos, first author 2011).

These images (read in combination with the website banners shown in Figure 2) are examples of what Eyles (1987, 103) refers to as the 'collapsing of the past and present', where 'future consumption...is in fact 'created' by the past, which is seen as secure and known'. Appeals to an idealised past and, particularly in the case of housing advertisements, 'the history of places', are used to create a clear 'identity in an anonymous modern world' (Eyles, 1987: 103). Winstanley et al (2003, 183) argue that using the past to sell the future 'exemplifies neo-traditionalism's role...in the commodification of place'. In the case of Hobsonville Point, the area's rich history as an important seaplane base has been used by the HLC to emphasise a unique place-identity. However, the development is also promoted through its innovative sustainability and communal aspects, and can be seen as analogous to the developer's claims that Hobsonville Point is 'a community' that is 'the best of the past, present, and the future' in the course of attempting to legitimise the development to the public.



Figure 6 – ‘The best of the past, present, and the future’ (photo, first author, 2012).

Examining consumer ‘buy in’.

The foregoing section has provided a reading of some of the prominently displayed advertising found at the Hobsonville Point site and on their promotional website. The most potent signifiers from this material are of an active (both socially and physically) community of young families and that of a pristine natural environment, portrayed as distinctly *New Zealand*. The communal and natural signifiers are typically collapsed within individual images, so that both the social and physical environment is seen as unified. This *mediascape* provides a powerful representation of Hobsonville Point as a communal landscape. We now turn to the understandings of community held by some of the consumers of these images and draw on interview data collected in 2011 from four house buyers¹ as well people interviewed at a Hobsonville Point show home. The participants were asked a range of questions in an interview lasting approximately one hour. These questions were focussed on the participants’ impressions of Hobsonville Point, their understanding of community in new developments and how this related to the development.

The participants presented a clear understanding of community as something which the HLC could not simply *build*, and that “*ultimately, it really comes down to the people who buy the houses, if they’re keen to sustain it*”. However, beyond the rhetoric of ‘building community’, the participants could see a number of aspects in Hobsonville Point that suggested to them the HLC are successfully *facilitating* community. The provision of schools and also the cafe and farmers market were mentioned, alongside other aspects of the development (e.g., the streetscape design, because it was “*a place that’s not built for cars...and so naturally people go to those places and walk around them...that facilitates community*”). Although one buyer judged these facilities as more “*to do with selling more houses, than creating community*” and another relayed that

¹ Two of the interviewees were couples with young children, one a young couple without children, and one an older single person whose children had left home. All of the interviewed buyers were Pakeha and first-time home buyers through the government’s ‘gateway’ scheme. The small number of buyer-respondents reflects the early stage of the development at the time of fieldwork.

feeling part of a community also led to “*a sense of obligation and responsibility*” and that “*you’ve got to want that*”.

Commitment (to people and place) was a key factor in community for the participants, and this was strongly related to an ideal of home ownership. While having a diversity of people was something that was largely supported and seen as part of having a good community, when confronted with the possibility of state rental housing integrated into the development, opposition was mainly voiced. However, participants connected their opposition to another factor identified as being important to community formation, a sense of “*permanence*”. Consequently, a high level of home ownership in an area was seen as an important part of “*trusting the other people around you*”. Having state rental housing tenants in a place was characterised by one couple as “*people who don’t want to be there*” because “*it’s not their house, it’s not their area, there’s not the same care given*”. These statements suggest that it is a certain *type* of community that the buyers envisage for Hobsonville Point, and that this is a resolutely conservative one, which continues to reinforce the well-entrenched idolisation of home ownership in New Zealand.

As can be seen in most of the billboards discussed earlier, the natural beauty and coastal location of Hobsonville Point has been emphasised. However, in discussion with both the buyers and the visitors to show-homes, the character of the *natural* environment was less of a factor than the social environment they expected at Hobsonville. One buyer explained, “*I’ve been taking the dog for walks around Hobsonville for a few years now, there’s nice open spaces, [but] after 3000 houses go in, it might change [laughs]*”. There is, then, an awareness that the rustic beauty of the site, as shown in the promotional material, will not remain as it currently exists. However, neither does this transience seem to be a factor in buyers’ decisions to live at Hobsonville Point. It seems evident from interviews with buyers that this is because the future character of the place will clearly not be that of a natural coastal place, but rather it will be a medium-density suburb.

