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Haukāinga – A Review of Māori concepts of 'home'

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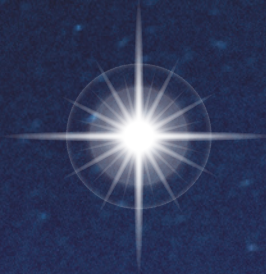
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Acknowledgement: Pātiki Pattern (front cover & throughout)

The kōwhaiwhai pattern is of the pātiki and was designed by Honor McCorkindale for Ngāti Hauiti to reflect one of the mōkai left by Tamatea Pōkai Whenua in the district.

Pātiki may still be found in the Rangitīkei River.





Ka tiaho mai ngā whetū o Puanga
Hei tohu o te Kauaerunga
Ka whitiwhiti mai te rā
Hei ara ki te Kauaeraro
Ngā pou o te Whare Kura

*The lights of Rigel glows
The beacon of celestial origins
The sun shines bright
A pathway to terrestrial horizons
Pillars of higher institutions*

Ko Papatūānuku, i tūhonotia e te
Pito o Te Hono i Wairua
Ko Ranginui, i tūhonotia e te kāwai
i Tākawe o Kahukura
Ki te Whaiao, ki te Ao mārama

*The female form, joined
by the umbilical cord to Te Hono I Wairua
The male form, joined
by lineage to Tākawe o Kahukura
Behold the world of light and understanding*

E ngā whānau, e ngā hapū ō
Ngāti Hauiti whānui
Nei rā te mihi atu ki a koutou katoa

*To the families and extended families of the
wider Ngāti Hauiti group
This is our greetings to you all*

Mauria mai o koutou mate kua tangihia
kua mihia i waenganui i a tātou

*Bring your departed, so that we may weep
and pay homage to them together*

Nōreira, e te whānau, tēnā koutou,
tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa

*Hence whānau, our greeting,
thrice greetings to you all*

Many generations ago, our tupuna Tamatea Pōkai Whenua travelled through the Rangitīkei valley naming places along the way. The range, that extends, from the north-west of Mangaweka along a ridge to the west behind Taihape, was so named; "Te Whakauae ā Tamatea Pōkai Whenua" (The Jawbone of Tamatea Pōkai Whenua).

The jawbone of a Rangatira was said to be where mātauranga, both celestial and terrestrial knowledge was stored. It was for that reason Whakauae Research Services was so named.

We believe that information researched and gathered by Whakauae Research Services, in relation to all things Ngāti Hauiti should, most appropriately, be stored in an institution of that name.

Matua Neville Lomax

Te Pūtake - Whakauae Raro Occasional Series

Te Pūtake – Whakauae Raro Occasional Paper Series is a forum for working papers, original research and review studies, commentary and reflective essays on issues of relevance to whānau, hapū and Iwi Māori. Produced by Whakauae Research Services Ltd, these peer-reviewed papers are designed to disseminate formative thinking, early research findings, critical commentary and ideas to support discussion and engagement around creating positive outcomes for all Māori. The Series explores aspirations, challenges and important new issues arising from research on hauora Māori, where hauora is defined in its broadest sense, and is intended to address a wide audience of national and international change-makers.

The name Te Pūtake–Whakauae Raro reflects the merging of two key concepts central to Ngāti Hauiti's tradition of pursuing knowledge and applying that knowledge for the benefit of its people. The kupu pūtake refers to the idea of the source or origins; the origins of Hauiti as a people, but also the origins and creation of knowledge. Te Pūtake is also the name given to Ngāti Hauiti's own journal, a document launched in 2006 and intended to support Iwi advancements through the provision and dissemination of Hauiti-specific whakapapa, waiata, mōteatea, pūrākau and other scholarly writings.

Whakauae Raro, meanwhile refers to origins of our organisation's name. Our name is derived from *Te Whakauae ā Tamatea* (the Jawbone of Tamatea), a hill country range between Mangaweka and Taihape in the Rangitikei and named by Hauiti tupuna, Tamatea Pōkai Whenua. In Māori tradition, the jawbone holds significant meaning referring both to te kauae-runga (celestial knowledge) and te kauae-raro (terrestrial, or worldly knowledge). *Te Whakauae ā Tamatea* provides Ngāti Hauiti with a physical and cultural link to ancestral knowledge and traditions. As the Ngāti Hauiti centre for health research and development, Whakauae Research Services Ltd is a hub for information and knowledge that strives to improve Māori communities and embody the essence of Te Whakauae ā Tamatea.

