National SCIENCE Challenges

BUILDING BETTER HOMES, TOWNS AND CITIES

Ko ngā wā kāinga hei whakamāhorahora

He mātou whare, he mātou kāinga hoki – a house that is a home for whānau Māori

Building Better Homes, Towns & Cities: Revitalising the Production of Affordable Housing for Productive, Engaged and Healthy Lives

May 2020

Dr Fiona Cram, Katoa Ltd.

Acknowledgements

This research is funded through the Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities National Science Challenge*: Revitalising the Production of Affordable Housing for Productive, Engaged and Healthy Lives*. Particular thanks to all of the research participants who generously shared their time, experiences and expertise and also to Sarah Tawhai who transcribed all the interviews and interviewed four key informants.

Every effort has been made to ensure the soundness and accuracy of the opinions and information expressed in this report. While we consider statements in the report are correct, no liability is accepted for any incorrect statement or information.

Previous Publication

Much of this report has been incorporated into the integrated report for this programme entitled *Revitalising the Production of Affordable Housing for Productive, Engaged & Healthy Lives: Integrated Report.*

© 2019 Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities National Science Challenge and the authors. Short extracts, not exceeding two paragraphs, may be quoted provided clear attribution is given. Working Papers are research materials circulated by their authors for purposes of information and discussion. They have not necessarily undergone formal peer review

Contents

	Executive Summary	i
1	**Introduction**	**1**
2	**Methodology**	**6**
3	**Findings**	**8**
3.1	Facilitators of Making a House a Home	8
3.2	Barriers to Making a House a Home	13
4	**Discussion**	**18**
5	**Conclusion**	**22**
	References	**23**
	Appendix A: Detailed Interview Framework	**28**

Tables

Table 1.	Facilitators of a house being a home	8
Table 2.	Barriers to a house being a home	13
Table 3.	Are and individual benefits sought from mixed tenure housing developments	20

Figures

Figure 1.	Neighbourhood deprivation distribution (NZDep 2013), Māori and non-Māori 2013	4

Executive Summary

In conversational interviews 27 Māori key informants were asked what makes a house a home for whānau Māori and how does housing support Whānau Ora (Māori collective wellbeing). The thematic analysis of their responses has been guided by the concept of ontological security; namely, that our social and material environment is the source of our confidence in our self-identity. For Māori, this material environment extends beyond the four walls of a home and into the whenua (land), in acknowledgement of the importance of place for our sense of belonging. Likewise, the social environment extends to encompass whānau who may live in multiple dwellings, as well as whakapapa (genealogy) connections with tipuna (ancestors) who have passed and mokopuna (grandchildren) yet to be born.

The facilitators of a house being a home that were identified by key informants were collective (social and cultural) capital, financial capital and structural responsiveness. Barriers were poverty, poor quality housing and structural resistance. While the key informants' talk supported an understanding of ontological security based on social and cultural relationships among those in a house and beyond, their discussion of the material environment of the home was more about the health and wellbeing impacts of poor-quality housing. Whānau were also seen as being under stress from issues related to the security of tenure and affordability of rental accommodation, with social housing and affordable housing seen as viable alternatives. The importance of neighbourhoods was reflected in participants' talk about planning intentional communities for whānau, while some participants also reflected on place and whether or not they lived within their Iwi rohe (regions).

1 Introduction

In 2010 the Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives (the Taskforce) set out to develop an evidence informed framework that would enable an integrated and collaborative approach to strengthening the wellbeing and capacity of whānau Māori. The Taskforce defined whānau as a collective of "Māori who share common descent and kinship, as well as collective interests that guide reciprocal ties and aspirations" (Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, 2010, p. 12). The foundation for their Whānau Ora framework was the status of Māori as tangata whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand, with the acknowledgement that Māori now live in a Treaty-based relationship with Tauiwi (newcomers) to this land that guarantees Māori both rangatiratanga (sovereignty) and citizenship rights (Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, 2010).

Housing was identified by the Taskforce as critical to whānau wellbeing. In their brief discussion of housing the Taskforce noted that housing can improve or undermine wellbeing, dependent upon the state of the house (i.e., quality or substandard). In the research reported here Māori informants were asked about how low-cost housing impacts on the realization of Whānau Ora (Māori collective wellbeing) for whānau Māori. The focus of this research was on what makes a house a home for whānau Māori. The study therefore traversed the financial (low cost) and nonfinancial (meaning of home) benefits of lower quartile value housing. To provide a background to this study the language of ontological security is introduced as a way of understanding the meaning of home for whānau.

Ontological security

The term ontological security first appeared in psychiatrist R.D. Laing's (1964) writings about madness and sanity. He described how an ontologically secure person would "have a sense of his [sic] presence in the world as a real, alive, whole, and, in a temporal sense, a continuous person" (Laing, 1964, p. 39). According to Laing (1964) this sense of personal identity enables a person to cope with life's obstacles whereas a lack of ontological security means that even "the ordinary circumstances of everyday life constitute a continual and deadly threat" (Laing, 1964, p. 42). An ontologically insecure person was seen as someone who would have trouble fitting in and negotiating their structural and social world (Hewitt, 2010).

Ontological security comes from an emotional, rather than cognitive, sense established in early childhood that the people and objects in one's life can be relied upon (Dupuis, 2012); that everyday happenings can be taken for granted (Hewitt, 2010). In other words, the stability of one's lived environment allows for the establishment of trust in childhood. This is then carried into adulthood where it is maintained through the creation of flexible routines that provide for ontological security (Hewitt, 2010).

> *It is a feeling of security that is based on a trust in the constancy of surroundings, the continuity of self-identity, and in the functional reliability of material objects used in the practice of the routines of daily life, and the pervasive and stable nature of habit* (Dupuis, 2012, p. 156).

Housing

In relation to housing, Anthony Giddens, a British sociologist, defined ontological security as:

> *The confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of their social and material environments. Basic to a feeling of ontological security is a sense of the reliability of persons and things* (Giddens, 1991, in Hiscock, Kearns, Macintyre, & Ellaway, 2001, p. 51).

According to Hewitt (2010, p. 512), ontological security "suggests that people need more than just their material needs to be met to live happy and fulfilled lives." Therefore, a home is more than a structure, it is about how people are able to inhabit that structure and perform flexibly routine life. For someone's home to be a source of ontological security it should be a place "where people feel in control of their environment, free from surveillance, free to be themselves and at ease in the deepest psychological sense" (Saunders, 1990, p. 361). Dupuis and Thorn (1998) describe home as a site where people can perform their day-to-day lives and construct their identity. This deeper meaning of home recognises the non-financial benefits of housing. Peter Saunders proposed that home ownership is a response to ontological insecurity in contemporary society (Dupuis, 2012, p. 157). Research in Scotland by Ade Kearns and colleagues (2000), however, established that renters, as well as owner occupiers, can experiences benefits from their housing when their tenure is secure.

The role of housing in ontological security in a world that can at times seem unpredictable and threatening assumes that a person's home is a safe haven, where they feel they exert some control. However, if their home is in poor condition (see above) or it is where they are abused, then people—most often women and children—will not experience their housing as a place to derive ontological security. A violent and abusive home is not a secure base around which victims of abuse can construct their identity as they will feel neither protected nor invulnerable in the house they inhabit (Kearns, Hiscock, Ellaway, & Macintryre, 2000). Rather, the lack of surveillance of their home will often conceal the perpetrator(s) of their abuse (Dupuis, 2012). Attending to the physical quality of housing alone may therefore leave those who are most vulnerable at risk of violence. By contrast, a focus on ontological security asks whether all residents feel in control of what occurs inside their dwelling.

Māori and tenure security

Until the mid-1970s the proportion of Māori households who owned their own home exceeded those who lived in rented accommodation, but this has now been reversed so that more Māori households now live in rented than in owner-occupied accommodation. The growth in the number of Māori households in rented accommodation has been dramatic. Between 1986 and 2013, the proportion of Māori living in rental accommodation increased by 88.3 percent[1], from 41 percent to 77 percent of Māori (Johnson, Howden-Chapman, & Eaqub, 2018; Statistics New Zealand, 2016). Most of the accommodation that Māori rent is owned by private landlords, trusts, or businesses (Statistics New Zealand, 2016) and the differences between the quality and security of owner-

[1] This is compared with an increase of 42.7 percent for the total population.