Alongside the timelessness and rustic scenery portrayed in the promotional material, the history of the development has been carefully crafted into many aspects of the new development. As discussed previously, the history of a place is often used in developments to create a sense of identity, which acts to define and bound a space (e.g., Winstanley et al, 2003). From the closely scrutinised design of the houses and reuse of several air force buildings, to the names of roads and buildings, the historical uses of the land are deployed to encapsulate the identity of the new. Predominantly this evocation of heritage is from its most recent use as a RNZAF air force base, but its Maori history is to a lesser extent also made apparent (e.g., Onekiritia, the name of the proposed reserve comes from the Maori name for the land and its white clay soils). In interviews with buyers of houses at Hobsonville Point, the history of the development was clearly recognised and was commonly discussed with enthusiasm and excitement. The buyers expressed how they “*like the idea of this having been an air base*” because “*it comes with a history*”, so the area stands out and “*people don’t think it’s just another development, it’s a development with a story behind it*”. Another buyer simply stated that “*the history of the place should be part of the development*”. These statements illustrate the power of place promotion based upon a form of idealised past to feed the imaginations of consumers and provide them with a sense of something solid and real, something which they can connect to. Following from the promotion of Hobsonville Point as not just another suburb, it seems that the intense focus on retelling a place’s past and recasting it in its future provides a wealth of place-specific information and creates an easily identifiable and

readable *high definition* landscape². Hobsonville Point, with its clear connection to a *past life*, arguably offers buyers the chance to acquire a deeper connection to place.

In summary, the natural coastal character of the development appeared to be less of a priority to buyers even though this was a significant part of the HLC's promotion of Hobsonville Point. It seems evident from interviews with early purchasers that their attraction to the development comes more from the opportunity to be part of an affordable high quality urban environment. They seemed aware of the disconnect between a mediascaped representation of community found in the development's promotional material and their quest to experience community in Hobsonville Point.

Conclusion

We have drawn on the case of Auckland's Hobsonville Point to show that while some of the material foundations of community are constructed (e.g. houses and roads), the images on billboards around the site and in other promotional materials are potent ingredients in the discursive construction of community. The paper has contributed to the literature on the discursive 'building' of community as a key part of selling new urban residential developments such as Hobsonville Point.

The deployment of 'nature' to promote community in housing advertisements suggests the utopian concept of creating the 'natural(ly) (good) community' (Wood, 2002). This association implies that *community is natural* and that *nature is communal* with community seen as something innately desirable, and therefore valuable. Further, the natural environment is implicitly something which should be available to all, as part of a *good community*. Although community is intangible, through the production of its allure it becomes a commodity through association with a place. The use of 'nature' in the promotion of housing is common however, the HLC's use of communal *and* natural imagery, appears to transcend rhetoric. At Hobsonville Point the connection between community and nature can be seen as particularly important in this case, as seen in aspects of the development such as the farmers market, their provision of public access to the coast, and the design of the native plant-themed playground. Much of the promotional material can therefore be seen to closely relate to the HLC's goals of creating an affordable, sustainable and communal development, in a coastal environment. 'The natural' and 'the communal' are therefore key tropes deployed through words and images in the quest to pre-emptively construct community on this mixed green/brownfield site. However, there are inherent contradictions in this imagineering, and a number of these were identified by the early buyers interviewed for this study. They recognised the irony of selling properties on the basis of their 'natural' surrounds despite them soon to be heavily populated with people and dwellings. While the allure of community was discussed with interest and anticipation for its potential at Hobsonville, there was also an awareness of its common place in modern property selling techniques.

Furthermore placing the past in the present development has been an important part of creating a unique identity for Hobsonville Point. By integrating the cultural history of the area into various markers on the landscape the space becomes clearly defined and valued for its nostalgic image as an old air force base.

²A high definition landscape contains a richness of place-specific information, providing a clear and perceptible picture of a place. This is opposed to a low definition landscape which arguably is exemplified by modern suburban designs (see, Relph, 1976).

From interviews with buyers it is apparent that for some people who have purchased houses at Hobsonville the history of the land was an attractive feature and added to a perception of the quality of the development; however the affordability was still paramount in their decisions.

We acknowledge the limitations of our study. We have examined the case of a singular – albeit significant – housing development with a small number of participants. Our interviews with buyers and potential buyers are considered suggestive of some of the ways community in housing developments is understood, pending continuing research. We also recognise the possibility that our readings of the development would be deepened by greater embrace of the complex socio-political relationships, processes, and tactics associated with the production housing related advertising image-making. For now, this preliminary investigation has demonstrated that asserting novelty in a crowded market of housing opportunities requires careful deployment of images and exhortations. The result is the generation of multiple and potentially contradictory imaginaries and associated claims that are evident in the promotional work of developers. These imaginaries may yet be inscribed into the materialisation of community. We conclude that appealing to a contemporary yearning for nature and social cohesion at an urban coastal location has generated persuasive appeals in which community is being 'sold' yet, paradoxically, is still to be found at Hobsonville Point.