Te Pūtake – Whakauae Raro Occasional Paper Series brings these two traditions of knowledge and information together. Launched during the time of Puanga, this series of occasional papers also serves to remind us of the need to take stock, to reflect on the past, to make time for wānanga and to re-energise for future challenges. Thus, Te Pūtake – Whakauae Raro Occasional Paper Series seeks to promote new knowledge, new ways of thinking and of contributing to knowledge and evidence which upholds and supports Māori wellbeing. We hope you enjoy the series.

The Editorial Team





Haukāinga – A Review of Māori concepts of 'home'

Dr Amohia Boulton, Jana Nee, Dr Tanya Allport

Introduction

In May of 2020 the Hon Nanaia Mahuta, New Zealand's Associate Minister for Housing (Māori Housing) announced the Crown's intention to "partner with Māori and Iwi to respond to the growing housing crisis in the wake of COVID-19." The allocation of extra funding to achieve "tailored housing outcomes for Māori" intends to address the housing insecurity issues, which COVID-19 Alert Levels highlighted, by working with Māori using "Māori principles and solutions" (Mahuta, 16 May 2020).

Since then a new framework for action on housing, *Te Maihi o te Whare Māori – the Māori and Iwi Housing Innovation Framework for Action (MAIHI)* has been launched by the Crown, with the aim to function across all agencies and programmes that impact Māori housing in order to address the housing crisis for Māori (Mahuta, 11 August 2020). While laudable in its intent, the framework omits to situate the response

within the context of a legacy of failed Crown policy and provisions around housing for Māori. The idea of providing housing – as a purely spatial notion – is inextricably connected to the broader context of the history of Crown erosion of Māori concepts of home and housing, and the ideology behind policies that have supported a dominant Pākehā conceptualisation of the meaning of 'home'.

This review explores the national and international literature on the influences on, and perceptions of, the concept of 'home' for Māori. The review is part of a larger Whakauae research project that focuses on gathering voices and stories on what or where Māori whānau consider to be home. It explores the meanings and functions of cultural concepts such as 'tūrangawaewae', 'papakāinga' or 'ahi kā' for different generations of Māori, living in different geographical locations.

The rationale for the larger research project is our current lack of evidence and knowledge concerning Māori perceptions, experiences and realities of what is needed from policy and service design for Māori to not just have a house, but to 'be at home' where and how they choose. While 'home' is a multidimensional concept (Mallet, 2004), little is known about the different elements of 'home' within Māori experience, or the diverse complexities that shape that experience. If the Crown genuinely intends

to deliver on Māori solutions using Māori principles, it is imperative to understand what 'home' means for Māori across generations and locations, as well as how this meaning of 'home' relates to identifying new solutions that will better meet Māori needs.

Shaping meanings of 'home'

The meaning of home is a subject that has gained much interest in recent years within

academic discourse. Mallett (2004) examines dominant and recurring themes in the literature, including house and home; ideal house/home; the actual and remembered home; home as haven; home and family; home and gender; home/journey; and being at home in the world. Murcia (2019) reiterates 'home' as a multidimensional space, adding that home links people's material and symbolic worlds. In terms of the physical, 'home' could refer to a dwelling, a geographic location, or homeland. Symbolically, 'home' can be experienced as feelings and emotions.

Within a Western context, home is primarily understood as a spatial construct. Most of the literature reviewed by Mallet (2004) highlights that the notion of the ideal home or house is frequently linked to home as a physical dwelling, or residence, and that authors who address this issue in their research tend to privilege this relationship,

“New Zealand's history of colonialism and subsequent social development has greatly influenced the current dominant understandings and perceptions of 'home' in Aotearoa”

removing emphasis from other, idealised meanings of home. In a material sense Murcia (2019) argues, 'home' is a domestic space which facilitates the interaction of everyday life, routines and social practices. Shelter in the material sense is thus also a financial commodity, where the loss of a physical house may not only mean a loss of financial investment but also a loss of stability (Murcia 2019).