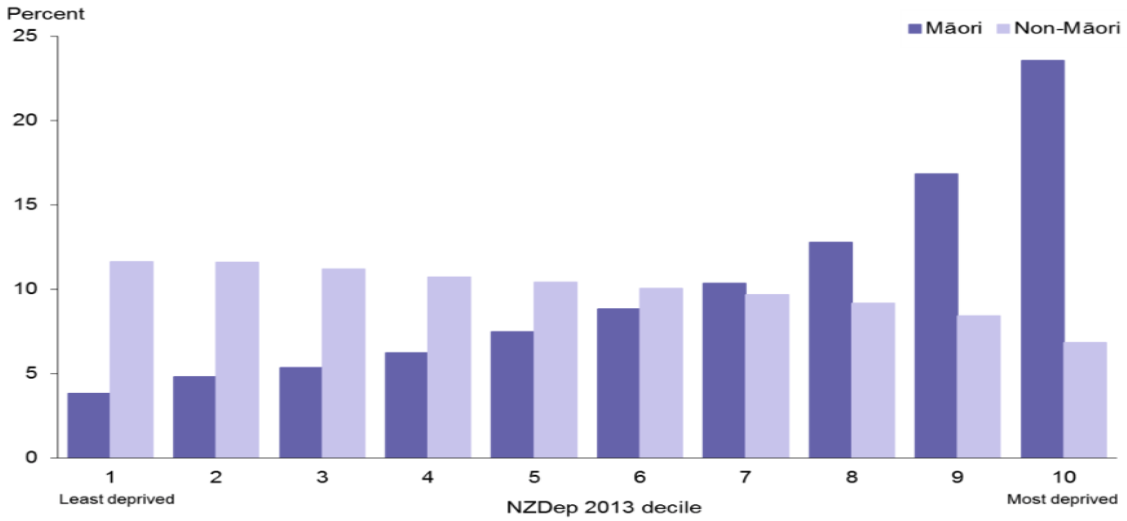
occupied and rental housing in Aotearoa New Zealand has implications for the ontological security of whānau.

When whānau (Māori families) rent, around a third of their income goes to their landlord. The cost of rent is no guarantee that a house will be warm and healthy (Berry, et al., 2017), or that the tenants will have security of tenure (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2012). Māori in rental housing cannot count on their accommodation being a "protection from physical adversity… a place of safety and comfort" (Barwick, 1991, p. 40). It is well known that such poor housing quality can impact negatively on people's lives across many domains (e.g., health and safety, employment, education, social connectedness and identity) (Statistics New Zealand, 2016; Thorns, 1992). Organisations attending the consultations held by the Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives (2010) confirmed that housing quality and whānau health are linked, with substandard housing implicated in household injuries, poor health, domestic violence, and reduced opportunities for sport and recreation. This has been known for many decades (Williams, 2015) and was reiterated by the then Minister for Housing in the foreword to the 2018 stocktake of New Zealand's housing (Johnson, Howden-Chapman, & Eaqub, 2018, p. 2): "We must acknowledge the harsh effects the housing crisis has had on Māori. They have borne the brunt of rapidly rising house prices and skyrocketing rents."

Neighbourhoods

While it is acknowledged that the built environment of someone's neighbourhood or wider environment may provide them with a sense of ontological security, the literature considers home to be "the material environment most closely associated with permanence and continuity" (Dupuis, 2012, p. 158). However, socio-spatial or geographic issues can divide populations and result in social exclusion and segregation that challenges strictly housing-based ontological security (Hiscock et al., 2001, p. 51), especially for Māori whānau in Aotearoa New Zealand. Such segregation is starkly observed in the NZDep index mapping (Phillips, 2018); such that at the 2013 Census nearly a quarter (23.5%) of Māori lived in decile 10 (most deprived) areas of the country, compared to 6.8 percent non-Māori (see Figure 1). This has implications for health, with marked inequalities observed both by ethnicity and between neighbourhoods ranked by deprivation, to the extent that the health of Māori in the least deprived neighbourhoods can be worse than the health of non-Māori in the most deprived neighbourhoods (Salmond & Crampton, 2000).

Figure 1. Neighbourhood deprivation distribution (NZDep 2013), Māori and non-Māori, 2013



Source. Atkinson et al. (2014, in Ministry of Health, 2018)

The impact of community resource access and the physical and social characteristics of neighbourhoods on people's health and wellness has been the subject of recent research in Aotearoa New Zealand. International opinion has been that those in the most deprived neighbourhoods live in more deprived neighbourhood and community environments. Pearce, Witten, Hiscock and Blakely (2007), however, found that more deprived neighbourhoods had better access to 15 of the 16 community resources they measured (e.g., health care, recreation, marae, food shopping, education). They concluded that the poorer health status of those living in deprived neighbourhoods could not be explained by people's poorer access to community resources, and that the greater access to resources for those in deprived neighbourhoods may moderate the impact of neighbourhood deprivation on their health. The researchers then found mixed results for rural areas of the country, with those in more deprived areas having lesser access to resources (Pearce, Witten, Hiscock, & Blakely, 2008). Their research has, however, been critiqued by Cummins (2007, p. 356) on the basis that using neighbourhoods as a proxy for people's context belies the complex spatial routines people follow in their day-to-day lives, that may well take them out of their residential neighbourhoods.

Bécares, Cormack and Harris (2013) explored the 'ethnic density effect' hypothesis that there are protective effects for ethnic minority people of living in a neighbourhood with higher concentrations of ethnic minority residents. They argue that this "may be attributed to the buffering effect that enhanced social cohesion, mutual social support and a stronger sense of community provide against the direct or indirect consequences of discrimination and racial harassment" (p.77). When they adjusted for area deprivation in their analysis, they found that increased Māori ethnic density was linked with decreased reporting of racial discrimination, poor/fair self-rated health, and doctor-diagnosed mental health conditions. They conclude that ethnic density effects for Māori need to be interpreted with our socio-political context, including the colonial and racist practices that created the current socioeconomic inequalities experienced by Māori.

> *Policies and interventions that mitigate the relationships between deprivation and health and promote healthy, sustainable communities and environments are important. However, commitment and action to the goal of eliminating racism will allow the benefits potentially flowing from strong communities to be fully realised* (Bécares, Cormack, & Harris, 2013, p. 81).

Living in a 'deprived neighbourhood', especially in an urban environment where there is a high concentration of ethnic minority residents, may be a protective factor for whānau who are less likely to experience discrimination and have reasonably good access to services. This should not, however, be seen as an excuse not to take broader actions that enable whānau to experience the benefits of the goods and resources of society more generally (Reid & Cram, 2004).

Whānau, whenua and whakapapa

For Māori, ontological security exists within an ontology of collective, interconnected identities (Chernobrov, 2016, p. 583). Indigenous understandings of the nature of reality are holistic, animate, non-linear; with strong interconnections between aspects of being and relationality to the universe (Kwaymullina, 2016; Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003; Ormiston, 2010). Ani Mikaere (2010, in Te Huia, 2015) writes that connectedness through whakapapa (genealogy)

> *…establishes that everything in the natural world shares a common ancestry. With this knowledge of interconnection comes an acute awareness of interdependence which, in turn, fosters the realisation that our survival is contingent upon the nurturing of relationships, both with one another and with the world around us.*

The importance of place is about the connection with the mauri or life-force of the whenua (land). The constancy of the whenua and the importance of cultural landmarks act as reliable informers and reminders of identity. These are what Kirimatao Paipa has described as a cultural positioning system that connects Māori with their relations in the landscape—their mountains, rivers, islands, seas, and marae—and also serves to link a person with others through genealogical, space and place connectivity (Paipa, Kennedy, & Pipi, 2009). These are also the "secure base to which they can return if in trouble or fatigued" (Hiscock et al., 2001, p. 50), to find peace and to recharge. This is embodied in the Māori notion of ūkaipō, which translates as a source of sustenance or one's real home.

While Hiscock et al. (2001) propose that housing may also provide a secure base and be a component of ontological security, this may extend beyond the walls and internal fit-out for Māori as people look down to whose land they are on and whether they are of that land (mana whenua) or a visitor (manuhiri). They may also look out across the land to see if they are close by or can see their relations. After sitting with me for an interview about her whare, a kuia (female elder) took me on to her deck to show me the view of her moana (sea), her islands and her maunga (mountain). The constancy of these and her ability to see them from one side of her whare was matched by the constancy of her marae on the other side of her whare and the genealogical links she shared with the kaumātua (elders) living in the whare stretching out on either side of her own. She was of this whenua and, like others who had gone on ahead of her, she would be buried in this whenua when she passed.

Summary

Ontological security for whānau Māori encompasses the wider physical and cultural environment that people inhabit, and potentially also whether they are mana whenua (from the land they reside on) or taura here (domestic migrants to the land they reside on) (Moorfield, 2019). The constancy of surroundings that inform Māori cultural identity are much broader than the walls of a house. Ontological security as Māori comes from being connected to whānau, whakapapa and whenua (Cram, Te Huia, Te Huia, Williams, & Williams, 2019). This is not some premodern notion of ontological security, but rather a contemporary form of Māori cultural resilience. It is also about Māori resistance of many years of colonialism that has tried to assimilate and integrate Māori.

