
Kāinga Tahī Kāinga Rua

In 2018 the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment's National Science Challenge, Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities (BBHTC), funded the Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua Kaupapa Māori Research Project. This project drew on expertise from across the Māori housing sector, with a particular focus on involving Māori researchers already participating in the BBHTC National Science Challenge. The project responded to the right and aspiration of Māori researchers, in collaboration with Māori organisations and communities, to develop Māori housing solutions. The outputs of the Kaupapa Māori Research Project include this collected volume of writing, entitled Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua: Māori Housing Realities and Aspirations.

We are blessed to be able to include in this volume the reflections and research of our late friend, relation and colleague Moana Jackson.

We are also delighted that our tuakana, Ella Henry, has contributed a foreword in which she shares insights she has gained from her housing research, her engagements with communities, and her time and mahi with whānau, hapū and iwi.

The purpose of this brief is to introduce seven chapters from the volume. The paragraphs below do not do justice to the chapters nor to the expertise of the authors. Rather, they are a teaser for the main event – reading the chapters in full and going on to finish the book. A full list of the chapters and authors included in the volume is provided at the end of this brief.

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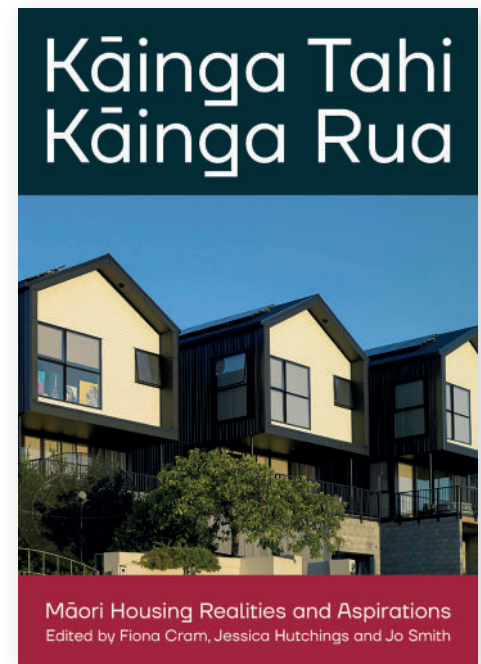
Kia ora koutou katoa.

Chapter 2.

Papakāinga: Māori Wellbeing in the Context of Collective Living

Leonie Pihama explores Māori connections to place as a source of wellbeing, and how these connections have changed over time. She writes that Māori homelessness is not a new phenomenon, but rather needs to be understood within the context of the colonial dispossession that led to landlessness and generations of historical trauma. She argues that 'colonisation is a persisting structure that continues to shape contemporary Māori housing issues' (p.27). Leonie describes how the socio-cultural framework of tikanga provided pre-colonial Māori with a normative system of conduct within papakāinga to the extent that external control mechanisms were not required. People lived together in papakāinga in ways 'embedded within whakapapa' and 'underpinned by the collective guardianship of lands and spaces' (p.29).

Colonisation disrupted Māori guardianship responsibilities, as well as people's ability to live collectively. The ensuing trauma from the 'multiple cataclysmic events' of colonisation is described by Leonie as ongoing and still



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impacting current generations. As a critical part of attempts to Europeanise Māori, housing became and remains a site of colonial fragmentation of Māori collectivity. Intervening in Māori housing and homelessness therefore requires an understanding of the systematic and structural impacts of colonisation, and resistance to ‘deficit theories and pathologising explanations’ that blame Māori individually or collectively (p.32).

Today papakāinga are a means for the revitalisation of Māori whakapapa or kaupapa collectivity that can support reconnection, healing, and wellbeing. As Leonie writes, ‘The papakāinga movement provides Māori with a contemporary housing option that is grounded on traditional understandings and tikanga’ (p.37). This initiative to re-house and re-home Māori is what Jade Kake describes as giving Māori a ‘more hopeful future’. Leonie concludes her chapter by reiterating that this hopeful future is about the regeneration of tikanga through whānau being reconnected to one another and to the land.

Chapter 3.