Conceptualising 'home' as concentrated within the spatial, financial and domestic spheres has had a considerable impact on the development of housing policy in Aotearoa New Zealand and reflects the Crown's dominance of the ways in which housing is understood. New Zealand's history of colonialism and subsequent social development has greatly influenced the current dominant understandings and perceptions of 'home' in Aotearoa (Groot & Peters, 2016). For instance, Mallet (2004) found that the terms 'house' and 'home' are often conflated, as exemplified in media such as that produced by the real estate industry which promotes the concept of 'home ownership'. Within the building and real estate industries such conflation emphasises the monetary value of owning a house. However, it is not only these industries which manipulate concepts of home to serve their agenda.

The idea of home as a Western form of 'cultural capital' (Bordieu, 2011) contributes to the dominance of elites and of government, as highlighted by Ronald (2008) who analyses the place of 'home ownership ideology' in Western culture. The deliberate creation of a hierarchy of tenure practices has served to exclude those who cannot participate (in home buying) and continues to support ethnocentric bias (Ronald, 2008). For most New Zealanders, this ideology underpins the conceptualising of aspirations around 'home' (Davey & Kearns, 1994; Labrum, 2004; Mallet, 2004; Anderson et al., 2015; Groot & Peters, 2016).

Mallet (2004) further posits that New Zealand has vigorously promoted the conflation of house, home and family as a part of a broader ideological agenda. This particular ideological agenda is premised on increasing economic efficiency and growth. From this position the government is better able to shift responsibility for citizens' welfare away from the state and its statutory institutions, to the home and the nuclear family.

Early policies, such as the 1935 Native Housing scheme and the 1945 Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act, are examples of ways in which the Crown has mobilised conceptions of 'home' as a socio-political tool of colonisation. These two acts in particular came into effect during critical periods in New Zealand history, and resulted in national-level shifts around land-use and spatial planning.

Wanhalla (2006) provides a historical account of Māori health and rural housing during the 1930s and 1940s, which describes how the introduction of

Western style housing was intended to transform Māori into "civilised subjects" as well as improve the overall health of Māori. The provision of housing for Māori in the 1930s was not included in the mainstream state housing policy of the Labour government until the 1935 Native Housing Act was passed, which implemented a loan scheme for Māori housing. One of the catalysts for this policy was the perception that Māori settlements were unhealthy sites of disease. This meant that the concept of home became increasingly negotiated by Māori communities, vis-a-vis officials employed by the government to assess Māori health and living standards.

Wanhalla (2006) highlights that officials, who were predominantly Pākehā, rarely understood the meaning of *whare*¹ in Māori society and communal life,

“Living in Western style houses was thought to be a way to 'better' 'uncivilised Māori', despite the fact that Western style houses for Māori in rural areas were not necessarily an improvement on traditional structures and that the designs poorly accommodated Māori *whānau*”

nor concepts such as tikanga, tapu and noa². Living in Western style houses was thought to be a way to 'better' 'uncivilised Māori', despite the fact that Western style houses for Māori in rural areas were not necessarily an improvement on traditional structures and that the designs poorly accommodated Māori whānau³. Subsequently, instances of overcrowding were noted in government surveys, mainly due to the fact that Western-style houses usually had a small number of bedrooms, despite the fact that whānau Māori at that time were often large and multi-generational (Labrum, 2004). Furthermore, many Māori were placed under financial pressures of home ownership with substandard facilities, such as no running water and poor sanitation. The impact of the 1935 Native Housing scheme draws attention to the dissonance between the goals of social and economic betterment and the realities of housing standards for Māori, something that has persisted into the present era.

The Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act (1945) was further designed to facilitate the full integration of Māori into New Zealand society through the conceptualisation of 'welfare' (Davey & Kearns, 1994; Labrum, 2004; Mallet, 2004; Anderson et al, 2015; Groot & Peters, 2016). Specifically, the Act promoted the view that Māori should adopt the essentials of "good citizenship". In order to achieve this, the state saw Māori welfare officers as integral in identifying "Māori problems" and then supporting Māori to fulfil their obligations as responsible citizens who were self-reliant and not dependent upon the state for assistance (Labrum, 2004). Highlighting the relationship between the meanings of a 'good home' and 'good citizenship', Wanhalla (2006) argues that the conceptualisation of welfare was connected to the development of Māori as successful 'members and inhabitants' of Pākehā society, driven by enforced Westernising and a lack of understanding of the needs of Māori.

The Hunn Report, published in 1961, provides another example of the ideological influence on perceptions of 'home' and subsequent Crown policy affecting Māori. The report outlined to the public the intentions of integration and how it would shape Māori affairs, policies and services, by focusing on three main focal points for analysis: the sudden and increasing growth of Māori population; a looming unemployment problem; and the inevitability of urbanisation. Hunn (1961) believed in order to be progressive, Māori

should cease to pursue their customary rights over an "infinitesimal share" in communally owned land, and instead aspire to own a modern home in a town (Hunn, 1961). Labrum (2004) argues that the Hunn Report was a key influence on the formation of policy promoting 'pepper potting' as a method for assimilating Māori and Polynesians among Pākehā in towns and cities. Policy at the time aimed to prevent large ethnic concentrations of Māori and Polynesian families, thus families were dispersed into neighbourhoods in groups of two to three families. It was hoped that by dispersing Māori, they would adopt the lifestyle and 'good citizenship' of their Pākehā neighbours (Davey & Kearns, 1994). The idea of a 'good home' being necessary for a 'decent' family life thereby centred on a house in the suburbs.

These early examples of policies and approaches to housing highlight how distinct assimilation agendas shaped the meanings of 'home' for New Zealand, dictating not just where or how Māori lived, but also how they were meant to define the idea of home for themselves. Current perceptions or assumptions around what 'home' means for Māori are inextricably linked to the influence of colonial hegemony and discourse.



² Tikanga refers to correct procedure or custom. Tapu and noa refers to separation of the sacred and restricted from those which are not.

³ Whānau refers to extended family.

Haukāinga: Māori concepts of 'home'

Although Western concepts of 'home' became deeply embedded in this country with colonisation, this does not mean that Māori ceded the concepts of 'home' integral to their identity as Indigenous peoples. Penfold et al.'s (2019) study on urban Indigenous identities argues that accepting Western ideology does not mean relinquishing Indigenous identity or Indigenous sensibility of home. It is therefore imperative to understand the multiple facets that influence Māori perceptions of 'home'.

“The impacts of individualisation of land titles and forced abandonment of collective ownership are also identified as resulting in the undermining of social cohesion and whanaungatanga between whānau and between tribes”

all its inhabitants and that whenua is inseparable from people. Furthermore, Durie (1998) asserts that Māori identity is secured by land and it is the land itself that binds human relationships. He likens the loss of land to loss of life.

Hikuroa (2015) further posits that the permanence of 'home' is linked to the land from the physical foundations of the house to the spiritual connection based on whakapapa and our kinship-based relationship with Papatūānuku. For more than 160 years Māori, as tangata whenua, have fought for land retention and the

return of alienated land by unjust law or force (Durie, 1998), which demonstrates the strong connections of Māori to their whenua, or homeland. The consequences of land alienation resulted in crippling impacts on Māori welfare, economy and development. The impacts of individualisation of land titles and forced abandonment of collective ownership are also identified as resulting in the undermining of social cohesion and whanaungatanga between whānau and between tribes. Māori society depended upon common interests in traditional lands for cohesion and purpose, where land transfers had the effect of destabilising Māori identity and wellbeing. Hond et al. (2019) also highlight the connection of home and community to the shared utilisation of ancestral whenua, where 'working' the land connects to a sense of shared identity. The enforced alienation of Māori from whenua has therefore disrupted vital, collective practices that build home and community (Hond et al., 2019).

