“Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au”

A Māori Housing Development Process

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Abstract

Tangata whenua (People of the land/Indigenous people of Aotearoa) are being recognised as emerging property and land developers in Aotearoa New Zealand (hereafter, Aotearoa). Literature and practice demonstrates how Māori are developing housing in different ways than traditional developers, supporting the wellbeing of whānau (families), hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribes), while contributing to addressing the national housing crisis. The distinctiveness of these approaches are important to understand if we want to deepen our knowledge of urban development and the modelling of housing markets in Aotearoa. This thesis aims to reveal, codify and examine Māori decision-making processes relating to how and why we develop housing in Aotearoa and the values and principles that inform these approaches. Utilising Kaupapa Māori Theory and taking an insider/whānaunga (relatives) approach to the research, four whakawhiti kōrero sessions with Waikato whānau and kaimahi (workers) were undertaken to better understand how and why Māori develop housing and the processes and rationalities at play. The thesis has three contributions for academia, environmental planning and the housing sector in Aotearoa: insights into the values and rationalities that influence Māori urban development; the introduction of a Māori housing development framework; and insights into how the framework may be utilised to contribute towards more accurate and sophisticated agent-based modelling (ABM) or urban growth modelling.

The findings and discussion identified six prominent values that Māori utilise to develop housing: kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, orangatanga, whānaungatanga, ūkaipōtanga and rangatiratanga. Being rooted in Māori knowledge and epistemology essentially demands differing rationalities for when Māori undertake housing development, which are placed within an overarching framework. The framework represents a new tool to disrupt the current understanding of 'developers' as a single entity with a defined pathway that influences all development behaviour. Moreover, it demonstrates how whānau, hapū and iwi draw on the established learning and guidance of our tūpuna (ancestors) and the strides taken to reclaim tino rangatiratanga (self-determination). The thesis argues that academics, environmental practitioners and the housing sector should re-examine their understanding of developers in Aotearoa to become more pluralistic, which may present new challenges and opportunities for ABM and urban growth modelling. This framework argues some aspects may have potential to be incorporated into these technical analyses, while other aspects should be considered in the context of Māori and Indigenous Data Sovereignty to protect the contributions and mana of the participants within this thesis, or resist the ability to be captured altogether.

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Figure 1. Ko tōku whānau i mua ki ō mātou papakāinga; My family in front of our papakāinga (Photo by Author)

Table of contents

List of figures

List of tables

Foreword

Language when referring to Māori or ourselves

As a Māori and Indigenous researcher reporting on Māori communities, inclusive pronouns, such as 'my,' 'we' and, 'our' are utilised within the thesis. The importance of these pronouns is to communicate that the author is a part or a descendant of the tūpuna who went through the various experiences traversed throughout this thesis. Moreover, to isolate the author from the experiences, eventual findings and case study is difficult to write. Therefore, this approach was taken for the comfort of the author and the positionality many Māori and Indigenous researchers experience within academia.

Te Mana o Te Reo Māori; The power of the Māori Language

Te Reo Māori/ Te Reo Rangatira (the Māori language) is the original language of this country, and is a taonga tuku iho i ōku tūpuna (a gift from my ancestors). Being on a steady learning haerenga (journey) to reclaim my native language, the use of Te Reo Māori within this thesis is another extension to maintain accountability and develop a significant step of learning the language and achieving higher education for my whānau, hapū and iwi. Throughout the thesis, the adoption of Te Reo Māori was intentionally utilised, as it was easier to explain and elaborate in Te Reo Māori, rather than Te Reo Pākehā (the English language) for the purpose of assisting an argument, making a claim or the suitability of key themes emerging and respective titles. To help assist readers, translations are provided when the word is first mentioned and incorporated within the glossary. However, it is important to express that many Māori concepts, values and kupu (words) are not found in Western cultures, therefore, are not easily translated into the English language. Therefore, the glossary attempts to define concepts, values and kupu utilising *Te Aka Māori Dictionary* and descriptions from the author.

Nō reira, he tino maioha ahau ki te tuku i tāku tuhinga roa ki a koutou. Ōtira, e rere kau ana te mihi nei ki a koutou katoa. (Therefore, I am very appreciative to present my thesis to you. At the same time, greetings to you all.)

Glossary of Te Reo Māori terms

Te Aka Māori Dictionary has been used to provide a translation of Māori words used in this thesis - *https://maoridictionary.co.nz/*

Ākona	Lesson
Aotearoa	Traditional name of New Zealand
Ātua	God(s)
Awa	River
Haerenga	Journey
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Hawaiki	Ancient homeland - the places from which Māori migrated to Aotearoa
He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni	The Declaration of Independence of New Zealand
Hineahuone	The First Wahine
Hui	Meeting(s)
Iho whenua	Practise of burying placenta
Iwi	Tribe
Kai	Food
Kaimahi	Worker(s)
Kaitiaki	Guardian, custodian
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship, stewardship
Karakia	Prayers/incantations.
Kaumātua	Older generations (e.g., grandparents)
Kaupapa	Topic, matter of discussion, purpose
Kaupapa Māori	Maori topics/discussion/theoritical framework
Kirikiriroa	Māori name for Hamilton
Koha	Gift
Kōrero	Talking/stories/discussions
Kōrero tuku iho	History, stories of the past
Koroheke	Elderly generation (male)
Kupu	Word(s)
Kura	School
Mahi	Action, work, employment
Mana	Power or authority

Mana motuhake	Self-determination, control over one's destiny
Mana Whenua	People with territorial authority
Manaaki	To take care for
Manaakitanga	Care/kindness/support/generosity
Manuwhiri	Visitor/guests
Marae	Entire complex of buildings around the wharenui.
Maramataka	Māori Moon cycle or lunar calendar
Mātua	Parents
Mauri	Life-force
Mihimihi	Introductory speech of greetings
Mokopuna	Grandchildren
Motu	Island
Ngā	The (plural)
Ngā mate	Those who have passed on
Ngā tāngata o Waikato	The people of Waikato
Ngā taniwha o Waikato	The water spirits that are significant to Waikato
Ngā uri o Ngāti Whātua	The descendants of Ngāti Whātua
Ngā uri o Waikato	The descendants of Waikato
Ngāmotu	Māori name for New Plymouth
Orangatanga	Health and wellbeing
Ōtautahi	Māori name for Christchurch
Ōtepoti	Māori name for Dunedin
Pā	Fortified village
Papakāinga	See section 2.3.3
Papatūānuku	The Māori Earth Mother
Pepeha	Way to introduce yourself
Pito	Umbilical cord
Pōtiki	Youngest sibling
Rāhui	Temporary ban on using or taking resources from an area
Rangatahi Māori	Younger generation of Māori
Rangatahi	Younger generations
Rangatira	Leader
Rangatiratanga	Leadership
Ranginui	The Māori Sky Father
Raupatu	Confiscation
Rūruhi	Elderly generation (female)

Taiao	The natural environment
Takiwā	District/area
Tāmaki Makaurau	Māori name for Auckland
Tamariki	Children
Tāne Mahuta	Māori God of the forest
Tangaroa	Māori God of the sea
Tangata Whenua	People of the land/Indigenous people of Aotearoa
Taniwha	Water spirit, chief etc
Taonga	Treasure
Taonga tuku iho i ōku tūpuna	Gift from my ancestors
Tauiwi	Non-Māori
Tāwhirimātea	Māori God of the wind and storm
Te Ao Māori	The Māori World/Worldview
Te Awa o Waikato	The Waikato River
Te kaupapa o te wā	The discussion of the day
Te Kūini Māori	the Māori Queen
Te Moananui a Kiwa	The Pacific Ocean
Te Reo Māori/Te Reo Rangatira	The Māori language
Te Reo Pākehā	The English language
Te Rohe o Waikato	The Waikato Region
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	the Te Reo Māori translation document of the Treaty of Waitangi
Te Waka o Tainui	The Tainui canoe
Te Whanganui a Tara	Māori name for the Greater Wellington Region (including Wellington City, Upper Hutt, Lower Hutt and Porirua)
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato	The University of Waikato
Teina	Younger brother of a male/younger sister of a female
Tino Rangatiratanga	Self-determination, sovereignty
Tohunga	Skilled person, chosen expert, priest, healer
Toka Tū Ake	Māori name for the Natural Hazard Commission