While the kaupapa of the present study was on the meaning of home for whānau Māori and the role of lower quartile value housing in whānau ora, the conversational method adopted gave key informants the freedom to describes those aspects of housing and home that they saw as important to them and their whānau and/or to whānau Māori more generally. Key informants' provocations about home are both informative and a 'test' of whether the concept of ontological security is useful to understanding their shared knowledge. This paper provides an overview of the key themes from key informants' talk.

2 Methodology

Kaupapa Māori

A *Kaupapa Māori* (by Māori, for Māori) methodology guided this research (Cram, 2017). This methodology sees being Māori as normal, thereby avoiding a victim-blaming mentality and promoting a structural analysis (Smith G. H., 2012). In addition, the importance of whānau (Māori family groups) was foundational to the research, as whānau are the fundamental building block of Māori society (Ministry of Health, 2002). Once the kaupapa (agenda) of the evaluation is tika (true) then the priority for Kaupapa Māori researchers is to find the right methods and the right people (Smith L. T., 1996).

Key informants

Twenty-seven key informants (17 women, 10 men) were recruited to this study from the researcher's existing networks and from housing hui and conferences she attended in 2015-17. The selection criteria for key informants was that they were Māori and knowledgeable about Māori housing. Key informants came from a range of professional backgrounds; e.g., Māori and Iwi leaders; Māori housing, education, social service and health providers; national and local government employees, researchers and evaluators, pakeke (elders).

Interviews

The interviews were conversational, with key informants invited to share personal and professional experiences and understandings. Kovach (2010) likens conversational interviewing in Indigenous contexts to storytelling or yarning; describing it as "a dialogic participation that holds a deep

purpose of sharing story as a means to assist others" (p. 40). However, rather than positioning the interviewer as a participant or collaborator in the storytelling as described by Russell Bishop (1996), the interviewer in this case was the hearer of the story. Each key informant set the scene and was in the 'driver's seat' in terms of their own positionality and how they shifted between or combined their professional and personal knowing.

Interviews took place face-to-face, over the internet (by Skype or Zoom), or by phone, depending on what was most convenient for the key informant. Two face-to-face interviews involved three key informants and two others involved two key informants. The remaining interviews were one-to-one. The interviews began with whakawhanaungatanga (building connectedness) and closed with expressions of appreciation from the interviewer, accompanied by a koha (gift)[2] for the key informant(s) (with this posted when the interview was not face-to-face).

Five main areas of inquiry were canvassed, and key informants had knowledge of these before their interview. Comments were made by the interviewer and follow-up questions asked depending on the lead taken by the informant, and if and when clarification was needed (see Appendix A for a detailed interview framework that lists potential follow-up questions and areas of inquiry).

1 What makes a house a home for whānau Māori?
2 What housing challenges are whānau Māori are currently facing?
3 What initiatives are helping whānau Māori overcome challenges?
4 How are housing and whānau ora connected?
5 Is low cost housing a good option for whānau Māori?

The interviews lasted 28-102 minutes, with an average length of 45 minutes. Each interview was recorded, with key informant permission, and subsequently transcribed for analysis.

Analysis

The interview transcripts were read and reread by the research interviewer for the purpose of a thematic analysis of key informant talk (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A contextualist method of thematic analysis was adopted that sought to "acknowledge the way individuals make meaning of their experiences, and… the ways the broader social context impinges on these meanings, while retaining a focus on the material and other limits of 'reality'" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81). Within Kaupapa Māori research the former is often about what it means to be Māori while the latter is concerned with interrogating the structural impediments to Māori identity (Smith G. H., 2012). Knowledge of this theoretical framing meant that the analysis was more deductive than inductive, while still reflecting the issues discussed in the interviews.

The familiarization gained from multiple readings of the transcripts informed the development of a coding framework based on the concepts of what facilitates and what are the barriers to a house being a home for whānau Māori. In the first cycle of coding, the transcripts were coded into a dataset of these two superordinate themes using NVivo. Subordinate themes then emerged in the second cycle of coding. Facilitators included collective (cultural and social) capital, financial capital and structural responsiveness. Barriers included poverty, poor quality housing, and structural

[2] The koha varied, with each package including a mix of: books, jewellery, ornaments, personal care items, chocolate, etc.

impediments related to renting, home ownership, neighbourhoods, and Māori land. This framing was then tested and iterated during the analysis and write-up of themes and findings (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

3 Findings

The themes are described below, with illustrative quotes from the key informants. Key informants have been given pseudonyms.

3.1 Facilitators of Making a House a Home

As a superordinate theme 'Facilitators of making a house a home' includes key informant talk about how the mana or status of Māori is strengthened, especially through a house being a home. Three subthemes are discussed: collective capital, including social and cultural capital; financial capital; and structural responsiveness (Table 1).

Table 1. Facilitators of a house being a home

Superordinate theme	Subordinate themes
FACILITATORS – of Māori having a house that's a home and that supports whānau ora	**Collective capital** – values and principles applied by collective in routine, everyday life; including a. Growing up – the experience of key informants growing up, of their parents and grandparents' generation b. Current home – the experience of key informants of creating their own home c. Current location – the importance of where their home was located d. Future generations – the experiences of the next and future generations
	Financial capital – being able to make astute financial decisions
	Structural responsiveness – systemic responses that nurture and strengthen collective resilience

Collective Capital

This first subtheme describes how having a home is about social and cultural connectedness. Key informants talk about their own home environment when they were growing up, they describe what makes a home for whānau in the present day, and they speculate about what a home will look like for future generations.

a. Growing up

When key informants recalled the house they grew up in, they described it as a place of solace. Regardless of what was happening in the wider environment they could count on the shelter, love and comfort of their whānau. This made their house a home even when the house did not have many amenities or their whānau did not have material wealth.

[Home was] where love happens…I remember on cold nights we used clothes as a part of the bedding to keep ourselves even more warm. So love happened—[my parents] made it—[and] we were warm regardless... Yeah so to me, that's what makes a house a home. (Amiri)

Growing up we lived in the same house our whole life, mum, dad, two brothers and three sisters and it always felt like it was a home because we were all in it. We didn't have much growing up but we had each other and that's all that we knew. (Ropata)

Their home was often opened to whānau members who needed a place to stay and key informants continued this practice of manaaki (hospitality) as they saw this cultural practice as central to whānau ora.

My mum…actually went out and got them, she was…the first Māori minister here…so she had a spirit for people, so we were brought up in a house that we didn't know who we was going to wake up with down in our lounge, so we had many people come in through our home from all sorts of different walks of life, so I think that very much made the home… I learnt that from my mum to always be sure that people are judged by who they are and not by what they've got. (Kahu)

Some key informants also described the neighbourhoods they grew up in. This included suburbs where Māori owned their own homes as everyone was employed and there was a strong middle class. Māori were also known to have gone to school and remained friends with Pākehā who had become respected in their fields. In at least one case these friendships had meant Pākehā support for Treaty claims.

b. Current home

Many key informants described the importance of whānau for making a house feel like a home. Rawiri and Whina, for example, said their current house was not a home because their whānau were not there with them. Rawiri added that whānau was more important than the house itself.

I don't know how to explain it, [my aunties] house has just always been the house that I feel safe at and you just walk in the door and you feel straight away at home you know (Marama).

You can have the flashiest house with everything you've ever dreamed of in it, but if you don't have whānau to share it with then what's the point? I want to be able to make my house feel like a home not just somewhere I lay my head at night (Rawiri).

Feeling at home and safe was about a feeling of predictability and control over the environment inside their home, about the good relationships among the people living there, and also about the wairua of the house; that is, people feeling "comfortable and warm and loved and looked after" (Katrina).

I think I think… the cultural identity and connectiveness to the home place… makes a house a home. [It's] where culturally you feel connected to… because of the wairua of the place (Katrina).

Where you know what's expected, when you understand the relationships, where you know each other really. I suppose that's all about the relationships (Tia).

Ngaio thought about safety and security more broadly, moving through warmth and the ability to manaaki others to the safety and security that comes from being able to be Māori.

> *A whānau home is safe, secure…a place where you can nurture each other intergenerationally… also safety in terms of…a place where we feel relaxed…with no racism here…not having to deal with the general everyday stuff, it's where we're safe to talk and be ourselves…safety as in terms of being able to be Māori (Ngaio).*

Some key informants were trying to provide the same kind of sanctuary that they had been brought up with. They covered their walls with photos and had mattresses that could be pulled into lounges so whānau could be together. For Amiri this laid down memories of being kept safe and secure and of being part of a whānau, while Tui talked about how these memories infiltrated her daughter's life.