Disconnection and alienation from land has had ongoing impacts on the meaning of 'home' for Māori. The recognition of how historical experiences of land loss have shaped the perception of 'home' is fundamental to understanding what is needed from policies and initiatives targeted at ensuring optimal Māori housing.

Tangata whenua (land and home)

Durie (1998) in *Te Mana, Te Kāwanatanga: The politics of Māori self-determination*, discusses mana whenua, the lore of the land. He focuses on the historical and contemporary experiences of Māori regarding whenua, the connection Māori have to the land, the alienation and dispossession of land, land confiscation, purchases and Māori strategies for land revitalisation and development. The concept of 'home' being intertwined with the land is commonly highlighted in literature concerning Indigenous concepts of home. Pehi and Ora (2015), for example, explain that the word papa kāinga emphasises the interconnection of land and home. Papa refers to Papatūānuku (earth mother) and kāinga means home. Hikuroa (2015) adds that the depth of this connection is evident in the dual meaning of the kupu Māori (word) whenua, which can mean both land and placenta. The cultural practice of burying one's placenta in their whenua reiterates the connection Māori have with the land and their homeplace or tūrangawaewae.

Durie (1998) describes land as necessary for spiritual growth and economic survival; although land ownership changes over time, the land itself is permanent and cannot be separated from the lives and deaths of those who have called that land home (or who should have been able to). Pehi and Ora (2015) agree, adding that the health and wellbeing of the land is directly related to the health and wellbeing of

Spiritual meaning of home

Metaphysical experiences of 'home' for Māori are well documented in the literature; Tomlins-Jahnke (2002) finds that even if there is dislocation from home in a spatial, geographical sense, metaphysical links to home-place can still exist. The author provides the example of Hawaiki, a metaphorical homeland Māori often refer to in cultural narratives such as stories, songs, poems and prayers. Although there is no physical means of attachment, an emotional or spiritual attachment to that home-place exists. This metaphysical connection demonstrates the reality of what it means to be Māori (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002). The spiritual attachment Tomlins-Jahnke (2002) refers to is exemplified by Nikora et al. (2013) who explore 'home' as a place of spiritual belonging. They focus on tangihanga⁴ and the reliance on genealogical connectedness of ancestral and living communities to care for tūpāpaku (human remains), wairua (spirit of deceased) and the living. Although colonisation and Westernisation have forced many Māori from their homelands, tangihanga rituals of death and mourning have remained and continue to be practiced. The authors argue that for Māori, tangihanga are best performed within the context of marae and spiritual landscape. Ancestral urupā⁵ are common on tribal land and offer a place of rest alongside whānau. The existence of urupā which continue to be utilised demonstrates the value placed on collective identities, attachment to home place, and a desire to remain connected in this life and after death. Nikora et al. (2013) posit that even though a person can live at a far distance from their tribal homelands (even if estranged) it is custom that they will be returned home to be mourned. They emphasise the existence of a spiritual conceptualisation of 'home' for Māori and how customs connected to home have continued despite colonisation and efforts to integrate and assimilate.

“For Māori, tūrangawaewae is fundamental to individual and collective identities and is strongly associated with concepts of 'home'”

Tūrangawaewae

For Māori, tūrangawaewae is fundamental to individual and collective identities and is strongly associated with concepts of 'home' (Brown, 2016). A range of studies explore tūrangawaewae as a key concept of 'home' for Māori (Davey & Kearns, 1994; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002; Brown, 2016; Isogai, 2016; Rahui-Macconnell, 2018). The literature positions tūrangawaewae as a concept that does not correspond with dominant conceptualisations of a physical house as 'home' (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002; Brown, 2016).

Brown (2016) explores tūrangawaewae in relation to homelessness as experienced by Māori. She argues that in order for homelessness to be

reversed, long term strategies must first address the current issues of Māori landlessness and its historical consequences. Tūrangawaewae is described as a sense of belonging or attachment to a particular place either physically, spiritually or both (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002; Brown, 2016). It is a predominant aspect of individual and collective Māori identities which is strongly associated with Māori concepts of home. The reciting of whakapapa⁶ referring to waka, lwi, hapū, whare, tīpuna, marae, maunga, awa, wāhi tapu/urupā, moana and tīpuna (Brown, 2016) is a direct expression of tūrangawaewae; it demonstrates a cultural connection to landscapes and the genealogical lines that derive from that place of origin. Tomlins-Jahnke's (2002) study uses the term "home-place" to represent multiple cultural sites located within specific tribal boundaries to iterate a similar understanding of an ancestral home that exists for all Māori.