Tuakana	Older brother of a male/older sister of a female
Tūmatauenga	Māori God of mankind and war
Tūrangawaewae	A place to stand/ a place of belonging
Tūpuna	Ancestor(s)
Ūkaipō	Origin, real home
Wahine	Female(s)
Waiata	Song(s)
Waikato-Tainui	Waikato Iwi Organisation/Post Settlement Governance Entity for Waikato Iwi
Wāhi tapu	Sacred place(s)
Wairua	Spirit
Waka	Canoe
Wānanga	Seminar (educational)
Wawata	Aspiration(s)
Wero	Challenge
Whaea	Mother
Whakaaro	Thinking/thoughts
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakatauākī	Māori proverb of known origin (e.g., tribal origins)
Whakataukī	Māori proverb of unknown origin
Whakatū	Māori name for Nelson
Whakawhānaungatanga	Creating relationships
Whānau	Family
Whanaunga	Relatives
Whanonga pono	Value(s)
Whare	House(s) or building(s)
Whare tūpuna	Ancestral house
Wharenui	Meeting house, large house (main building of a marae where guests are accommodated).
Whenua	Land, placenta
Whenua tūpuna	Ancestral whenua

1 Te Timatanga; Introduction

1.1 E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea; I will never be lost, I am a seed sown from Rangiātea

To begin this thesis, the use of this whakataukī (Māori proverb of unknown origin), expresses the origins of our tūpuna leaving Rangiātea, located in Tahiti, where the great voyage to Aotearoa began. The significance of this whakataukī is to convey the important lesson that you can never be lost if you know your origins and whakapapa (genealogy). These learnings were prevalent throughout my childhood, where we were constantly reminded where we were from and our whakapapa in Aotearoa. Despite being considered urban Māori, we were surrounded with whānau and consistently returned to our homelands, creating a good connection with our whenua tūpuna (ancestral land), hapū and iwi.

The differences of living in urban centres, and returning to our rural homelands was something profound. For example, living in Kirikiriroa (Hamilton), we had easy access to amenities and services, while being nestled in a nice house in a neighbourhood of mainly Pākehā and non-Māori families. Whereas, in Tahāroa, we stayed in a dwelling that utilises a stream for washing and plumbing, while being surrounded by aunties, uncles and cousins. The comparison of lifestyle, accessibility to different places and the people surrounding separated these places into two different worlds. Yet, upon reflection, there are a lot of underlying disparities that coincide with the experiences of many Māori families moving from our ancestral homes into an urban centre. For me, it was the experiences and memories back home that were restricted to summer holidays only, when this could have been the normal lifestyle and experience for many Māori families.

Pursuing this thesis, the disparities between moving away from the homelands and into an urban centre creates a sense of unfamiliarity, uneasiness and disconnection (Haami 2018; King et al. 2018; Berghan 2020, 2021). Your homelands are more familiar, regarding the places you see and people who live there. Whereas, urban centres in Aotearoa have been built with western ideologies, as the foundation that has created those feelings of disconnection and unfamiliarity (Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023; Schrader 2024). Yet, a resurgence that allows whānau to return home permanently or create similar sensations by creating housing for our tribal people is occurring in Aotearoa (Kake 2019; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). We are becoming

housing developers for the betterment of the people, but also creating the living realities expressed in the experiences described beforehand for our future generations to experience.

1.2 Housing and urban development in Aotearoa

Aotearoa is facing significant challenges with housing and urban development, in the middle of a national housing crisis (Controller and Auditor General 2023). The various challenges consist of increasing housing prices, disparities within home ownership rates across the population, housing supply and land availability across the nation (Controller and Auditor General 2023). There is a dire need to respond to the growing population, and cater to the housing needs of our diverse population (Controller and Auditor General 2023). Like many western countries Aotearoa's built environment is constricted and financed by the private sector, however, central and local governments play a significant role in shaping our housing markets (Adams and Tiesdell 2010). To combat many factors of our national housing crisis, recent land-use policy and regulation, such as, the National Medium-Density Residential and Intensification Standards have influenced the flexibility of housing supply. These regulations implement rules allowing for intensification to occur and to easily establish homes at a swifter rate to create more affordable and equitable urban living (PWC and Sense Partners 2021). Yet, they have the potential to accelerate the struggles and adversities Māori face within the housing space.

Amidst the crisis and responses, the prevalence of western ideologies has dominated and influenced the creation of our built environments (cities, towns villages) and urban identity in Aotearoa, which have manifested into the housing sector (Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). As such, Māori face declining home ownership rates and the related consequences of not being able to access a home (Menzies et al. 2019; Statistics New Zealand 2021). Due to colonisation and the constant failures of our government to provide for our housing needs, we have been responding to the housing crisis through the environmental planning process or becoming housing developers and building homes for tribal members and the wider community (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020; Olin et al. 2022; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). Māori involvement within these sectors stem from our responsibility and willingness to protect our land, waterways, and taonga (treasures), while enabling ourselves to develop our personal endeavours, whether that is commercial, industrial or residential developments (Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017; Livesey 2019; Kake 2021).

Tangata whenua continue struggling to assert our knowledge, values and thoughts that establish our built environments occurring across Aotearoa (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020; Kiddle 2021; Kiddle et al. 2023). Significantly, we are establishing our cultural identity and economic status throughout the built environment by developing an Indigenous presence within our urban centres (Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017; Ryks, Simmonds, and Whitehead 2019; Kake 2021; Kiddle et al. 2023). Considerably, an expression of this is manifested through Indigenous property development (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). Olin et al. (2022) identifies the challenge for our housing sector to be all-encompassing of our diverse population and diverse housing needs. This could begin with Māori or tangata whenua, who have been leading housing developments across Aotearoa (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). As housing developers, there are various extensions of housing developments we undergo. Many whānau across the nation are developing papakāinga for ourselves and future generations (Te Puni Kōkiri 2017; Kake 2019). At the same time, there are iwi organisations developing kaumātua (older generations) housing and general housing for our people to occupy (Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). Through this process, Māori housing development processes could provide the opportunity to bring forth perspectives that speak to our lived realities to remedy the injustices we encounter with housing development and wellbeing.

Therefore, this thesis focuses on the development process and decision-making of tangata whenua creating housing developments and examine the pathways that enable us to develop housing for our whānau, hapū and iwi members and contributes to the current housing crisis we are facing (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). The scope of this thesis will focus on the whakaaro (thoughts) and kōrero (discussion) of ngā tāngata o Waikato (the people of Waikato). From this, it will help enlighten and further accentuate the obstacles we face within this space and invoke change to occur across academia, housing and environmental planning spheres. Therefore, the aim of this thesis will centralise Māori decision-making processes, specifically how and why we develop housing in Aotearoa and the values and principles that inform our housing development process. The findings will encompass the various elements we incorporate into the design and function of our housing developments. This will be conceptualised into a framework, which will contribute provide insights into the modelling approach to implement Māori values decision-making within the ABM and urban growth modelling, which is a part of a wider research project.

1.3 Research context

1.3.1 Developing an agent-based land use model to better understand the future hazard risk

This thesis contributes to a research project titled Developing an agent-based land use model to better understand the future hazard risk with Toka Tū Ake and the Environmental Planning unit at Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (The University of Waikato). An ABM will be developed to simulate the interactions between autonomous agents, mutual interactions and feedback between agents and the environment. Most significantly, it will seek to reveal the interactions of individual housing developers and their values, who contribute to our housing landscape in Aotearoa (Allison et al. 2023). Within the research project, this thesis contributes by exploring and centralising Māori decision-making processes, specifically how and why we develop housing in Aotearoa and the values and principles that inform our housing development process. Moreover, the research will provide insights into the modelling approach and the potential to implement Māori values and decision-making within the ABM.