> *I was the mother to our children so even our grown-up children now, and our mokopuna, when there's a holiday time they always want to come home…because there's all these things, there's memories of theirs that have made them safe and secure as they've grown up, so it's a place they want their children to grow up and so this is that is what whānau ora is to me (Amiri).*

> *My middle daughter has this propensity to draw up memories from any moment in her history… so she's got memories of standing at the kitchen bench doing dishes, she's got memories of going outside and helping with the lawns or memories of having that family dinner there… that creation of memory that's been the real thing that's helped create the home and that belonging to place (Tui).*

Part of belonging was also about the roles and responsibilities people had in the home. This might mean, for example, that men would vacuum floors to both keep the house clean and show that strong men do housework.

Being safe and secure in rental or owner-occupied housing was seen as possible if whānau had a sense of belonging, of feeling entitled to be there and feeling loved there. This was how Kahu explained her experience of being a renter and creating a home for her five children. While she would have loved to have bought a house, her financial circumstances and the thought of the overwhelming level of debt involved in taking out a mortgage prevented this from happening. For other key informants, security came from owning a home rather than renting.

The safety and security people feel in their home is also supported by people knowing what they need to do or who they can call upon if they need help, so that home was also about having a 'safety net'. For some key informants, this was a safety net for children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, so they would always have somewhere to go.

> *You're also providing a place for your children to live, eat, play to socialise all of that so they feel secure and safe and be able to flourish as their own individual self (Ataarangi).*

> *I have a 17 year old moko living with me because she chooses to live with me not because she has to live with me. I also have a 7 year old great moko living with me who pretty much needs to live with me because her mother is not in the right space where she is at the moment and that's just what you do (Kiri).*

Some key informants talked about having multiple houses that could accommodate all those in whānau, because "once they own a home then they take pride in their home you know and you can see it this is mine and even though it's a little patch" (Henare). Two key informants were moving into a tiny house they were putting on whānau land because they missed being around whānau. They were then going to invite their best friend, a sole parent with a two-year-old who had been couch-surfing for 18 months, to live with them.

c. Current location

Some key informants also considered the importance of which Iwi rohe (area) they resided in. Some actively sought to live within their own rohe because it was where their whakapapa was. Others acknowledged the extra effort required when people lived outside their rohe because they had to both travel 'home' and make their current location feel like 'home'. Tui, for example, described herself as whāngai (adopted) because she was not living in her tribal area. Her connection with another Iwi required her to know about and contribute back to the place that was looking after her.

> *What's the history, what's this whenua tell us about what's gone on here and creating that connection as a place might be easier to create a connection to home or to create this belonging or this sense of safety (Tui).*

d. Future generations

The collective resilience of rangatahi and coming generations was described by some key informants as they contemplated how they were brought up compared to how the world was now for their children and grandchildren. Maia described how it took a lot more effort to get her whānau together because everyone had their own space in their home, whereas Tui described her son as needing "to kind of be wrapped a little bit more tightly than what he's feeling" in their bigger house.

Wiremu's aim was to leave each of his children a house when he and his wife were gone as a way of transferring capital to the next generation. He described these houses as,

> *…one of the cornerstones [that] they can build whatever they want [from]; use it as leverage because I know how hard it is to get a home (Wiremu).*

Another key informant was having wānanga with his whānau, so they learned about the land and about the businesses operating from it. His aim was to build their capacity to take over from him and his wife when they retired or could no longer work. They wanted their whānau,

> *…to experience the true concept of home without obligation… [so] there's no heaviness for them about it, it's a natural situation for them to consider [being back here] (Mikaere).*

Financial Capital

Ella distinguished between those who did and did not have the financial capacity and literacy that would lead them into home ownership, while also acknowledging the rapidly plummeting rate of Māori home ownership. Her view was that social housing was needed for those without financial means because they needed to be "protected from the market," while those in the middle tax brackets needed support to grow their financial literacy in order to own their own home. Being on a low income and not being able to save was also identified by Ataarangi as a barrier to home

ownership, with "an income of say $25K [being] barely liveable" let alone allowing anyone to save for home ownership.

Financial literacy can be passed down from parents who know the value of money and housing because of their own experience of hardship. Ngaio's mother had lost her home after her marriage broke down so had instilled in Ngaio the importance of owning her home. As a result, she had only rented when she was flatting and had bought her first home when she was 20 years old.

> *That's really my mother's teaching…you had to be financially independent and had to own your own home. It's the only way you would feel safe…especially as a woman (Ngaio)*

Henare's parents had not owned a home either and he just reached a point in his own life where home ownership became important, so he found out how Pākehā created wealth. His move into property development supported his financial aspirations and aspirations to "benefit our people, our community, in terms of [home] ownership."

Structural responsiveness

Some key informants described what was needed to support whānau into homes. Ataarangi, for example, wanted whānau accommodation to be "clean, warm, dry, in order for your whānau to be healthy within your home." When she thought about her work with a housing organisation it was also important that the cost of a house be keep low so that whānau could afford to purchase it.

> *Having a home and whānau ora [are] not always well linked meaning. There are so many barriers to getting their own home, however once they do get their own home, from what we see, that's the beginning of them basically achieving what they set out to do, whatever that may be. It is just a safer foundation for them than living with other people, it's their own home (Ataarangi).*

Tane's organisation had sought advice from an architecture professor before they began building their papakāinga as an intentional community.[3] In addition to social housing and an artistic community, Tane's organisation was also planning palliative care facilities for pakeke (elders), "so they've got dignity, but they can still see their maunga."

Awhina's aspiration for Māori housing was about convincing "Iwi to purchase land like property companies have been doing and building those gated communities all over the place." She extended the notion of 'local' papakāinga into an Iwi-led initiative, where whānau would be able to purchase homes off the plan for five percent deposit. She was also factoring in enterprise and employment opportunities (e.g., cafes) and applying some of this thinking within an old school site that had been co-purchased with Iwi.

> *[What] I'd like to do is sort of a mix of both social housing but affordable housing and even high end so that you don't create sort of a ghetto and to have retail space under it… so that you have some infrastructure around these housing developments, so they don't have to travel for miles to get to a supermarket or something (Awhina).*

Māori provider organisations and some Iwi were also taking responsibility in some communities to help whānau into home ownership, because they "understand where our whānau are at [and that] everyone deserves to have a home" (Amiri). An example described was Ngai Tahu's saving scheme

[3] An intentional community is one that is planned from the outset to nurture and support the kind of life that residents want to have together.

for Iwi members, including those in care so “as they grow, they will be able to have a little bit of security” (Kiri).

Ngaio raised the issue of marae that are being used less and less, particularly rural marae, and how they may be sites for revitalisation that includes housing. Urban marae were also described as having a role in housing, like Te Puea Marae in Mangere, Auckland. Their housing initiative was being supported by other agencies, including Māori providers of, for example, health care, parenting programmes, and early education.

3.2 Barriers to Making a House a Home

The theme of ‘barriers to making a house a home’ encompasses the explanations offered by key informants about what disrupts their own and other’s feelings of a house being a home. Included here are subthemes of poverty, both economic and capability poverty; the impact of poor housing quality; and structural resistance, that is, the issues arising around renting, home ownership, neighbourhoods and Māori land that prevent whānau from establishing a home (see Table 2).

Table 2. Barriers to a house being a home

Superordinate theme	**Subordinate themes**
BARRIERS – challenges to the ability of Māori to having a house that’s a home	**Poverty** – pressures on individuals mean they live day-to-day. This may mean a lack of routine, or a lack of knowledge about contributing to the household and caring for one another, etc.
	Poor quality housing – the quality of housing that whānau are able to afford impacts negatively on their health and whānau ora
	Structural resistance – systemic impediments and challenges to Māori gaining housing security, including issues related to: a. Renting b. Home ownership c. Neighbourhoods d. Māori land

Poverty

Key informants described a low-income group of Māori “for whom poverty is such a grinding reality that home ownership is not even on their landscape” (Ataarangi). These whānau are often going from one crisis to the next and do not have the head space needed to make a house a home, let along contemplate building a future. There was much aroha among key informants for whānau in this situation. Social housing or even just the availability of more rental accommodation were seen as ways of supporting whānau, including older people on pensions for whom rents were too high.

> *You know some of our communities are doing it hard and we kind of need to turn it around… I think all they need is somewhere to go that’s stable, I mean it’s a basic life requirement, we all need a roof over out head, food in our puku, clothes on our back (Henare).*

While key informants described the impact of poverty on whānau, they also talked about whānau who were working and earning money, and still not managing to get by because of high rents. For many whānau, the combination of low wages, high rents and high food costs meant that one unexpected bill could drive them into debt. Whānau were also doubling up living arrangements with other whānau so they could afford their rent.