Furthermore, according to Brown (2016) all animate and inanimate entities have whakapapa. The severance or dislocation from these landscapes and family have resulted in many Māori having a disconnection from their tūrangawaewae and incomplete, or full loss of, knowledge of their whakapapa. This is largely a result of colonisation, by which Māori have been deliberately and routinely disconnected from their tūrangawaewae. Brown (2016) further argues that the level of association one has with tūrangawaewae is dependent upon individual circumstances and whether one has been able to maintain ahi kā (physically visiting that place). This is congruent with

⁴ Tangihanga refers to a traditional Māori funeral

⁵ Urupā refers to a burial ground

⁶ Whakapapa refers to genealogies

Tomlins-Jahnke (2002) who similarly finds that those who grew up in their ancestral home-place had strong connections to their lwi and hapū and were able to access kaupapa/community-based activities. Those who lived away from the home-place established a metaphysical connection to home through oratory, stories and narrative through which one can vicariously experience the sense of that home place.

Wolfgramm-Rolfe et al. (2018) suggest that 'home' in relation to identity is subject to transformative influences resulting in changed relationships and the creation of new homes in new spaces and places for Māori. The literature points out a broader sense of importance of tūrangawaewae as a concept of home for Māori. What is less well known however, is how tūrangawaewae is experienced by different generations and how this shapes their experience of 'home'.

Ahi kā

The concept of ahi kā appears frequently within the literature which discusses Māori meanings of 'home' (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002; Carter, 2015; Hikuroa, 2015). It is important to understand the meaning of ahi kā and how it is grasped and maintained by various generations.

Carter (2015) explores Māori meanings of 'home' focusing predominantly on the concepts of ahi kā (warm fires) and ahi mātao (cold fires). These two concepts refer to the levels of participation and maintenance of relationships with the home-place where one's lwi and hapū are based. Carter (2015) explores the spatial and temporal context of movement and "groundedness", by including both space and place in the notions of home and away. Ahi mātao has been referred to as the extinguishing of occupational fires and claims over land, however in contemporary times it refers to people of a tribe that are living away from their homeland or lwi territory (Carter, 2015).

Although people may live away from their homeland, they are still able to maintain spiritual and physical connections. Ahi kā is about tūrangawaewae, the

place which Māori return to both physically and spiritually to reinforce connections and relationships. Ahi kā is also about people who remain in residence in their ancestral territory, rooted in their whakapapa connections. The two concepts are complex and not simply based on those who occupy and those who do not. Furthermore, Carter (2015) argues that a polarising perspective is not relevant to Māori life as there is circular movement between space and place. The literature does, however, tend to define ahi kā mainly as physical occupation of homeplace; Tomlins-Jahnke (2002) for example explains ahi kā as living in the home place keeping the fires burning through active participation.

When Māori are disconnected from their land, they take part of the hau (essence) with them. This can best be understood in a spiritual sense. Returning to that place over time allows for reconnection to the

hau or the life force of that place. Although one may be physically away from home, Carter (2015) argues that there are ways in which people remain connected to their hau kāinga. Tomlins-Jahnke (2002) further finds that links to home place are maintained through physical connection to whenua, whakapapa, proximity to whānau, knowledge of te reo Māori and the significance of marae⁷.

“The concept of home invokes, and is synonymous with, that of whānau, and necessarily must take cognisance of the great diversity that characterises contemporary Māori household composition”

Carter (2015) identifies that participation in contemporary times has involved the utilisation of social media or online communications to maintain kanohi kitea (the seen face), an important aspect of maintaining ahi kā which allows one to remember the face of those who have participated. Carter (2015) reiterates that this is not a replacement for physical presence, however it can provide an interim solution for intergenerational participation in ahi kā. Large numbers of lwi now live away from their recognised lwi territories, one in five Māori are now living in Australia. Carter (2015) therefore proposes that whakapapa-based processes such as ahi kā are about 'who you are' regardless of the geographical location of your house, and how you connect to home.