Māori Counter-Migration and Housing, 1981–2013: Auckland and Northland

Nathan Williams writes about the counter-migration that began in the 1980s, with Māori leaving Auckland to return to their kāinga tūturu (original home). In the 1980s and 1990s this counter-migration coincided with rising housing costs and unemployment in Auckland and legislative initiatives to facilitate house-building on multiply-owned Māori land. To provide context for counter-migration, Nathan begins with an overview of urban migration. He writes: ‘These were planned moves, guided by elders and times to accord with the needs of the community’ (p.44). This in itself is a counter-narrative to the common discourse of Māori migration and the assimilatory agenda of successive governments, perhaps most famously encapsulated in the ‘pepper-potting’ of Māori households into otherwise Pākehā neighbourhoods. This, like other state policies, was circumvented by Māori.

Citing Melissa Matutina Williams, Nathan writes that the period from 1945 to 1975 was a ‘golden age’ for Māori, who ‘regarded cities as places that could ensure their physical survival in the short-term and their material and cultural prosperity in the long-term’ (p.44). Connections between rural and urban communities were maintained through letters and phone calls and trips home for tangihanga, birthdays and hui to discuss land issues, in an adaptation that Nathan describes as ‘tribal evolution’ (p.46). This extension of Ngāpuhi tribalism into Auckland meant relief from excessive overcrowding for the haukāinga, and allowed young people to access secondary and tertiary education in Auckland. Newly arrived relatives in Auckland were connected to those who could orient them to urban living, while the haukāinga eased the return of migrants to Northland.

Economic reforms begun by the fourth Labour government in 1984 did not lead to competition in the house lending market as was predicted. Instead, the withdrawal of state assistance from this market, and the fact that Māori were largely employed in low-wage work in Auckland in industries that were shedding jobs, meant that homeownership as well as rental accommodation became less and less affordable for Māori. Nathan writes that this was ‘compounded by systemic racism that limited access to housing’. Counter-migration therefore accelerated. For example, in the 1981 to 1986 census period, 3,927 Māori returned to Northland from Auckland. There they encountered a housing shortage that saw even Dame Whina Cooper move into an old convent school when she returned in 1983. Nathan writes: ‘Urban Māori from the North – especially those who were culturally motivated – had to decide whether to live in overcrowded and expensive housing in Auckland, or overcrowded housing in Northland’ (p.56). He then explores papakāinga housing as a solution.

Chapter 5.

Hoki Mai ki te Kāinga Tūturu: The Spiritual Call to Return Home

In her chapter, Mere Whaanga gives voice to three women, herself included, who have returned to stay in their kāinga tūturu at Ōpoutama, Māhanga and Māhia, in the traditional rohe of

Rongomaiwahine. The three of them – Ngaromoana Raureti, Joan Ropiha and Mere – are now pakeke (elders), who grew up with the expectation that they would leave home for work or education and then ‘eventually return to use their accumulated skills for the benefit of their community’ (p.82). Together they draw out connections between their rural environment, housing, and their hauora.

Ngaromoana, artist and painter, speaks of three karanga from the land that are the ‘spiritual call to return home’ (p.84). Each successive karanga grows stronger, as does the realisation that returning home is the response needed. She now lives in a cottage on whānau land where she lived as a child, and says she can now ‘see better, hear better, feel better’ (p.84).

Joan returned to Māhia when her daughter was four months old, in 2003. ‘She wanted to “bring up Te Wai here, with her nannies, Nanny Pot, Nanny Kuna”’ (p.85).

Mere left Taipōrutu, on the eastern side of Māhia Peninsula, to gain qualifications. After working in Auckland and Wellington, she returned home in 2003 after twelve years away. She now lives in Māhia Beach, in a relocated house on whānau land.

With their skills and experience, all three were eager to benefit their communities. Ngaromoana was part of the occupation of the foreshore, protesting against coastal development and the desecration of a sacred women’s site, Ngā Tuahine. Joan was helping with resource consent applications before she returned home, and has been working hard since – writing submissions, appealing resource consents, organising cultural audits, and attending hearings. Mere was the co-ordinating historian for the Treaty claim of Te Tira Whakaemi o Te Wairoa, and project manager for their truth and reconciliation hui. All three have also raised their children on ancestral land. ‘We have provided for them the rare privilege of growing up on land that was settled by our ancestors who came from Hawaiki more than twenty-one generations ago’ (p.92), instilling in them a strong connection to their spiritual home.