1.3.2 Research questions

The broad aim of this thesis is to centralise our decision-making process, specifically to identify how and why we develop housing in Aotearoa and uncover the values and principles that inform our housing development process. This will be answered through four research questions:

1. What is the legacy of Māori urban and housing development that led to the situation tangata whenua find themselves in today?
2. What are the values, aspirations and actions tangata whenua use to develop housing in Aotearoa?
3. How do the identified values, aspirations and actions of tangata whenua underpin and influence the decision-making process to develop housing in Aotearoa?
4. In what ways does the conceptualisation of a Māori housing development rationale indigenise housing development in Aotearoa?

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is broken up into five chapters to address the four research questions. To begin, a literature review has been conducted to establish Māori legacies through a timeline of events from our arrival to Aotearoa to present day. The reasoning for this approach is to highlight the colonial impact that disadvantaged us and showcase our resilience by utilising different

ideologies and opportunities to establish our own housing developments. The methodology chapter displays the methods utilised to execute the research and justify the approaches adopted within the thesis. Next, the results chapter presents the key findings and themes prevalent through data collection and qualitative analysis with each of the participants. To expand further on the results, the discussion chapter elaborates on the identified key themes, which is translated into respective values, aspirations and actions. This chapter presents the creation of a conceptual diagram that displays our decision-making process when developing housing in Aotearoa. This is explored further to consider its potential implications. Additionally, the end of the discussion chapter provides preliminary thoughts regarding how Māori values and knowledge might be implemented into the ABM and urban growth modelling. Various study limitations and the areas for further research are also discussed. Closing off this thesis, the final chapter offers a conclusion that exhibits the answers to each of the research questions, summarises the research approaches and findings and encapsulates the contributions of this research in the wider field of planning and the housing sector in Aotearoa.

2 Whakapapa Kōrero; Literature review

The attempted colonial erasure of Indigenous values within built environments is a global struggle (Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017; Kake 2021). A common experience within colonised nations is the physical and visible disconnect between Indigenous peoples and built environments. Due to this, western values, colonial pasts and global identities dominate our built environments that negatively affect Indigenous people living within these centres (Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). Nonetheless, Māori are beginning to reinvigorate and re-Indigenise our built environments by partaking in housing and urban developments within our towns and cities. This literature review will provide glimpses into our history, starting from our arrival to Aotearoa towards modern day, and how that influenced our position within contemporary society. Therefore, it will answer the first research question, which identifies *what is the legacy of Māori urban and housing development that led to the situation tangata whenua find themselves in today.*

The literature review begins with the traditional Māori society pre-colonisation and how we settled in Aotearoa after migrating from Hawaiki (ancient homeland). Thus, it delves into how our settlement patterns and traditional values may influence our decision-making when engaging with current housing and urban development. Next, we move into our recent history and the impacts of colonisation, Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Te Reo Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi) and legislative means that influenced the urbanisation of Aotearoa, along with the consequences this had on whānau, hapū and iwi. To conclude, we look towards the present and potential future. There is evidence to suggest that whānau, hapū and iwi are beginning to exert our own tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake (control over one's destiny) through papakāinga and housing developments while re-invigorating and re-Indigenising our built environments to improve tribal wellbeing.

2.1 Aotearoa

Our journey across Te Moananui a Kiwa (The Pacific Ocean) and settlement in Aotearoa created the first settlement in an uninhabited part of Polynesia. The establishment of our traditional homes, marae (entire complex of buildings surrounding the wharenui), structures and the associated layout on how communities were created and adapted to the new environment of Aotearoa. This section introduces how Māori society functioned when we arrived in Aotearoa. Moreover, what tikanga and mātauranga Māori (see section 2.1.2 for

definitions) are and the importance of both knowledge forms. Lastly, how our connection to whenua, place and the environment creates a distinctive perspective on urban and housing development. Essentially, the origin of our practices and how this may influence our decision-making processes has a significant impact for us to learn from our past knowledge and experiences.

2.1.1 Why collective living?

Māori were the first inhabitants of Aotearoa. The great migration to Aotearoa is captured through oral traditions of different whānau, hapū and iwi throughout Aotearoa. These accounts are embedded within our kōrero, whakapapa, waiata (songs), whakataukī, whakatauākī (Māori proverb of known origin) and karakia (prayers/incantations) (Walter and Reilly 2018). The first waka (canoe) discoverers have been recorded to arrive in Aotearoa between 800 to 1200 AD (Walker 1990; Haami 2018). Our tūpuna voyaged across Te Moananui o Kiwa from our ancestral homeland of Hawaiki. Various waka that migrated account for their own journey and exploration when arriving to Aotearoa (Adds 2012; Haami 2018; Walter and Reilly 2018).

When our tūpuna arrived in Aotearoa, they organised themselves in small whānau groups that were centred around marae communities. Various accounts of traditional Māori settlement utilise different words to describe similar historical accounts. Kawharu and Newman (2018) utilise the term 'marae' that conceptualises small villages, physical structures, a wharenui (meeting house) and the people living within the community. Kake (2021) utilises the term ‘kāinga’ as the focal points of hapū life that formed the basis of our whānau structures, political organisation and economic activities. Kāinga consist of dense clusters of dwellings that are sanctioned in whānau groupings, with communal facilities. Lee-Morgan et al. (2023) modifies the term and uses ‘ancestral kāinga’ that exemplified collective ways of living that were near marae with whānau groups that populated the surrounding marae community. Overall, different terms describe similar experiences and settlement patterns where various dwellings surrounded a focal point of the community, which was generally the wharenui. These definitions and recounts emphasise the importance around the traditional collective ways of living that was common amongst our tūpuna and is observed amongst many whānau and hapū today. This is exemplified through our extended whānau connections or the notions to build papakāinga for our whānau on our ancestral lands.

Underpinning these settlement patterns is whakapapa. The fabric of Māori society that applies to all groups are based on whakapapa. Whakapapa is regarded as the foundation that organises

not only human interactions, but our relationships within the material and non-material worlds. It describes the networks and relationships through descent and kinship. On a wider scale, whakapapa explains the structure, process, systems, relationships and complementarians or the balance of things (Kawharu and Newman 2018). Traditionally, whānau, hapū and iwi were the main grouping and composition of Māori society, which is still prevalent today (Walker 1990; Maaka 1994; Mead 2003; Kawharu and Newman 2018). Classic literature compiled from Pākehā researchers emphasised the importance of larger hapū groups and eventually the predominance of iwi groupings as opposed to whānau and hapū groupings. To re-emphasise, hapū were the primary units of Māoridom when settling in Aotearoa (Kawharu and Newman 2018).

The basic social units are whānau that included extended family of three generations or wider. Within these units, rangatira, such as tohunga (skilled person, chosen expert, priest, healer), koroheke (elderly generation of men) and rūruhi (elderly generation of women) form the crux of the leadership matrix within Māori social groups (Walker 1990; Kawharu and Newman 2018). Rangatira operated with the community and mentored or guided ngā pōtiki (the younger members) of the community. The adult sons and daughters, including spouses and tamariki (children) made up whānau, consisting of up to twenty or thirty people in many cases. Whānau were self-sufficient and carried out given tasks. This included food gathering, food preparation and harvesting and the management of resources and use on smaller scales than hapū (Walker 1990; Mead 2003; Kawharu and Newman 2018).