Whānau and the meaning of home

Whānau features in the literature as a key element of the meaning of 'home' for Māori (Hikuroa, 2015; Brown, 2016; King, 2017; Wolfgramm-Rolfe et al, 2018). Hikuroa (2015) states that home is a human construct that links individuals through whānau and hapū to a spiritual home. The importance of these whānau and hapū links are evident throughout the literature. Brown (2016) argues that extended family living is integral to Māori wellbeing and that when an issue arises, such as too many people living under one roof, it is the architecture that has failed

the family and not the other way around. Gifford and Boulton (2015) argue that the concept of home invokes, and is synonymous with, that of whānau, and necessarily must take cognisance of the great diversity that characterises contemporary Māori household composition. A myriad of social relationships, kinship networks, and living arrangements may characterise how and where Māori whānau live. Within the context of Pākehā New Zealand, many of these types of living arrangements would be considered crowding. Māori understandings of home are closely intertwined with a far wider ranging kinship group who have had no other option but to squeeze into structures not made to meet those particular notions of 'home'. Brown (2016) argues that irrespective of crowding, the home is able to function through respected Indigenous leadership patterns of behaviour and house rules. This notion of home as a place where people live as a collective is affirmed by King (2017), who finds that there is shared responsibility between whānau members to ensure the wellbeing of the collective. Processes such as manaakitanga (caring) and whanaungatanga (reciprocal relationships) are just some of the ways in which whānau maintain wellbeing.

Wolfgramm-Rolfe et al. (2018) add that within the whānau, individual wellbeing is critical to maintaining and advancing the wellbeing of the collective, and that the realities of 'home' for Māori are evolving. Māori have consistently adapted to meet the conditions of the time, so too have the meanings attached to 'home'. Whānau does not only refer to genealogical whakapapa links, it also encompasses kaupapa

(purpose driven) groups such as church, sports, social events, leisure. From this perspective 'home' can also be a sphere of engagement and participation.

“The idea of obtaining a 'sense of place' from a physical dwelling is not just connected to functionality, or physical build, but is inextricably linked to the meaning of a broader cultural landscape”

The architecture of home

It is also important to consider the architecture of home from a Māori perspective. The literature has frequently mentioned the importance of 'house as home', however the Western meanings of house as 'home' differ substantially from Māori meanings. As highlighted earlier, Wanhalla (2006) argues that Crown representatives

blamed Māori for poor health conditions as a result of overcrowding, and that the understanding of whare (house) for Māori has been rarely understood by Pākehā. A separate building solely for the purpose of sleeping (wharepuni), for example, was normal for Māori. The structure was built low to the ground, heated by fire and had ventilation through the roof. Sleeping in close proximity in a one room structure provided warmth during the colder seasons.

Tikanga practices, such as the separation of tapu and noa, were also evident in Māori living arrangements. Concepts such as tapu and noa were manifested, among other ways, through particular activities being conducted in specific places. For instance, food would be stored in one place, prepared in another and consumed in a third. Separating these functions aided in the prevention of disease. Māori meanings of 'home' are further reflected in the traditional ways of living as discussed by Anderson et al (2015). Pā⁸ were identified as the most commonly built structures. Pā had marae, storehouses for food, houses with kitchens to one side and houses of various sizes. The formation of pā allowed for communal living, where Māori were interdependent. Furthermore Brown (2016) suggests that a house is a single entity, however a kāinga is a "village" comprising outdoor spaces, garages, sheds, yards, streets, public amenities and an environment where the responsibility for dependents is shared across households.

⁸ Pā refers to a fortified village

The translation of Māori ways of living into the Western style dwelling presented a myriad of challenges. While Western-style houses were thought to be the solution for health issues among Māori, many of the houses subsequently occupied by Māori were – and remain – substandard (Wanhalla, 2006).