Chapter 6.

Housing and Hauora for Young Whānau in Flaxmere

Ana Apatu worked closely with ten young Māori mothers attending Te Tipu Whenua o Pā Harakeke Flaxmere and William Colenso College Teen Parent Unit, to help them document their experiences of housing and their aspirations for a home for their whānau. Ana writes: ‘As the Māori world is kinship- or whakapapa-based, the birth of a baby signifies the importance of women’s role as the bearers of humankind, and the baby is the embodiment of the continuation of whakapapa’ (p.93). A lack of access to quality, affordable, secure housing can be an unwelcome challenge for young women who are growing into their mana as partners and mothers. Documenting their lived realities provides an opportunity for policy-makers and social service providers to prioritise housing them and their whānau well.

The stories of the young women speak volumes of the housing hurdles they are up against. Ataahua, who was eighteen and the mother of a two-year-old, moved back to Hawke’s Bay to be close to whānau, living mainly with her grandparents. While she was saving for a house, she described her partner as ‘not mature enough yet to pay a mortgage’ (p.97). Mei, whose baby was seventeen months old, lived with her mother in a Housing New Zealand house that she described as ‘crap’. It was cold, with broken windows, in a neighbourhood where she did not feel safe. Property managers were rude to her and her partner when they inquired about places they could rent, but she holds on to her dream of them owning their own home one day.

Overall, the young māmā faced challenges associated with being first-time renters in a discriminatory rental market, even when they had completed ready-to-rent programmes. This was compounded by difficulties navigating the social assistance system and accessing the benefits they were entitled to. Some received good support while others felt bullied by their youth workers. Those living in emergency accommodation in motels said this was not suitable, and in fact unsafe, for their young children. When they did find rental accommodation they could afford, the cold, damp and

mould in these houses impacted their health. Ana writes: ‘The transience of housing solutions for teen mums is a risk factor affecting protective bonding of the baby with the adults it lives alongside’ (p.105). As a counter to this and a call for better housing solutions for young whānau, she ends with a whakataukī quoted by Dame Tariana Turia:

‘Ka whāngaia, ka tupu, ka puāwai – That which is nurtured, blossoms and grows’

Chapter 9.

Ngā Uri o Te Aurere Pou Whānau Trust Papakāinga, Mangakāhia

Jade Kake begins her chapter driving west, out of Whangārei and away from the harbour, trailing the Mangakāhia River to a papakāinga construction site in Mangakāhia Valley. Ten new earth homes are planned to alleviate substandard housing conditions for whānau and to support their wellbeing. She notes that while papakāinga are a ‘new embodiment of an old idea’ (p.138), the small proportion of land still in Māori ownership hinders their expansion. This is to say nothing of the legacy of colonisation embodied in the economic, regional, legislative and political barriers to Māori building on their land.

Jade describes the 1911 partitioning of the 3,000-hectare Mangapōhatu Block into North and South blocks. The former is still intact, while parts of the latter have been alienated, with the remnants now divided into six sections. The papakāinga development is on one of the smaller South Mangapōhatu land blocks. Her research has tracked the history of the land, including the initial resistance of the people to title investigation. Economic pressures and confiscations eventually made assigning of title necessary. Even the Waitangi Tribunal hearings that Ngāpuhi hapū have engaged with have not uncovered the full extent of land losses across the rohe.

When she arrives at the papakāinga site, Jade is greeted by a rōpū (group) of people from Tauranga Moana who have travelled to learn how they can begin their own papakāinga journey. They are being hosted by Aroha Shelford and her partner, Richard Morrell. The beginnings of the project and the various supports obtained along the way are described, along with plans for forming an ahu whenua trust. Primarily though, Jade describes the project as driven by the desire of whānau to return to their whenua. Practical considerations and advice emerge from her discussions with whānau members and others who have been involved. Barriers to overcome include any rates arrears and the need for infrastructure (e.g., a sewage treatment system). In terms of achieving a papakāinga vision, Jade emphasises her take-home message, ‘unless you’re able to come together as a whānau or hapū, with a collective vision, your papakāinga project is unlikely to move ahead. Kotahitanga, whanaungatanga, mahitahi’ (p.146).

Chapter 11.