As whānau expanded over successive generations, they acquired the status of hapū. Hapū can consist of more than one whānau group that is bound through whakapapa. Hapū were recognised by the emergence of a leader derived from a founding ancestor based on whakapapa, skills of diplomacy and the ability to strengthen the identity of the hapū. Moreover, they can be defined by the establishment of a marae or the intention to develop one. Hapū would conduct similar tasks to whānau units, but on a larger scale. Due to the number of people and the associated connection to places, we would exercise authority over our territories and protect our ancestral lands (Walker 1990; Mead 2003; Kawharu and Newman 2018).

In comparison to hapū, iwi are bigger in size and cover a larger area of land and resources. Iwi embrace many hapū members who all descend from a common ancestor (e.g., rangatira of waka or one of their descendants) and are the largest grouping in Māoridom. The chiefs of respective hapū units within an iwi were regarded as co-equals and sometimes implemented tuakana

(older sibling of the same gender) and teina (younger sibling of the same gender) relationships. Furthermore, the creation of iwi was in response to warfare within the eighteenth and nineteenth century to combine and create positions of strength to oppose the pressure from colonial forces (Walker 1990; Mead 2003; Kawharu and Newman 2018).

The significance of revisiting our traditional settlement patterns is to showcase the origin of collective living and how Māori society functioned in whānau, hapū and iwi-based units. There are various marae complexes that adhere to the wharenui being the main meeting point for whānau with dwellings surrounding the wharenui (Kawharu and Newman 2018; Kake 2021; Lee-Morgan et al. 2023). Moreover, living with whānaunga was a common experience that has remained important to us. Hence, there are significant strides to achieve these experiences, which may filter through and influence the development of papakāinga on our ancestral lands or harbouring our connections with different whānau or tribal members.

2.1.2 Māori protocols and Māori knowledge

Tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori work in tandem, where mātauranga Māori guides and solidifies tikanga Māori. Both are elaborative subjects within Te Ao Māori (the Māori Worldview) that has many definitions and applications. To define tikanga Māori, Mead (2003) generally describes tikanga Māori as a normative system. Tikanga guides the norms of society and essentially deals with moral behaviour by outlining the correct ways to behave and the processes for correcting and punishing for bad behaviour. It is further broken down into two different perspectives:

- Tikanga is social control
- Tikanga are ethics

As a social control mechanism, it can dictate interpersonal relationships, interaction with groups and how we identify ourselves. A common example is the way important ceremonies are held, such as tangihanga and weddings. From an ethical point of view, tikanga Māori can be a way of conduct and principles practised by a person or a group (Mead 2003).

To elaborate further on understanding tikanga Māori, Duncan and Rewi (2018) breaks tikanga into seven definitions:

- Māori cultural practises
- Māori customs and traditions
- Māori protocols

- Māori etiquette
- Māori manners
- Māori guidelines for behaviour
- Māori customary values

Tikanga are the layers of the culture that have been developed and adopted by Māori communities and individuals over a long period of time. These are informed by customary values or concepts. It is multifaceted that can be determined by the individual or group (Duncan and Rewi 2018). It is developed by whānau, hapū and iwi. Therefore, it can be different everywhere you go. The development of tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori was cemented through the trials and experiments of our ancestors in the new environment (Duncan and Rewi 2018). Both the failure and successes of experiments help cement these practises within tikanga and guidance that is held to a high standard that cannot be adjusted (Mead 2003; Duncan and Rewi 2018). Additionally, tikanga is an evolving body of knowledge that has emerged and consistently exposed to new challenges within contemporary society (Mead 2003).

Tikanga Māori is founded by mātauranga Māori, and the development of the knowledge base is around the associated beliefs and cultural concepts, along with our presence retold in tribal traditions and narratives (Mead 2003; Duncan and Rewi 2018). Mātauranga Māori is understood as the epistemological foundations of Māori society that has been developed through Taiwan, Eastern Polynesia and the South Pacific. These learnings travelled with those who settled in Aotearoa (Duncan and Rewi 2018). Complimentary, Mead (2003) states that mātauranga Māori comes with the people, the culture and the language. Māori knowledge is something that we are continuing to grasp with the 'fragments' of Te Ao Māori and Māori culture throughout the years. It is weaved together with tikanga Māori that dictates the ideas, values and notions of appropriateness associated with mātauranga Māori (Mead 2003).

Tikanga and mātauranga Māori underpins many different values and presents how Māori see the world. Throughout this exploration, it provides a snapshot of the ideas and values that Māori hold with them. Furthermore, the establishment of both knowledge forms dictates how Māori behave, our associations with the environment and how it guides our decision-making processes, along with whakapapa (Duncan and Rewi 2018). As expressed beforehand, tikanga Māori is not static and can be different for different groups and individuals (Mead 2003). The holder can shape and apply their own tikanga Māori to their experiences, especially when it comes to decision-making. Additionally, tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori are consistently

considered when making significant decisions, as they are knowledge bases that were established by and guided our tūpuna. As such, it could have an influence or inform our approaches within the housing development process. Therefore, a basis to develop the understanding around these different concepts is significant, and will be explored more explicitly when delving into the a Māori housing development process.

2.1.3 Why would tangata whenua have different housing development rationales?

To begin, we must learn about the beginning of the world. There are various accounts of the Te Ao Māori creation story. For this section, we will cover the creation story involving Papatūānuku (The Earth Mother) and Ranginui (The Sky Father). Papatūānuku and Ranginui were locked in an embrace that caused the world to be engulfed in darkness. To bring light into the world, they were separated by their tamariki. Once light was brought into the world, their tamariki flourished and personify different environmental domains (Reilly 2018). Alongside the emergence of trees, our oceans and birds came humankind. The first human was Hineahuone (the first wahine), who was created from soil. In that respect, humankind was birthed from Papatūānuku and return to her womb after death. Furthermore, a union between Tāne Mahuta (God of the Forest) and Hineahuone created the human race (Royal 2010; Reilly 2018). Both the creation story and origin of mankind showcases the connection Māori have with ngā ātua Māori (the Māori gods). Tāne Mahuta created mankind. Therefore, establishing a connection between us, Tāne Mahuta and other ngā atua Māori. He is the son of Ranginui and Papatūānuku and brothers to Tangaroa (God of the sea), Tūmatauenga (God of war and mankind), Tāwhirimātea (God of winds and weather) and many more. This connection is important to emphasise, especially when discussing our connections we have with the different environmental domains, especially whenua (land).

As established beforehand, all life is seen as being born from the womb of Papatūānuku. From our connections and her abilities, she is highly regarded within Te Ao Māori (Walker 1990; Royal 2010; Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017). Whenua has various meanings and is commonly understood as ‘land’ and it can also mean ‘placenta.’ In relation to Papatūānuku, the lands that float above the water are regarded as her placenta. In conjunction, Māori have the traditional practise of iho whenua, which involves burying a newborn’s placenta and the pito (umbilical cord). The significance of this practise is to establish belonging and to be bonded to the whenua (Walker 1990; Mead 2003; Royal 2010; Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017). The placenta and pito are buried in areas where newborns have a connection to the place that becomes their foundation and tūrangawaewae

(place to stand/ place of belonging). Additionally, it can be seen as giving back to the creator of life and strengthening that bond with Papatūānuku (Mead 2003; Royal 2010).

Whenua plays a significant role in the establishment of our Māori communities. Many whānau, hapū and iwi developed our tūranagawaewae, which became the foundation as a people. Tūrangawaewae is applicable to everyone, as we all have a place to stand or a place to call our own. It provided the establishment of the social system and the area to establish a community. To recognise our tūrangawaewae, pepeha (way to introduce yourself) is a common practise that identifies significant landmarks, such as, mountains, rivers, streams and oceans. Through this process, we identify ourselves as a part of the landscape and it reinforces our connection to the whenua (Walker 1990; Mead 2003; Royal 2010). It is important to emphasise that different traditional practises were strictly bonding exercises. They were never an attempt to own the land, as traditional land tenure never saw land to be owned as a personal asset. This could only be passed down and inherited by whānau members, based on whakapapa (Mead 2003).