> *I know of heaps of people back home living in two bedroom homes with about two whānau living in them cause they can't afford the stupid renting prices or can't even get a home and these whānau do have mahi like my mate, he's in a three bed whare with his wife and two kids, his sister and her two kids and his mate, his partner and baby. Now can you imagine all those people in that house. They work part-time or fulltime but can't afford the rent prices or can't get a place cause of the kids (Rawiri).*

Poverty impacts people's social and cultural capabilities as well as their financial circumstance. Some key informants grew up in homes that provided refuge to whānau members in need of shelter and support getting back on their feet, and they were trying to practise in similar ways in their own homes. However, they described experiences they had had when relations and friends they had opened their doors to had not behaved as expected. Maria, for example, had opened her home to a young cousin in her 20s who she was "trying to get out of the cycle." Another incident where her daughter was assaulted by a male relative who was staying with them confirmed for Maria that having a "big heart is not always the greatest thing" and that manaakitanga and whanaungatanga needed to be offered with caution.

Katrina also commented on house guests who did not join in with or contribute to the household. Friends of her daughter stayed "temporarily" for a year and were not good at doing chores even though they were asked to. She attributed this to what they had learned in their own home environments.

> *I think they just come from homes where, where it's normal in those homes to be doing their own thing perhaps and no rules around it… A lot of the ones that come [to my house] come from impoverished homes and so that's why they come back (Katrina).*

This previous 'learning' can be undone, with effort. When Tane's organisation built social housing within their papakāinga, the "high quality houses" were soon tenanted by their relations, who came with "social issues" (Aroha) including methamphetamine, refusal to pay rent (because their house was on their koro's (grandfather's) land), leaving their dogs to run wild, and interpersonal, domestic issues. Rather than turning the houses into a more manageable kaumātua flats, they persisted with the young whānau who made up the majority of tenants and were now, two to three years on, seeing the benefits as people learned to live together. Tamati described this as bringing "a bit of pride back into themselves and their whānau" so everyone could "be deemed to be safe in their own community."

Poor condition housing

Some key informants described how the health of whānau is disrupted when their poor housing conditions impact upon their physical health (e.g., respiratory conditions) and mental health (e.g., stress from overcrowding). Amiri described the rental accommodation available in her town as substandard while in her professional life Hana has seen the health and wellbeing of many whānau suffer because of the poor condition of their rental housing.

> *…living in a house that water is running down a wall, where there's a swamp under your whare, where you know you can't have any input into improving the conditions of your home. Which is a case that we see on a daily basis. Whānau living in those conditions cos they don't have any other options, and it's not a safe and sustainable, it's not healthy but they have no other options (Hana).*

Whānau were described as just grateful for having a roof over their heads, even if it was not good quality. Many tenants would not ask for repairs to be done because they were afraid their rent would be raised, or they would be evicted. They did not want to "rock the boat" (Amiri). Others, like Kiri, just got on and did repairs themselves because she "didn't want to make waves" and wanted her landlady to realise that her whānau were good tenants. This made her feel more secure renting.

When poor health impacts on parents' ability to care for their children this also disrupts their whānau ora, so poor quality housing can drive a downward spiral for whānau, with parents often forced to choose between paying their rent, heating the house, and putting food on the table. These housing conditions were seen as the result of whānau having no other options, nowhere else to go, with this sometimes leading to overcrowding and the risk of domestic violence.

Some key informants talked about the internal structure of a house being a cultural quality issue. Kahu wanted houses to have large lounges which would then become people's sleeping area. Similarly, Ella linked the abuse of children with whānau moving into Eurocentric houses with bedrooms.

> *I still think that the ideal homes for Māori are not necessarily Eurocentric in design and layout. There's still real merit in having a bunch of kids sleeping in the same room; that there's still merit in having a bigger dining room than living room (Ella).*

Housing quality can also be about location and access to services. Living a long way away and potentially without the means to get to services can also undermine the connectivity whānau feel and their sense of home. Similarly, for kaumātua. They can feel isolated if they are housed away from services or if they stay in a place that has little infrastructure to support employment and opportunities for younger generations. As Awhina pointed out, "the sense of home gets lost because all your young ones move away from home" because there is no work.

Structural resistance

This subtheme is about the structural disruption to enable a house to a home for whānau Māori that can be attributed to non-Māori policies and legislation, or the lack thereof. For example, while some landlord practices are included here, it is the legislative context that enables these practices to occur.

a. Renting

In key informants' experience long-term rentals—including state housing—were now rare. The country's view that everyone should have a home, including a state home if they did not own their own home, ended with the move to a market model in the 1980s. This weakened our belief as a nation that we should take care of those who were vulnerable. Whānau that thought their rental home would be theirs for the duration of their lives because they were good tenants were being caught out by recent increases in rents and were being forced to move homes. At the time of interviewing Housing New Zealand houses in communities were being considered short-term (3-5 year) options for whānau, who were expected to be able to move into the private rental market or

home ownership after this time. Hana's concern about this insecurity of tenure was the disruption of the support networks whānau build up in their neighbourhood, in their community. She described dealing with Housing New Zealand as "dealing with the beast."

> *I think it creates a whole lot of uncertainty, and a whole lot of unrest for the whole whānau…because you've got issues around schooling and moving children, issues around taking them away from their supports (Hana).*
>
> *My friend went to WINZ cause they were living in a shed at someone's house and they wouldn't give them a house because they had a roof over their head… a shed isn't warm or a home, it's a shed where you're meant to put your car not your head (Marama).*

Having a house that you might be shifted out of at any moment weakens the ability of whānau to feel settled and at home and may impact on how they see their responsibilities as a tenant. It can also impact on the manaaki they are able to provide their whānau if their rental agreement restricts the number of people who can stay in the house. This may be particularly hard on older people when the ones asking to stay with them are their mokopuna.

Even getting into a rental housing was seen as fraught with difficulty because of racism in the housing market whereby even city councils discriminated against Māori.

> *Mainly our people, because they are discriminated against, if you go to a house viewing and there's you and a, not being racist, but a white person applying as well, 99 percent of the time the white person is going to get it so it's a hell of challenge our people are facing with housing and everything else like health, mahi, putea, just adds that stress that they don't need (Rawiri).*
>
> *You have a disadvantage being born Māori still in this time, racism is alive and well still (Ropata).*

b. Home ownership

The inability to accumulate a deposit for a home was seen by key informants as the biggest hurdle to home ownership. Poverty and Māori under-employment were described by Ella as two key barriers that constrained Māori housing opportunities. Housing prices had also risen beyond what many whānau could afford. Maria described the increasing pressures on housing in her South Auckland suburb and about the absurd cost of KiwiBuild, where two-bedroom 'affordable' houses in 2018 started at $500,000. Working couples were managing to pay their rent and put food on their table but had no spare money and no savings, so home ownership was unachievable.

> *That's the biggest issue that I see, that we have young couples wanting to raise good citizens in their children, educate them well and do their bit in our country, but they can't even consider having a roof over their heads (Amiri).*

c. Neighbourhoods

Sometimes the racism in the housing market infected a whole community and it was treated differently because of its ethnic make-up and socio-economic status. Ariana described differences in the way the district council engaged with a poorer community (Flaxmere) compared to a wealthier community (Havelock North) that spoke volumes about what the council thought the

people living in Flaxmere deserved. This even impacted on land and housing restrictions which meant large houses could not be built on large sections in Flaxmere but could be in Havelock North.

> *…you tell me why the Havelock park looks like it does and it's so well resourced with all the gyms and slides and swimming pools and we can't have that in Flaxmere, you tell me why you make sure your expressway out to Havelock is mowed every second day and you can't even do it once a fortnight in Flaxmere on our expressway, why does your home have to look better even when its public funded (Ariana).*

The increasing pressure in Auckland for housing has seen major urban redevelopment projects take place in, for example, Glen Innes. This kind of redevelopment, where a state house on a quarter acre section is replaced with mixed-purpose town houses, is planned for other areas of the city. In other parts of the city, for example, Mount Albert, the diverse ethnic community is being replaced by white residents as houses have been bought because the suburb is close to the centre of Auckland and houses often have sea views.

d. Māori land

Key informants talked about the complexities of building on whānau land. Ngaio described staff members who "have been trying to build on their own land…for years." A key informant had reached a resolution with his whānau that involved the land being split into equal shares, one share for the descendants of each of the ten original siblings in the whakapapa line. Even if whānau agreement is obtained there were still local government by-laws that restricted the use of Māori land for housing, leading key informants to ponder how their neighbours on private land did housing subdivisions when they encountered strict limits on the number of houses allowed on their comparable land.

> *I often used to feel quite sad for my children because we've got land all around our marae but it's almost like being surrounded by water but you can't drink it (Kahu).*

While building on their whānau land might still be an option for many Māori, employment opportunities were also important. A key informant talked about her father's generation being actively deterred from going home because there was nothing "back there." Now people's transition back home would be greatly eased by housing, employment and education opportunities.