The idea of obtaining a 'sense of place' from a physical dwelling is not just connected to functionality, or physical build, but is inextricably linked to the meaning of a broader cultural landscape. Lack of control over the physical form of a house thereby erodes not just how that space is used but connects to loss of rangatiratanga, meaning the ability to exercise control over one's environment, and kaitiakitanga, the ability to exercise the guardianship of resources. (Hoskins, 2008)



Conclusion

This literature review has provided a snapshot of Crown policies and practices which shaped the future of Māori homes at key points in New Zealand history. The historical recount of such policies is not exhaustive and could easily be focused on more contemporary examples of policy made without the consideration of Māori concepts of home, such as the 2019 Urban Development Bill, and the Kāinga Ora – Homes and Communities Act 2019.

Government action to enable new housing development through initiatives such as the Urban Growth Agenda, KiwiBuild and the Housing and Urban Development Authority, are recent examples of initiatives in line with the Crown's focus on land and housing issues. Again however, these initiatives are not underpinned by clear evidence of how a Māori worldview has been taken into account nor how Māori are being served.

The key findings from this literature review identify significant thinking that needs to influence future policy direction and also highlight areas that require further investigation. One of the central areas for consideration is the dominant focus on the concept of the physical house as 'home'. The literature suggests

that definitions of those in power over state housing decisions tend to favour this perspective. Both international and national literature examining the Indigenous meanings of 'home' identify the absence of Indigenous knowledge in both policy and service design/delivery. The limited understanding of 'home' is reflected in the dominant discourse which has informed policy and service development in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The importance of whenua, not just to individual wellbeing but also to collective wellbeing, is emphasised in the literature identifying the role played by land tenure in connecting Māori to a place of belonging (Moewaka-Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). The various authors confirm that the meaning of 'home' for Māori is strongly underpinned by familial connections where a:

'Kaupapa Māori' sense of place connotes a feeling of belonging to that place as opposed to that place belonging to you. It is intimately connected with a holistic and inclusive worldview whereby the individual is not the actor on a passive stage but rather part of a broader ensemble of actors (Hoskins, 2008, p29).

Whereas the search for literature on Māori understandings of 'home' produced limited results, the same cannot be said of the literature on Māori 'homelessness'. Disconnection and alienation of Māori from ancestral land consistently emerges as a key theme, as does the focus on deficit housing, and poor housing outcome for Māori. Those outcomes include Māori being four times more likely than non-Māori to live in crowded homes and around five times more likely to be homeless (Barker, 2019). The literature repeatedly talks about 'home' from a deficit perspective, focusing on what Māori have lost; how Māori have been disconnected, dislocated and alienated from tribal and ancestral home; and how Māori have been removed from the places and spaces they call home.

“This review has identified that 'home' is more than a house, and that there are a range of holistically connected aspects that need to be considered if we are to deliver solutions around Māori housing that are effective and sustainable”

The literature however also highlights the self-determination of Māori to maintain their cultural lifeways. The conceptualising of 'home' for Māori as a place imbued with tikanga and culture is also a way of withstanding processes which attempt to absorb Māori into Pākehā ways of being. Māori experiences of alienation and dislocation in a historical context need to recognise the rangatiratanga of Māori who have been by no means passive in the face of adversity, and who have sought to continue to hold on to cultural traditions and practices in a contemporary sense as they relate to 'home'.

Furthermore, there is a gap in the literature examining the effectiveness of strategies that are aimed at addressing housing issues for Māori. Little is known, for example, about the impact of papakāinga housing schemes as an approach to meeting Māori housing needs. The literature that currently exists is outdated and further research is warranted.

This review has identified that 'home' is more than a house, and that there are a range of holistically connected aspects that need to be considered if we are to deliver solutions around Māori housing that are effective and sustainable. The 2014-2025 He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata Māori Housing Strategy highlights elements of interconnectivity between housing and other determinants of holistic

wellbeing. However, what the strategy has not captured is the various meanings of 'home' that are central to Māori. As Māori meanings of 'home' are adapting, developing and changing, especially in the current COVID-19 context, the focus that drives future policy directions and investments needs to be that any culturally attuned model has to be relevant to the population that it serves.

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Haukāinga – A Review of Māori concepts of 'home'

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