The title of this thesis highlights elements of Te Ao Māori. 'Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au - I am the whenua and the whenua is me' is an expression amongst others that emphasises the genealogical relationships between us and the surrounding environment. It reflects the relationship between humans and a physical environmental feature (Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017). Like other Indigenous people globally, many worldviews involve an intimate relationship between the people and the natural environment. This worldview underpins a lot of our interactions and decision making when it comes to the natural environment (Kingi, Wedderburn, and de Oca 2013).

As Māori, we are kaitiaki (guardians/custodians) for the taiao (the natural environment) that is derived from whakapapa. Humankind descends from ngā ātua Māori. Therefore, we must care and maintain the environment alongside other inhabitants (Furey 2010). Being kaitiaki or practising kaitakitanga (guardianship, custodianship) promotes the management and sustainability across the spiritual, environmental and human spheres. Within the environmental realm, kaitiakitanga applied to the authority of a group over land, resources, taonga, wāhi tapu (sacred places), rāhui (temporary ban on using or taking resources from an area) and social protocols, such as care, respect, reciprocity and gifting (Kawharu 2018). Kaitiakitanga is imbued with our traditional practises and techniques when it comes to collecting food and resources, but also ensuring the protection of the taiao and sustainability for future generations. Kaitiakitanga practises relating to whenua involves (Furey 2010):

- Caring and maintaining wāhi tapu, significant to whānau, hapū and iwi.
- Temporary bans on using or taking resources from an area (e.g., rāhui).
- Gathering food and resources when required.
- Utilising the maramataka (Māori lunar calendar) to inform growing and harvesting times.

Kaitiakitanga has many applications that is a prevalent practice in many fields. However, it is vital to discuss the origins and why we as Māori are kaitiaki, especially within our decision-making processes. As kaitiaki, our connection to whenua and the environment makes us look towards the benefits, outcomes and the implications of various spiritual, environmental and human elements of a housing development (Kingi, Wedderburn, and de Oca 2013). Although, this viewpoint is consistently challenged, debated and considered, housing developments from whānau, hapū and iwi may follow the same decision-making process. Therefore, the importance to showcase our perspective as Māori and a potential pathway of how we make decisions on different proposals based on our own knowledge systems and connections to the natural environment.

This section showcases how our tūpuna settled and adapted to Aotearoa. Arriving from Hawaiki into a new land, we brought knowledge that was adapted to the new environment (Walter and Reilly 2018). From this, our tūpuna lived collectively and in their own social units, based on whakapapa and whānaungatanga (relationships) (Kawharu and Newman 2018; Kake 2021; Lee-Morgan et al. 2023). Moreover, tikanga and mātauranga Māori was solidified and became a knowledge system that guided our decisions and behaviour. This was developed through observing and being tuned in with the environment. Our intimate relationship with the environment, as kaitiaki extends towards maintaining and protecting the environment. Settling in Aotearoa brought a distinct culture around Māori society and settlement patterns. Furthermore, how decisions are made and how the environment should be managed (Mead 2003; Furey 2010; Duncan and Rewi 2018). This has remained for contemporary Māori, as traditional practises have been maintained, our knowledge systems are continuously being consulted and many whānau, hapū and iwi are striving to live collectively again. These rationales may be reflective in our housing decisions and development.

The purpose of this section is to highlight how Māori urban development draws from different knowledge, values and relationships than traditional Western urban development. The brief historical component of the section provides important context for understanding Māori urban

and housing development rationales, while highlighting Māori and Indigenous perspectives for housing and urban development. Therefore, providing the significance of researching and investigating the subject at hand. However, historical injustices and current practises have disregarded our perspective, as tangata whenua, and marginalised us with the development of towns and cities and fragmented Māori away from our ancestral lands. As a result, our Indigenous values, processes and perspectives are absent throughout our towns and cities and Māori continue to struggle adapting to urban environments.

2.2 The Establishment of Aotearoa New Zealand Cities

It is important to explore the establishment of our towns and cities, as it displays another record of historical injustice and the imposition of western ideologies through different mechanisms. The attitudes of early explorers, Crown officials and subsequent events after Te Tiriti o Waitangi played a significant role in the foundation of all Aotearoa towns and cities. This section explores the history of dispossession from He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (hereafter, He Whakaputanga), Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the urbanisation of Aotearoa and the specific tactics that assimilated Māori into our cities, which frequently deprived us.

2.2.1 Settler colonialism and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Being an isolated nation, our tūpuna thrived in Aotearoa having minimal contact with Western explorers. Contact that did occur allowed explorers to make 'outsider' observations of our tūpuna who occupied Aotearoa. These observations, based on Eurocentric perspectives, created depictions of Māori as 'savages and bloodthirsty.' It began the 'plight' that created the narrative of 'saving' Indigenous people and the diminishing of Māori culture and lifestyle (Smith 2012).

An increase of British immigration created tension between new settlers and tangata whenua (Jones 2016). To subdue the tensions, He Whakaputanga was first developed to create a sovereign authority to manage and enforce provisions to control the various affairs happening within Aotearoa at the time. Moreover, it recorded the Māori leaders' aspirations for peace and prosperity between ourselves and the British settlers (O'Malley and Harris 2017; Livesey 2019). He Whakaputanga was signed by thirty-four Māori rangatira (leaders) in 1835. Significantly, it recognised the rangatiratanga (leadership), mana (power/authority), legislative and territorial authority of Māori that was established prior to early contact with Britain. Nevertheless, the document was signed by King William IV. Therefore, the Crown acknowledged He Whakaputanga and the United Tribes as the sovereign authority over Aotearoa (O'Malley and Harris 2017).

After He Whakaputanga, the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi was established to provide a framework for the relationship between Māori and the developing New Zealand Government (Jones, 2016). The Treaty of Waitangi is transcribed in English and Te Tiriti o Waitangi is transcribed in Te Reo Māori. In 1840 at Waitangi, rangatira and British representatives signed the Treaty to allow for the British to settle in Aotearoa. The majority of Māori rangatira signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which gave precedence over the Treaty of Waitangi legally and in our view (Jones 2016 ; Livesey 2019). After the treaty was signed, the Crown breached what was agreed to in both the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which induced various measures for the Crown to violently take control over Aotearoa. The establishment of the New Zealand Government allowed for cascading legislation that aimed to disadvantage Māori within our own nation. The policies and legislation allowed for land dispossession and the criminalisation of customary Māori traditions and practises (Boulton et al. 2021). Unbeknownst to rangatira, selling land imposed the Pākehā notion of land tenure where land sold was freehold title, making it inalienable to others. Māori rangatira who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi believed that they were granting settlers rights to occupy that is similar to a lease (Schrader 2024). These methods have been utilised globally on Indigenous communities, leading to the loss of our rights to manage and govern our land with the arrival of colonial settler societies (Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). In the context of the urbanisation of Aotearoa, land alienation and the introduction of legislation to assimilate Māori within western society have been the most significant from colonisation (Ryks et al. 2014; Kake 2019; Boulton et al. 2021). These impacts allowed for the rapid development of Aotearoa's cities with the assertion of Eurocentric influence to shape our cities (Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017). Furthermore, introduced assimilation policies pushed Māori into urban spaces where our knowledge, customs and practices were marginalised and oppressed (Kake 2019).

It is significant to look backwards to early explorers arriving to Aotearoa, He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, as these events showcase the beginning of historical dispossession in Aotearoa, through the introduction of foreign concepts to our people (Kake 2019). In the context of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the continuous breaches from the Crown, it forcefully stripped Māori of being the sovereign authority of Aotearoa and imposed western ideologies into housing and land ownership. Sovereignty was solidified with Māori being the first to discover Aotearoa and being recognised by the British monarchy with He Whakaputanga (Jones 2016 ; O'Malley and Harris 2017; Livesey 2019). The purpose of exploring historical

dispossession and the effort of the Crown lays out the foundation of urbanism that is distinctly Māori. Through historical dispossession came a call to action to remedy these experiences that continuously disadvantaged and affected Māori. Unfortunately, it brought an onslaught of various tools, tactics and legislation that allowed for land dispossession, diminishing our culture and traditions and the dominance of Eurocentric influence that have shaped Aotearoa's cities today.