Moa Crescent Kaumātua Village: Hauora Kaumātua, Toiora Kaumātua

This chapter, co-authored by Rangimahora Reddy, Mary Louisa Simpson, Yvonne Wilson, Sophie Nock, and Kirsten Johnston, describes an urban papakāinga developed by Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa with support from Rauawaawa Kaumātua Charitable Trust. The Moa Crescent Kaumātua Village in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton was co-designed by kaumātua and built in 2012–14. Two estates of six and eight one- and two-bedroom homes house nineteen residents – many of whom were part of the urban migration as rangatahi. The papakāinga fulfils a ‘critical need for kaumātua to have access to culturally responsive, secure and affordable housing, with wraparound services that support health and wellbeing’ (p.165). The alternative for many kaumātua would be overcrowded, temporary and substandard housing that impacts negatively on their health and wellbeing.

The Moa Crescent Kaumātua Village supports kaumātua to age positively because they are well-housed, valued and cared for. The village also offers shared common spaces and māra kai to encourage and support residents’ connectedness and to build a sense of community. The authors suggest that is a response to the need kaumātua express ‘for community, marae involvement and maintenance of cultural identity, as well as the desire to live in a ‘compatible community’” (p.168).

The kaupapa Māori study carried out by the authors sought to hear the accounts of the nineteen kaumātua about the impact of good housing on their wellbeing, with the stories told by two kaumātua (Koro and Kui) being the centrepiece of this chapter.

Before he moved to the village, Koro (aged seventy) and his wife rented a house that was damp and cold, where they ‘lost the will to get out and about’ (p.169). When he was in hospital after having a stroke, he met Rauawaawa kaimahi, who followed up with him when he was discharged and invited him to participate in activities. Kui (also aged seventy) had been living with her son and daughter-in-law and was introduced to Rauawaawa through whānau. She also started attending activities and this sowed ‘seeds for change’ when the Moa Crescent Kaumātua Village project started. Moving into the village, with its secure, affordable and healthy homes, has strengthened their mana motuhake (autonomy, identity), whanaungatanga (connectedness), mauriora (cultural wellbeing) and access to Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). As the authors conclude: ‘Kaumātua participation in decision-making at every level of planning, building, and living in and creating the village are key to its success and a prime example of kaumātua mana motuhake’ (p.176).

Chapter 15.

Te Tangi o te Poraka – The Frogs’ Song

Tepora Emery, Hinerangi Goodman, Eleanor Black and Sylvia Tapuke write that the Matekuare whānau of Ngāti Whare-Tūhoe are warm-heartedly known as ‘the frogs’. Frogs’ song is the familiar sound heard by the whānau, who are re-establishing their papakāinga at Tāwhitiwhiti. The chapter documents aspects of their story of returning to their whenua, which was taken over by the Māori Trustee in the 1930s. The land was subsequently leased and converted to pasture, and Poukura – the large natural lake – was drained. The need to restore health of the whenua and therefore the health of the whānau has resonated across the decades since.

The impacts of colonisation prior to the 1930s are traced through the changing ownership of the land. After the Second World War, the New Zealand Forest Service established a model village, Minginui, nearby. Residents were mostly Ngāti Whare whānau, who enjoyed the employment and housing offered until lobbying against native logging saw the Forest Service disestablished in 1984. By 2019 only 157 people remained in Minginui, living in cold and damp houses in various stages of disrepair. The reclamation of Tāwhitiwhiti in 2014 signalled a new beginning for whānau – a homeland with housing to come.

In 2010 the Matekuare whānau began the restoration of the wetland, and nine small lakes (Poukura Lakes) have been restored as part of their papakāinga plans. With this restoration, the frogs have returned. ‘The croaking frogs signify the renewal of te hau, te ora, te reo, te mauri me te whanaungatanga o te whenua – the breath, the vitality, the voice and the essence of the land and the whānau’s connection with it’ (p.218). Communal gardens and a tree nursery are under development, in preparation for the return of whānau. Being involved in the Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities National Science Challenge has also given the whānau access to plans for healthy, affordable prefabricated houses. The intergenerational vision stands to be realised through ‘whānau strength and tenacity’ with ‘everlasting whakapapa links to each other, and to the land ... the cornerstones of the Matekuare whānau papakāinga development’ (p.232).

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