References

- Aitken, S.C. (2009) Community, in Kitchin, R. & Thrift, N. (eds.) *International encyclopedia of human geography*, Elsevier, Oxford: 221-225.
- Bauman, Z. (2001) *Community: seeking safety in an insecure world*, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Beer, A., Kearns, B. & Pieters, H. (2007) Housing affordability and planning in Australia: the challenge of policy under neo-liberalism, *Housing Studies*, 22(1): 11-24.
- Berg, L.D. & Kearns, R.A. (1996). Naming as norming? 'Race', gender and the identity politics of naming places in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14, 99-122.
- Blandy, S. (2006) Gated communities in England: historical perspectives and current developments, *GeoJournal*, 66(1-2): 16-26. Cheung SCH, Ma EKW (2005) Advertising modernity: home, space and privacy, *Visual Anthropology*, 18: 65-80.
- Cheyne, C. & Freeman, C. (2006) A rising tide lifts all boats? A preliminary investigation in to the impact of rising New Zealand coastal property prices on small communities, *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, 1: 105-124.
- Collins, D. & Kearns, R.A. (2008) Uninterrupted views: real-estate advertising and changing perspectives on coastal property in New Zealand, *Environment and Planning A*, 40: 2914-2932.
- Dixon, J. & Dupuis, A. (2003) Urban intensification in Auckland, New Zealand: a challenge for new urbanism, *Housing Studies*, 18(3): 353-368.
- Eyles, J. (1987) Housing advertisements as signs: locality creation and meaning-systems, *Geografiska Annaler*, 69(2): 93-105.
- Friesen, W. (2009). The Demographic Transformation of Inner City Auckland *New Zealand Population Review*, 35:55-74.
- Joseph, A.E., Kearns, R.A. & Moon, G. (2013). Re-imagining psychiatric asylum spaces through residential redevelopment: strategic forgetting and selective remembrance, *Housing Studies*, 28(1): 135-153.
- Kearns, R.A. & Collins, D. (2006) 'On the rocks': New Zealand's coastal bach landscape and the case of Rangitoto Island, *New Zealand Geographer*, 62(3): 227-235. Law R (1997) Masculinity, place and beer advertising in New Zealand: The Southern Man Campaign, *New Zealand Geographer*, 53(2): 22-28.
- McGuirk, P.M. & Dowling, R. (2007) Understanding master-planned estates in Australian cities: a framework for research, *Urban Policy and Research*, 25(1): 21-38.
- Murphy, L. (2008) Third-wave Gentrification in New Zealand: The Case of Auckland. *Urban Studies*, 45(12): 2521-2540.

- New Zealand Geographic Board (2010) *Hobsonville place name proposal report*, available at: <http://www.linz.govt.nz/placenames/consultation-decisions/a-to-z/hobsonville/report>.
- New Zealand Geographic Board (2011) *Hobsonville: Geographic name proposal – submission report, 29 April 2011*, available at: <http://www.linz.govt.nz/sites/default/files/docs/placenames/submission-reports/nzgb-submission-report-hobsonville-20111103.pdf>.
- Petzelka, P. (2004) The new landform's here! The new landform's here! We're somebody now!! The role of discursive practices on place identity, *Rural Sociology*, 66(3): 386-404.
- Perkins, H.C., Thorns, D.C. & Newton, B.M. (2008) Real estate advertising and intraurban place meaning: real estate sales consultants at work, *Environment and Planning A*, 40(9): 2061-2079.
- Perkins, H.C. (2010)[1989] The country in the town: the role of real estate developers in the construction of the meaning of place, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 5(1): 61-74.
- Relph, E. (1976) *Place and placelessness*, Pion Ltd, London.
- Sinclair, K. (1969) *A history of New Zealand* (second edition), Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
- Thompson, C. (2013) Master-planned estates: privatization, social-spatial polarization and community, *Geography Compass*, 7(1): 85-93.
- Thorns, D. (2009) Housing booms and changes to New Zealand housing affordability: the policy challenge, *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 2(2): 171-189.
- Thrift, N. (2008) The material practices of glamour, *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 1(1): 9-23.
- Walters, P. & Rosenblatt, T. (2008) Co-operation or co-presence? The comforting ideal of community in a master planned estate, *Urban Policy and Research*, 26(4): 397-413.
- Webster, C., Glasze, G. & Frantz, K. (2002) The global spread of gated communities, *Environment and Planning B*, 29(3): 315-320.
- Winstanley, A., Thorns, D.C., & Perkins, H.C. (2003) Nostalgia, community and new housing developments: a critique of new urbanism incorporating a New Zealand perspective, *Urban Policy and Research*, 21(2): 175-198.
- Wood, D. (2002) Selling the suburbs: nature, landscape, adverts, community, *Transformations* 5: 1-10.
- Yates, J. (2008) Housing affordability: what are the policy issues?, *The Australian Economic Review*, 41(2): 200-214.
- Young, I. (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.