2.2.2 The development of Aotearoa's urban centres

It is important to echo that many of our towns and cities were originally occupied by Māori in the form of pā (fortified villages) and papakāinga (Ryks et al. 2014; Schrader 2024). Māori settlements were strategically placed, where we had easy access to food and resources that could sustain our population. Moreover, we established settlements around trade routes and usually on high elevation or vantage points to see other tribes incoming to either visit or for warfare (Waa, Pearson, and Ryks 2017; Schrader 2024). Much of the knowledge around our pre-colonial settlement patterns has been lost, due to being naturally destroyed by significant natural hazards or perished beneath attempted colonial erasure and building on top of our own settlements. However, the emergence of our mobility and relocation of pā and marae in the face of significant natural hazards pre-colonisation has contributed to the maintenance of our traditional settlement patterns (Bailey-Winiata et al. 2024; Schrader 2024).

Prior to the New Zealand Land Wars in the 1800s, the British-based New Zealand Company played a big role in the establishment of Aotearoa's first settler colonial towns. In the 1840s, the New Zealand Company had founded six out the seven settler colonial towns. This included Te Whanganui a Tara (Greater Wellington Region), Whanganui, Ngāmotu (New Plymouth), Whakatū (Nelson), Ōtepoti (Dunedin), Ōtautahi (Christchurch) with Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) being established by the colonial government (Schrader 2024). The New Zealand Company founded these cities, promising a peaceful settlement that would enhance the settlement's natural features. Unfortunately, this was far from reality. Similar to the Crown, the New Zealand Company's business model promoted buying Māori land cheaply and reselling it to investors and new settlers at an inflated price (Schrader 2024). This business model undermined Māori land tenure, where only one rangatira was commonly consulted to purchase land, which is held collectively with multiple owners or someone outside the iwi or hapū was consulted (Stuart 2017; Schrader 2024). For example, the New Zealand Company arrived in Te Whanganui a Tara and presented a signed deed to purchase the city that was occupied by local rangatira. A promise was made by the Company to set aside one tenth of the

Port Nicholson District that would be held by the local rangatira. Conversely, this promise was not kept, when surveyors began to mark the promised section that was occupied by Māori settlements. Outraged, local mana whenua (people with territorial authority) resisted giving up the land before being met and threatened with armed forces at Te Aro Pā to remove them from the area. This event allowed for the land to be seized by the New Zealand Company (Stuart 2017).

To elaborate further, the repeated breaches of both treaties were strategically utilised to acquire ownership of resources, justify the invasion and destruction of Māori communities and the confiscation of Māori land, as punishment for refusing to pledge allegiance and sell land to the Crown (Livesey 2019). In most respects, where resistance was met led to the New Zealand Land Wars. This resulted in a violent struggle between iwi and the Crown around the acquisition of land. For example, the aftermath of the Waikato Land Wars led to the Crown confiscating all Waikato lands and the banishment of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero Te Tuarua, Kīngi Tāwhiao (the Second Māori King) and his people to the outskirts of Waikato, known as the King Country (O'Malley 2016). The forceful and violent acquisition and confiscation was solidified with the introduction of other legislation, such as the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 and the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863. Combined, the legislation allowed and justified mass land confiscations following the New Zealand Land Wars fought between Māori and the Crown (Kake 2019). On top of these horrendous events, the Native Lands Act 1865 provided for the establishment of the Native Land Court, who converted many of remaining Māori lands into fee simple title that made it easier to purchase. It played a significant role in further land dispossession and the decline of land within Māori ownership. Furthermore, the suppression of Māori traditions, culture and language through the Native Schools Act 1867, the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 and the Native Health Act 1909 contributed significantly to isolate Māori from our traditional ways, assimilate into Western society and criminalise our cultural practices (Kake 2019).

Settler colonialism requires a presence and dominance of space to re-make Indigenous spaces into their own (Schrader 2024). Legislation and historical events have played a significant role in exiling tangata whenua from areas, which aided the easy development of settler colonial towns. Hence, a common tool to enforce this was the introduction of urban or environmental planning, which supported the destruction and rise to re-shape established settlements to reflect Eurocentric ideologies (Kake 2021; Schrader 2024). Urban planning was weaponised to justify the design of our cities and limits Indigenous groups and our traditional economic practises

(Hibbard, Lane, and Rasmussen 2011; Porter 2017). Similar to other settler colonial states, Māori were marginalised and disempowered through the planning system. The beginning of urban planning in Aotearoa is rooted in colonial and racist ideologies that paved Western ideologies on top of Aotearoa's topology and established Māori settlements (Kake 2021; Olin et al. 2022). A well-known example of how planning was weaponised comes through the experiences of Ngāti Whātua in Tāmaki Makaurau. The presence of the Crown led to Ngāti Whātua losing 99% of their land. All that was left for Ngāti Whātua was a 700-acre block within Ōrakei from the 80,000-acre estate that was confiscated. The 700-acre dwindled from consecutive Crown confiscations that was constantly met with resistance from Ngāti Whātua. Sadly, the planning department of Tāmaki Makaurau (now Auckland Council) had marked Ōrakei as a new garden suburb, putting more pressure on those occupying and resisting the development (Blair 2010). In the end, Ngāti Whātua were met with forceful efforts from the Crown to gain the last 13-acres of land. The Crown burnt down the remaining papakāinga and forcibly removed ngā uri o Ngāti Whātua (the descendants of Ngāti Whātua) who were occupying the area (Blair 2010). In this case, planning practise was wielded to threaten and pressure tangata whenua who stood in the way of urban development and created the depiction that Māori are always rebellious and inhibiting urban development. Thereby, creating unfair discourse about tangata whenua and leading to violent and drastic measures to forcibly remove tangata whenua out of an area and destroying an established community, significant to Ngāti Whātua. Therefore, environmental planning justified urban development within the Indigenous domains, while forcibly sidelining tangata whenua throughout the process and responding violently to progress development (Hibbard, Lane, and Rasmussen 2011).

In summary, the early breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi displayed a turn for the Crown to overpower and overwhelm Māori with foreign systems, values and processes. As explored, the breaches of the Te Tiriti and associated events was the main catalyst that allowed for the development of our urban centres that were originally occupied by Māori (Livesey 2019; Schrader 2024). This was further regulated through the introduction of urban planning in Aotearoa, that continued to affect Māori. The various mechanisms included legal avenues with the government and sneaky sales with the New Zealand Company that allowed for Māori land to be sold (Stuart 2017; Schrader 2024). However, the New Zealand Land Wars (O'Malley 2016) and the experiences of Ngāti Whātua (Blair 2010) are important examples of the violent lengths that the Crown went to acquire land, when Māori resisted the imposition of land confiscation (Kake 2019). Furthermore, the power of the Native Land Court to further

dispossess Māori of our land and the urban planning system to keep Māori locked out and contained to partake in the development of towns and cities (Hibbard, Lane, and Rasmussen 2011; Porter 2017; Kake 2021). The efforts of the Crown left Māori landless and vulnerable, therefore, leaving us to migrate towards our rural landscapes and other places. Despite confiscation and banishment, the New Zealand Government then encouraged us to relieve our responsibilities in our rural lands and move back to urban areas that they had developed.

2.2.3 The Māori urban migration

The urban migration of Māori has been recognised as the most rapid internal migration of a population globally (Ryks et al. 2014). The switch from rural into urban centres rapidly changed from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Before World War II, 90% of the Māori population were living in rural areas. The 1901 census records showcased the number of Māori within urban centres stood at 45,549. In 1951, the number of Māori within urban centres increased to 134,862 (Haami 2018). At this point, 85% of the Māori population lived in rural locations and 15% in urban areas. This switched by the end of the twentieth century, where 85% of the Māori population lived in urban centres (Ryks et al. 2014; Ryks, Pearson, and Waa 2016; Ryks, Simmonds, and Whitehead 2019).