Key informants also raised issues of who was responsible for a whānau homestead, when it was communally owned, and no-one would sell their interest to other whānau members. For Maia, this meant that often "no-one wants to sell, and no-one wants to invest but they want to retain [the whānau homestead]." Arrangements that had suited one generation could also be stretched to their limits by increased numbers in the next generation.

> *We've got a blade of grass piece of land way down south at XXXX and we've got a big whānau crib on it house on it, well it was fine for my generation because we spent all our life there you know but now we've got four generations after us three or four generations and they're all trying to pack themselves into this little piece of land (Kiri)*

The homelessness of people who had sold their land was also a concern raised. In some cases, people had gotten into debt because they were not able to pay their rates and were not getting the help they needed from the council or their local rūnanga that would enable them to stay and build on their land.

4 Discussion

The exploration of housing, home and whānau ora among the key informants interviewed in this study was wide ranging, as the conversational method invited key informants to talk about a self-selected mix of knowledge and experience from their personal and professional lives. A key focus of all the conversations was, however, what makes a house a home for whānau Māori and supports their whānau ora. The analysis of their talk then focused on the facilitators of and barriers to whānau Māori having a home.

Key informants knew what made a house a home from the ways they had been brought up. Although for some their childhood home had not been flash, it was a home because of the love, comfort and security provided by their whānau. This was what they had carried forward with them into the environment they created in their own home and what they saw as either present or challenged in the homes of whānau they visited with in their professional lives. As a contributor to ontological security, the social environment of a home was more important than the material objects that were present (and not mentioned by key informants). So while the 'hard' (i.e., material conditions) of a house could impact upon the health of whānau, it was likely to be the 'soft' or more subjective qualities of that house that made it feel like a home and as something that promoted wellbeing or Whānau Ora (Shaw, 2004). This 'soft' social environment was imbued with cultural values that reflected people's lives as Māori. This is the safe haven component of ontological security, that within the confines of their own house whānau are not under surveillance to assess their 'fit' within colonial society (as Māori are inevitably found to differ from a Tauiwi 'norm' (Smith L. T., 1986)) and can be Māori.

Key informants also had a values-informed response to the social changes that have taken place in Aotearoa over the last 40-60 years—from their childhood, to the establishment of their own homes, to reflecting on the lives of their children and grandchildren. Their cultural values of manaaki, aroha, awhi (support) and whanaungatanga (kinship relations) have provided continuity across generations, with the practising of these values sometimes remaining consistent and sometimes being revised. On the one hand, whanaungatanga and aroha were perhaps the most constant as key informants stressed the importance of whānau connectivity and love. Practices of manaaki, on the other hand, were being managed in more constrained ways than in their parents' generation to keep whānau safe, with this sometimes coming about because open-door practices had brought whānau into their homes who did not know how to live in a values-based way. In effect they were managing an expert system based in te ao Māori and using this to assess and position themselves within the contemporary world they inhabited (Hewitt, 2010).

This was more difficult to implement for those whānau whose lives were constrained by poverty and who have not had the opportunity to purchase their own home (Cram, 2011). Poverty can be defined simply as the lack of monetary income (Hunter, 2009), with poor whānau being pushed into precarious housing arrangements and potentially homelessness by systems that have undermined the affordability and security of rental housing. The result is that whānau are clinging to whatever housing security they can, even if this means they are living in poor quality housing and are afraid to request repairs and maintenance for fear that they will lose their house. Compared to

homeowners, those who were renting were more likely to report that their home needed maintenance, that it was damp, and that it was always or often cold (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). The resulting chronic housing stress impacts on people's ability to create a home and to practise values such as manaaki, as supporting their whānau when they need somewhere to stay may impact upon rental tenure, if not also the limited resources that whānau themselves have to call upon to keep themselves afloat. As Tilly Reedy stated in the late 1970s,

> *We must also build up an economic security, an economic strength, and an economic stability. Without these things we are nothing. We should rise above the belief that to be well-off is contrary to the best Māori traditions. Rubbish! It is only by being materially well-off that we can indulge in our taha Māori (Reedy, 1979, p. 44).*

Amartya Sen's (2000) conceptualisation of poverty as capability deprivation speaks to this link between material and cultural deprivation. Henare, Puckey, Nicholson, Dale and Vaithianathan (2011) have based their model of wellbeing, 'He Korunga a Ngā Tikanga', on Sen's capability approach, framing the achievement by Māori of a good life as a combination of functionings; namely, states of being (e.g., mauri, mana) and states of doing (e.g., whanaungatanga, manaakitanga). Having a good life centres around people's access to these functionings. For example, monetary poverty can stifle people's capability for 'doing' manaakitanga (Hohepa, 1998). It should not then be surprising that those growing up in households marked by poverty do not experience ontological security within a Māori world. This was seen in key informants' reports of those who came into their households but who did not know how to behave; that is, live Māori values-informed lives.

Housing whānau is an important step to supporting their wellbeing and enabling them to have a sense of home; however, whānau will often need access to support services in addition to housing. These services may be a proxy for the social component of ontological security, as Whānau Ora services, for example, will support whānau in a way that shores up their whanaungatanga or interconnectedness as whānau as they prioritise their next steps and plan for how to bring these to fruition (Baker, Pipi, & Cassidy, 2015). Some social housing and papakāinga developments have also considered how to design and implement an intentional community that will enable whānau to be part of something akin to a neighbourhood and potentially reap benefits from being in a lived environment with other people. Riverside Community close to Motueka is this country's oldest example of intentional community where people live communally and cooperatively, where there is no private ownership of housing and no leader, and where decisions are made by consensus (Riverside Community, 2017).

Key informants involved in housing developments were considering what sort of community was needed in terms of the social, cultural, material and economic security of whānau. This is important for whānau experiencing the hardships of financial poverty, as well as for those whānau who are working and earning a living that should guarantee them a good life except for the fact that they spend too large a proportion of their income on their rent and often still have difficulty finding rental accommodation. It is also hopeful that Māori intentionally designed mixed housing communities will be about whakapapa and other Māori values-informed criteria that will mitigate against the "cherry-picking" of social housing tenants observed in some planned neighbourhood developments (Saville-Smith, Saville-Smith, & James, 2015). Such planning may also be able to add cultural benefits to those already listed in policy and research (see Table 3).

Table 3. Area and Individual benefits sought from mixed tenure housing developments

Area Benefits Sought	Benefits Sought for Disadvantaged Tenants
Improved housing quality	Reduced fear of crime and victimisation
Improved service density and accessibility	Improved education
Destigmatisation of area	Higher incomes
Less crime	Improved health
Improved environment	Higher employment
Business attracted and increased	Destigmatisation and reduced discrimination
Increased social cohesion, civic participation	Improved inclusion and reduced isolation

Source. (Saville-Smith, Saville-Smith, & James, 2015, p. 5)

High rents and racism in the rental housing market mitigate against housing being a source ontological security for whānau. Racism in housing has been documented in many parts of the world, including Aotearoa (e.g., Nelson, MacDonald, Dufty Jones, Dunn, & Paradies, 2015; Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Outcomes for those being discriminated against can include segregation into high-poverty neighbourhoods and poor-quality housing (e.g., cold, damp, mouldy) (Statistics New Zealand, 2016), and the consequent impacts of this on people's health and wellbeing (Barwick, 1991; Howden-Chapman, 2004). The exposure of whānau to this domino effect of living in rental accommodation may be reduced by changes to the tenancy laws that came into effect in July 2016. These changes require rental properties to have smoke alarms and, if being replaced or installed, insulation of a required standard. New tenancy agreements are required to include a statement about the nature of the insulation (i.e., extent, safety). In addition, as of December 2017, the Residential Tenancies Act 1986 was amended by the Health Homes Guarantee Act (No 2), to ensure minimum standards of insulation and heating are met by 2024 to ensure that rental properties are dry and warm (Chapman, 2018; Cooke, 2017). While much of the media coverage focused on the Act's potential to improve child health, it is also likely to improve the health of all renters.

Legislative changes have not tackled high rents however, with the result that one house may of economic necessity be home to many whānau. Crowding in housing is a consequence of housing not being affordable for people, especially those on lower incomes. Overcrowding is more prevalent in rental accommodation than in owner-occupied housing (Rankine, 2005), as it can help spread the rent burden across more contributors. However, it can also contribute to the spread of infectious diseases, increased respiratory conditions, and other health and social problems (Howden-Chapman, Bierre, & Cunningham, 2013). A project in the early 1990s by the Māori Women's Welfare League linked crowding in Māori households, particularly rural households, with increased asthma and bronchial conditions in children, stress and violence (Māori Women's Housing Research Project, 1991). One in five Māori is said to now live in a 'crowded household' (Johnson et al., 2018).