There were various reasons that led many Māori to move to urban centres. After World War II, the reality of living in a rural environment with functioning iwi and hapū social structures changed. The pull to the city was strongly promoted and deemed desirable, due to it being easier to find work, earn money and access leisure (Haami 2018). The effects of colonisation disrupted thriving Māori economies, especially for the remaining tribal lands that Māori held. Therefore, deteriorating the traditional livelihoods of Māori in rural areas. Furthermore, significantly impacting iwi and hapū social structures and leaving us in another vulnerable position. (Ryks et al. 2014; Haami 2018; Livesey 2019; Kake 2021). As mentioned beforehand, the underlying influence enticing Māori to urban centres was the New Zealand Government. They encouraged Māori to move into urban centres to provide a boost to the post-war labour force, including Māori ex-serviceman who served in World War II, who were away for a significant amount of time. Many were surprised to find on their return, their whānau had been severely impacted with many of our lands being confiscated in the events discussed beforehand. Those who served in World War II were promised land, as means of compensation for their time served. However, Sir Apirana Ngata (first Māori Politician) expressed the dichotomy of the Crown's intention of acquiring lands for the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen, as the New Zealand Government looked towards Māori land to help the rehabilitation programme and the

impact that would have on Māori ex-servicemen, whānau, hapū and iwi (Hearn 2018). These incentives were also provided to the general Māori population to entice us to move by providing accommodation, secured employment and social services regardless of the continuous impact the New Zealand Government had on Māori in the past (Ryks et al. 2014; Ryks, Pearson, and Waa 2016; Kake 2021).

It is criticised that Māori urban migration was a decisive decision of successive governments to assimilate Māori into western society. At the same time, it would leave rural areas free for utilisation (Ryks et al. 2014; Haami 2018). The New Zealand Government initiated a Māori urban relocation programme that encouraged us to relieve our duties and reliance on rural regions and move towards urban centres (Walker 1990; Ryks et al. 2014; Haami 2018). The intervention and encouragement by the New Zealand Government for Māori to move away from ancestral lands and into a predominantly western space created ongoing issues around disconnection to our practises, recognition of ancestral connections to our whānau, hapū and iwi and significant ties to our whenua tūpuna (Haami 2018; King et al. 2018; Berghan 2020, 2021).

Māori urban migration was another tactic utilised by the New Zealand Government to further disrupt our traditional lifestyles. This is another example of the Crown asserting its dominance and control. Māori urban migration was advertised with positive connotations, where urban centres will provide a better lifestyle within towns and cities. However, it was a decisive decision by the government to continue our assimilation into western society with the development of towns and cities (Haami 2018). The main implication of Māori urban migration was to disconnect whānau, hapū and iwi members from our ancestral homelands and create reliance on the urban environment (Haami 2018; King et al. 2018; Berghan 2020, 2021). Yet, many are beginning to return to our ancestral homelands to build papakāinga or establish one in urban areas for our whānau. As explored in the next section, many Māori struggled to adapt to housing, as historical and current housing development does not take into account Māori lifestyles and extended whānau structures. Hence, we are resolving this issue by providing housing solutions for Māori by Māori (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). However, urban relocation and continuous interventions by the New Zealand Government peels back more layers and exposes their true intentions around what was considered efforts to position Māori in better places but continuously kept the Māori population in a vulnerable state by separation from tikanga Māori, mātauranga Māori and our ancestral homelands.

2.2.4 Adapting to the city

The integration of Māori into urban lifestyles was difficult, due to the repercussions of broken promises from the government around whenua, the effects on the taiao and taking over landscapes under the manaakitanga (care/kindness/support/generosity) and an extension of kaitiakitanga from mana whenua. The modification of landscapes saw the manipulation of natural landforms and features to conform to intended land use practises. This included residential areas being built directly on top of significant landforms, cultural sites of significance and natural features such as streams, wetlands and swamps being controlled to allow for continued development (Kake 2021; Schrader 2024). The manipulation and modification of landscapes stemmed from urban planning being newly introduced in Aotearoa (Hibbard, Lane and Rasmussen 2011; Kake 2021). The outcomes of such efforts created a disconnect between us and our resources with the major transformation of familiar areas and the manipulation of significant natural features (Livesey 2019; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023).

From the 1940s to the 1960s, the Department of Māori Affairs (Māori Affairs) were tasked to integrate and resolve the struggles that urban Māori were grappling with when relocating into the city. They were a significant actor in assisting and integrating Māori within the new and unfamiliar urban environments through various policies and housing schemes (Haami 2018). Unfortunately, these policies and initiatives amplified the assimilation of Māori into western society (Ryks et al. 2014; Ryks, Pearson, and Waa 2016; Ryks, Simmonds, and Whitehead 2019). The main tactic involved providing state housing for Māori. Although, Māori were initially excluded from the housing market and state housing, due to racist premises and attitudes claiming that our presence would ‘lower the tone’ of state housing communities and being unable to afford state houses (Schrader 2024). However, this was changed, due to the influx of migrating Māori after World War II (Schrader 2024).

Māori Affairs had introduced the housing scheme in response to significant population growth within urban centres. Māori were encouraged to apply for houses and assimilate into urban life by engaging with a policy and scheme that is known as ‘pepper-potting.’ From 1940s to the 1970s, the pepper-potting policy offered urban state housing to Māori but allowed for the strategic placement and dispersal of Māori whānau amongst Pākehā filled suburbs (Walker 1990; Haami 2018; King et al. 2018; Kake 2019; Schrader 2024). The housing scheme favoured whānau who had or were willing to commit to a traditional Pākehā nuclear family model in comparison to an extended whānau unit (Haami 2018; King et al. 2018). Sadly, the

mentioned government policies and schemes were created to break down the remaining remnants of traditional Māori society that prevented Māori to be fully integrated into Western society (Walker 1990; Ryks et al. 2014; Ryks, Pearson, and Waa 2016; Haami 2018; Kake 2019; Ryks, Simmonds, and Whitehead 2019; Schrader 2024). Moreover, the coerced efforts to assimilation extended beyond the home with the forced and violent measures to discourage speaking Te Reo Māori in schools and workplaces as well (Ryks, Simmonds, and Whitehead 2019; Kake 2021).

Returning to the built environment that was once familiar came with challenges. Urban development transformed the landscape to a significant extent, which was justified through planning practise in Aotearoa (Kake 2021; Schrader 2024). Furthermore, the capability to adapt to this new environment and lifestyle would have been a significant challenge for whānau. Nonetheless, the efforts by the New Zealand Government around supporting Māori with urban relocation and settlement was rooted with familiar tactics. The pepper-potting policy aimed to emphasise the importance of a single nuclear family and individualism in contrast to the traditional norms of Māori society, significantly socialising and providing for our extended family and whānaunga. (Walker 1990; Ryks et al. 2014; Ryks, Pearson, and Waa 2016; Haami 2018; Kake 2019; Ryks, Simmonds, and Whitehead 2019; Schrader 2024).

This section highlights another branch of Māori urbanism. It communicates our experiences from the development of our cities, how we were treated to establish these areas and settling in these areas. Despite being left out of the development of Aotearoa and the consecutive attempts for assimilation, these experiences rooted Māori urbanism in pushing back against historical injustices and western frameworks, which has inspired our approaches and methods today to ensure we are included in these decisions and processes. Also, this section examined the breadth of historical dispossession and the significance of the various events that disadvantaged Māori within housing development and experiences. Consequently, this created the push to combat the housing issues that were imposed on tangata whenua and participating within legislation, planning issues and becoming major developers themselves.