Low cost housing and support for whānau to purchase their own home are a solution to high rent costs. Whānau paying rent may well be able to service a mortgage but find themselves 'stuck' in rental accommodation because they have little spare money to put towards a deposit for their own home. While parents with housing equity may be able to contribute towards ensuring their offspring are housed well, parents and grandparents who have lived in what they thought was secure and affordable rental accommodation for many years may never have considered the need to purchase their own home. Or if they had considered it and were able to afford it, they may have been unable to get their head around the level of debt involved in a mortgage. This latter explanation can account

for why, in the past, whānau who have been supported into their own home have subsequently sold it and gone back to renting. It also provides a rationale for the practices of community housing providers who first want to settle whānau into a home, provide them with the support they need and create in them a 'habit' of paying their rent regularly. It is only after some years of this happening that a provider will be confident that a whānau can and will service a mortgage (Habitat for Humanity, 2019).

A key informant described some of her work as exciting as it was about "looking at existing systems and how we can disrupt them to get better gains for the community.' While she was not describing a housing initiative, the findings from the current research support the need for systemic disruption if whānau are to be housed well and be able to make their house into a home that strengthens their whānau ora. The disruption of a system is about prototyping and trying new ways of doing business, such as housing people around rural and urban marae (Hoskins, et al., 2019). The other place where disruptive housing solutions are needed is on Māori multiply-owned land where permissions are not forthcoming from all shareholders for whānau to build houses and/or local bylaws prevent the density of housing that is required if all those wanting houses are to be catered for. There are examples where whānau have found solutions and kept their whenua from passing into smaller and smaller shareholdings as whānau increase each generation or enabled whānau to build on their land. More research on these solutions would go some way to spreading knowledge among whānau about how it is possible to build on their land. The next step would be to ensure that the economics of a 'return home' is possible so that whānau are being pulled back to their whenua, not merely pushed out of towns and cities where they can no longer afford the rent and where home ownership is an impossible dream.

Finally, Māori reside both inside and outside the bounds of their tribal rohe (areas). The literature on ontological security says very little about the importance of place, and people's connectedness to the land. Dignan's (2017, p. 177) writing disputes this, "I have a keen sense of place that is fundamental to my sense of identity… Tūrangawaewae [a place to belong and to stand] is a necessary condition of wellbeing." Māori living within their tribal rohe may feel more connected to whenua and whakapapa and more secure in their identity because of this. Māori living outside their tribal rohe may have a sense of obligation towards those who host and care for them, as well as feel the pull of their own places and the need to return home when they can. There is not necessarily a 'one size fits all' Māori in terms of where people chose to live. Many older Māori who travelled from their homes in the North Island to the South Island for trades training fell in love in their new place, married and raised their family there, and may also be buried there (Cram, 2016). The take-away is that place is important to identity and needs to be recognised as part of what makes a house a home for whānau, and what provides Māori with a sense of ontological security.

Limitations

This study has largely gathered 'expert opinion', so that even when key informants talked about their own experiences they were talking as Māori professionals in reasonably well-paid jobs. The majority also owned their own homes. This does not mean that all had loving and caring upbringings, but rather that potentially only those who had this experience chose to talk about it. They were also able to talk about what they saw whānau going through in terms of the crisis in housing this country is experiencing. While their talk set the scene for understanding the links between housing and

ontological security for whānau, the gap to be filled is about how whānau are experiencing this first-hand.

5 Conclusion

An investment in low cost housing for Māori is essential for ensuring that Māori are well-housed in secure and affordable accommodation, and that whānau are able to be 'at home'. This being at home is about being able to 'be' Māori and 'do' or live Māori values such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and aroha. The memory and practice of these values is still real for many whānau and creates the context for ontological security and the certainty of identity. While neighbourhoods did not feature greatly, the importance of the whenua and more generally place were also seen to add to the feeling whānau have of being at home. The fear is that a long-term crisis in housing will undermine the ontological security of Māori and have detrimental impacts on people's mana (status), tūrangawaewae and their very identity as Māori.

References

Baker, M., Pipi, K., & Cassidy, T. (2015). Kaupapa Māori action research in a Whānau Ora collective: An exemplar of Māori evaluative practice and the findings. *Evaluation Matters—He Take Tō te Aromatawai, 1*, 113-136.

Barwick, H. (1991). *The impact of economic and social factors on health.* Wellington: A report prepared by the Public Health Association of New Zealand for the Department of Health.

Bécares, L., Cormack, D., & Harris, R. (2013). Ethnic density and area deprivation: Neighbourhood effects on Ma"ori health and racial discrimination in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Social Science & Medicine, 88*, 76-82.

Berry, J., Cairns, L., Court, K., Feary, S., Han, H., Hunt, I., . . . Waera. (2017). *Kimihia ngā whare Māori ōranga pai: Towards healthy Māori rental housing - Māori renter's views on renting in the Wellington region.* Wellington: Department of Public Health & Department of Medicine, University of Otago.

Bishop, R. (1996). *Collaborative research stories: Whakawhanaungatanga.* Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*, 77-101.

Chapman, H. (2018, September). *Rental WOF timeline.* Retrieved September 2018, from Howdy stranger: https://harrychapman.nz/healthy-homes/wof-timeline/

Chernobrov, D. (2016). Ontological security and public (mis)recognition of international crises: Uncertainty, political imagining, and the self. *Political Psychology, 35*(5), 581-596. doi: 10.1111/pops.12334.

Cooke, H. (2017, December 1). Government passes Healthy Homes bill, requiring all rentals to be warm and dry. *Stuff*, pp. https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/99391162/government-passes-healthy-homes-bill-requiring-all-rentals-to-be-warm-and-dry.

Cram, F. (2011). Poverty. In T. McIntosh, & M. Mulholland (Eds.), *Maori and social issues* (pp. 147-168). Wellington: Huia.

Cram, F. (2016). *Older Maori: Downsizing experiences, outcomes and needs.* Auckland: Katoa Ltd.

Cram, F. (2017). Kaupapa Māori health research. In P. Liamputtong, *Handbook of research methods in health and social sciences.* Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Cram, F., Te Huia, B., Te Huia, T., Williams, M. M., & Williams, N. (2019). *Oranga and Māori health inequities, 1769-1992.* Wellington: Ministry of Health .

Cummins, S. (2007). Commentary: Investigating neighbourhood effects on health—avoiding the 'Local Trap'. *International Journal of Epidemiology, 36*, 355-357.

Dignan, M. (2017). Navigating “place” in evaluation design and practice. *Evaluation Matters—He Take Tō Te Aromatawai, 3*, 156-174.

Dupuis, A. (2012). Ontological security. In S. J. Smith (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of housing and home* (pp. 156-160). Oxford: Elsevier Science.

Dupuis, A., & Thorns, D. C. (1998). Home, home ownership and the search for ontological security. *The Sociological Review, 46*(1), doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.00088.

Habitat for Humanity. (2019, May 1). *KiwiBuy: a solution for home ownership*. Retrieved November 2019, from Habitat for Humanity New Zealand: https://habitat.org.nz/kiwibuy/kiwibuy-a-solution-for-home-ownership/

Henare, M., Puckey, A., Nicholson, A., Dale, M. C., & Vaithianathan, R. (2011). *He Ara Hou: The pathway forward. Getting it right for Aotearoa New Zealand’s Māori and Pasifika children.* Wellington: Every Child Counts.

Hewitt, B. A. (2010). Ontological insecurity. In R. L. Jackson, & M. A. Hogg (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of identity* (p. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412979306.n165). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hiscock, R., Kearns, A., Macintyre, S., & Ellaway, A. (2001). Ontological security and psycho-social benefits from the home: Qualitative evidence on issues of tenure. *Housing, Theory and Society, 18*, 50-66.

Hohepa, M. (1998). Te Kōhanga Reo: Risk breaking, risk taking. In N. J. Taylor, & A. B. Smith (Ed.), *Enhancing children's potential: Minimising risk and maximising resiliency. Proceedings of the Children's Issues Centre Second Child & Family Policy Conference, 2-4 July 1997.* Dunedin: Children Issues Centre.

Hoskins, R., Lee-Morgan, J., Knox, W., Dennis, H., Henry, L., Nathan, L., . . . Ratana, M. (2019). *Tūranga ki te marae e tau ana - Reimagining marae-based kāinga in Tāmaki Makaurau.* Auckland: Ngā Wai a te Tūī Press.

Howden-Chapman P. (2004) Housing standards: a glossary of housing and health, *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health* **58:**162-168

Howden-Chapman, P., Bierre, S., & Cunningham, C. (2013). Building inequality. In I. i. Zealand, & M. Rashbrooke (Ed.). Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Hunter, B. H. (2009). Indigenous social exclusion: insights and challenges for the concept of social inclusion. *Family Matters, 82*, 52-61.

Johnson, A., Howden-Chapman, P., & Eaqub, S. (2018). *A stocktake of New Zealand's housing.* Wellington: Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment.

Kearns, A., Hiscock, R., Ellaway, A., & Macintryre, S. (2000). ‘Beyond four walls’. The psychosocial benefits of home: Evidence from West Central Scotland. *Housing Studies, 15*(3), 387-410.

Kearns, R. A., Smith, C. J., & Abbott, M. W. (1991). Another day in paradise? Life on the margins in urban New Zealand. *Social Science & Medicine, 33*, 369-379.

Kennedy, V., Cram, F., Paipa, K., Pipi, K., Baker, M., Porima, L., . . . Tuagalu, C. (2015). Beginning a conversation about spirituality in Māori and Pasifika evaluation. In S. Hood, R. Hopson, & H. Frierson (Eds.), *Continuing the journey to reposition culture and cultural context in evaluation theory and practice* (pp. 151-178). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Kovach, M. (2010). Conversational method in Indigenous research. *First Peoples Child & Family Review, 5*(1), 40-48.

Kwaymullina, A. (2016). Research, ethics and Indigenous peoples: An Australian Indigenous perspective on three threshold considerations for respectful engagement. AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 12(4), 437-449.

Laing, R. D. (1964). *The divided self: An existential study in sanity and madness.* Oxford: Tavistock.

Martin, K., & Mirraboopa, B. (2003). Ways of knowing, being and doing: A theoretical framework and methods for indigenous and indigenist re-search. Journal of Australian Studies, 27(76), 203-214.

Māori Women's Housing Research Project. (1991). *"...for the sake of decent shelter...".* Wellington: Māori Women's Housing Research Project Report.

Ministry of Health. (2002). *He Korowai Oranga - Maori health strategy.* Wellington: Ministry of Health.

Ministry of Health. (2018, August 4). *Neighbourhood deprivation.* Retrieved November 2019, from Ministry of Health: https://www.health.govt.nz/our-work/populations/maori-health/tatau-kahukura-maori-health-statistics/nga-awe-o-te-hauora-socioeconomic-determinants-health/neighbourhood-deprivation

Moorfield, J. C. (2019). *Māori dictionary*. (AUT) Retrieved July 29, 2019, from Māori dictionary: www.maoridictionary.co.nz

Nelson, J. MacDonald, H., Dufty-Jones, R., Dunn, K. and Paradies, Y. (2015), Ethnic discrimination in private rental housing markets in Australia. In Dufty-Jones, Rae and Rogers, Dallas (ed), *Housing in 21st century Australia : people, practices and policies*, Ashgate Publishing, Surrey, Eng., pp.39-56

New Zealand Productivity Commission. (2012). *Affordable housing - a focus on Māori issues.* Wellington: New Zealand Productivity Commission.

Ormiston, N. T. (2010). Re-Conceptualizing Research: An Indigenous Perspective. First Peoples Child & Family Review, 5(1).

Pager, D., & Shepherd, H. (2008). The Sociology of Discrimination: Racial Discrimination in Employment, Housing, Credit, and Consumer Markets. *Annual review of sociology, 34*, 181-209

Paipa, K., Kennedy, V., & Pipi, K. (2009). Lessons learned from working with our own: Pēpēha--My personal global positioning system. Orlando, FL: Workshop presentation at the annual conference of the American Evaluation Association.

Pearce, J., Witten, K., Hiscock, R., & Blakely, T. (2007). Are socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods deprived of health-related community resources? *International Journal of Epidemiology, 36*, 348-355.

Pearce, J., Witten, K., Hiscock, R., & Blakely, T. (2008). Regional and urban - rural variations in the association of neighbourhood deprivation with community resource access: a national study. *Environment and Planning A, 40*, 2469-2489.

Phillips, J. (2018, May 22). *'Class - New groupings', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand.* Retrieved November 2019, from Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/zoomify/29749/new-zealand-atlas-of-deprivation

Rankine, J. (2005). *Housing and health in Auckland.* Auckalnd: Auckland Regional Public Health Service.

Reedy, T. (1979). The Māori in the future: A woman's view. In *He Mātāpuna: Some Māori perspectives.* Wellington: Te Kaunihera Whakapaupapa mō Aotearoa.

Reid, P., & Cram, F. (2004). Connecting health, people and country in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In K. Dew, & P. Davis (Eds.), *Health and society in Aotearoa New Zealand* (2nd Edition ed., pp. 33-48). Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Riverside Community. (2017). *About Riverside Community.* Retrieved November 2019, from Riverside Community: https://www.riverside.org.nz/about-us

Salmond, C., & Crampton, P. (2000). Deprivation and health. In P. Howden-Chapman, & M. Tobias (Eds.), *Social Inequalities in Health: New Zealand 1999* (pp. 9-64). Wellington: Ministry of Health.

Saunders, P. (1990). *A nation of home owners.* London: Unwin Hyman.

Saville-Smith, K., Saville-Smith, N., & James, B. (2015). *Neighbourhood social mix and outcomes for social housing tenants: Rapid review.* Wellington: Prepared for SuPERU.

Sen, A. (2000). *Social exclusion: Concept, application, and scrutiny. Social Development Papers No. 1. .* Manila, Phillipines: Office of Environment and Social Development, Asian Development Bank.

Shaw, M. (2004). Housing and public health. *Annual Review of Public Health, 25*, 397-418.

Smith, G. H. (2012). Kaupapa Māori: The dangers of domestication. Interview with Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 47*(2), 10-20.

Smith, L. T. (1986). Māori strategies of resistance: Seeing through the magic. *DELTA*.

Smith, L. T. (1996). Kaupapa Māori health research. In *Hui Whakapiripiri: A hui to discuss strategic directions for Māori health research* (pp. 14-30). Wellington: Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare.

Statistics New Zealand. (2016, June 9). *Māori and Pacific peoples' home-ownership falls over 25 percent in cities.* Retrieved December 15, 2016, from Statistics New Zealand - Tatauranga Aotearoa: http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/housing/maori-and-pacific-mr.aspx

Statistics New Zealand. (2016). *Perceptions of housing quality 2014/15.* Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.

Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives. (2010). *Whānau Ora: Report of the Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, to Hon. Tariana Turia, Minister for the Community and Voluntary Sector.* Wellington: Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives.

Te Huia, A. (2015). Perspectives towards Māori identity by Māori heritage language learners. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 44*(3), 18-28.

Thorns, D. C. (1992). *Fragmenting societies? A comparative analysis of regional and urban development.* London and New York: Routledge.

Williams, M. M. (2015). *Panguru and the city: Kāinga tahi, kāinga rua.* Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Appendix A: Detailed Interview Framework

1. What do you feel makes a house a home for whānau Māori?
    - Where have you learned this from?
    - Do you think whānau know about these things you're saying? If not, why not?
    - Are there particular things whānau have retained?
    - How have you applied this with your own home, your own whānau? What's been the result?
    - Is there anything else you'd like to add about this term 'home'? Is there an equivalent kupu Māori that you'd use? Is so, please tell me about the meaning behind it.
    - Is there a difference to the feeling of home when whānau are renting vs. when they own their home?
2. What are some of the housing challenges you see whānau Māori currently facing?
    - Do you have any explanations for why these challenges have come about for whānau?
    - What about what whānau might do to overcome these challenges, or where they might go to get help and support?
3. What impact do their housing challenges have on whānau?
    - In what ways are whānau affected? Explore tapa whā: hinengaro, tinana, wairua, whānau ora
    - Are different whānau members affected in different ways? Explore age differences, roles, etc.
    - What helps whānau resiliency / kaha in the face of such challenges?
4. Do you know of any initiatives that are helping whānau Māori overcome these challenges?
    - What are some of the key characteristics of initiatives that help whānau? What core values do they have?
    - In your opinion, are whānau able to get housing help from government or mainstream agencies? If not, what do you feel the issues are?
    - What do you feel needs to happen to make government and mainstream agencies more supportive of whānau housing needs and aspirations?
5. What are the other connections you see between housing and whānau ora?
    - Can we talk some more about your understanding of whānau ora?
    - Where do you see housing fitting in, in the Whānau Ora initiative?
    - Do you think that Whānau Ora has been improving housing for whānau Māori?
6. Is low cost housing a good option for whānau Māori?
    - What do you think of when you hear the term 'low cost housing'?
    - Do you know of what this might have meant in the past? *Their own upbringing. Low cost housing associated with work, e.g., railway housing*
    - Do you know of any low-cost housing developments that offer good housing to whānau? Tell me about them?
    - Do you think there are opportunities for more low-cost housing developments to happen? If so, who do you think will have to lead these so that they provide good housing opportunities for Māori?
    - Do you see a difference between low cost housing for home ownership and for rental?
    - What do you think needs to be taken into account in these developments if housing is to support whānau ora?