The next section will explore how tangata whenua are combating the injustices through the legislative mechanisms that sought to exclude us through the planning process. Through the treaty settlement process, support from central and local governments and the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA), Māori are continuing to be recognised, that requires legal obligations for Crown organisations to engage with Māori, while compensating iwi and hapū

from the Crown breaching Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Therefore, granting whānau, hapū and iwi opportunities to develop housing through different measures. The efforts of the Crown left Māori landless and vulnerable, leaving us to migrate away from our ancestral lands. Through extreme hardship, a turning point has begun in urban development and housing. Setting a precedent around what Māori housing could look like in Aotearoa, while having ripples to help Indigenous communities globally.

2.3 Kei whea mātou ināianei?; Where are we now?

The history of dispossession positioned Māori poorly within urban and housing environments in Aotearoa. As a response, tangata whenua continue to push back and be involved in housing and urban developments by getting involved with environmental planning processes or developing housing for our people. This section looks at the present, most importantly where whānau, hapū and iwi are now. Moving into the present, our housing and wellbeing experiences are explored to understand how we are faring in comparison to the general population of Aotearoa. Whānau, hapū and iwi are intervening to combat poor housing and wellbeing outcomes, including the national housing crisis. Iwi and hapū are utilising treaty settlement packages to jumpstart our own property and housing endeavours. Furthermore, we are pursuing our own papakāinga developments that return people back to our traditional settlement patterns that our tūpuna practised. Lastly, tangata whenua are contributing to urban planning, through embedding Indigenous values and stories in our built environments. The outcome enables our aspirations within the field to be realised and establishes better relationships with local government (regional and district councils). Significantly, this section explores our expression of tino rangatiratanga by providing housing opportunities for the benefit of our people.

2.3.1 Housing realities for Māori

The imposition of legislative mechanisms and the prevalence of western ideologies created and colonised the urban and housing landscapes of Aotearoa (Berghan 2020). Like many settler colonial states, the grid layout of towns were introduced, which dictated the placement and allowance for certain land use practises, such as commercial, industrial, rural and residential activities (Kake 2021; Schrader 2024). Furthermore, residential housing in urban areas conformed to the Pākehā nuclear family model (Lee-Morgan et al. 2021), while being situated away from our ancestral lands (Haami 2018; King et al. 2018; Berghan 2020, 2021). These influences have severely deprived Māori within the housing sector and are detrimental to our housing experiences. As such, we are associated with many negative statistics within the total

population of Aotearoa, associated with wellbeing and housing (Menzies et al. 2019; Berghan 2021; Statistics New Zealand 2021).

Māori experience poorer housing outcomes and conditions in Aotearoa. The sub-standard housing outcomes relate to overcrowding, unhealthy homes, increasing rental costs and homelessness (Statistics New Zealand 2021; Whitehead and Walker 2021). Alongside these parameters, Māori home ownership has declined significantly over the past century (Menzies et al. 2019). To combat these issues, Menzies et al. (2019) emphasise the importance of cultural understanding to build better homes for Māori, due to the impact and limits of western knowledge and its poor transfer of ideologies to other cultures, especially to Indigenous populations. For example, overcrowding is a testament towards imposing Pākehā normalities on Māori lifestyles. Overcrowding and sharing accommodation is much higher amongst non-European populations, especially Māori and Pacific people (Amore, Viggers, and Howden-Chapman 2018). As demonstrated previously, our whānau groups span across generations in comparison to European populations, where we generally care for a variety of whānau members (King et al. 2018). Therefore, binding us to housing that does not cater for those values and practises (Statistics New Zealand 2021). As mentioned previously, colonisation continues to exert its influence, exacerbating many of the other housing disparities that Māori experience and our rights to good quality and fit-for-purpose housing (Menzies 2018; Menzies et al. 2019; Yates 2021; Whitehead and Walker 2021; Olin et al. 2022).

Exploring the Māori housing realities showcases the result of historical injustices that Māori endured throughout colonisation and urbanisation of Aotearoa. This is reinforced as our representation within negative housing statistics does not stem from Māori being the problem (Menzies et al. 2019). Housing does not cater for the needs of Māori, based on various indicators (Menzies et al. 2019). Therefore, it is important to integrate Māori approaches and ontology into the housing sector in Aotearoa to benefit the population as a whole (Menzies 2018; Smith 2018). Moreover, aligning the benefits and outcomes of housing developments that improve and advance our Indigenous wellbeing, which spans wider into environmental and cultural domains (Yates 2021). Consequently, Barry and Thompson-Fawcett (2020); Olin et al. (2022) and Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett (2023) provide a call to action for the inclusion of Māori rationales within the housing ecology of Aotearoa. It begs the question, how are tangata whenua getting involved?

2.3.2 Empowerment through the treaty settlement process

To mend the continuous breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the treaty settlement process addresses any grievances between the Crown and Māori. The inception of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 established the Waitangi Tribunal (the Tribunal). The role of the Tribunal is to hear claims of both historical and contemporary breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi brought to them by different iwi and hapū (Ryks et al. 2014; Jones 2016). From these proceedings, the Tribunal is tasked to develop findings and recommendations to the Crown that guide compensation and redress packages to affected iwi and hapū. These packages acknowledge the breaches and return some lands, based on the claimant's research. Tribunal research, recommendations and terms are then negotiated between the Crown and the claimant. The recognition of the breaches through historical accounts and commercial redresses can include direct financial compensation and the rights of first refusal to purchase government properties in the future. Lastly, cultural redress tends to the cultural interests, where culturally significant land is vested and returned to the claimants. Moreover, co-governance agreements, statutory acknowledgements and deeds of recognition are generated over significant natural features that states the claimant's association with a specific site or natural feature (Jones 2016 ; Bell 2018).

The results of treaty settlements allow for many advances to be made by iwi and hapū. This includes recognising cultural sites of significance and establishing Māori frameworks that reflect a Māori perspective, such as the legal personhood of the natural environment or specific landscape features (Jones 2016). Significantly, treaty settlements grant the ownership of areas of Crown land that are returned to iwi and hapū (Livesey 2017a). It is acknowledged that only a tiny portion of land disposed is reinstated to iwi and hapū. Nevertheless, treaty settlements assist Māori communities to rebuild our economic resources through what resources are returned under the treaty settlement (Ruske 2014; Livesey 2017b, 2019; Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020). In the context of Aotearoa, treaty settlements have enabled many whānau, hapū and iwi to lead property developments within our own tribal boundaries (Ruske 2014; Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020).

The treaty settlement process has progressed, as a pathway for Indigenous-led property development, where reparation and acknowledgement of treaty breaches evolves from the rightful return of land to Indigenous-led property developments (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). Intrinsically, Indigenous property development or tribal housing development contributes significantly towards greater economic self-determination that extends towards our own mana motuhake and tino rangatiratanga, as

iwi and hapū (Bell 2018; Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020). At the same time, it indigenises cities as an Indigenous place through the creation of spaces that support Indigenous self-identity and the ability to live with whānau and tribal members (Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). Likewise, Indigenous organisations have deep ancestral connections to areas and significant responsibilities environmentally, physically and spiritually. Fundamentally, this ensures that urban development is within the parameters that contributes to economic and cultural well-being (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020). Thereby, leading to different and meaningful urban forms that attend to the various needs and aspirations of tangata whenua.

To exemplify, the ventures of Waikato-Tainui provide examples around Indigenous-led property developments to establish economic assets and housing to benefit the tribal people. Being a Post Settlement Governance Entity, it represents the Waikato confederation of hapū and whānau over the central North Island. Settling the Waikato Raupatu (confiscation) Claims in 1995 (*Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995*) and Te Awa o Waikato (Waikato River) in 2008 (*Waikato-Tainui Raupatu Claims (Waikato River) Settlement Act 2010*) allowed for the return of culturally significant lands and the recognition of the Waikato River. Through the settlement process, Waikato-Tainui is recognised as one of the major urban landowners within Kirikiriroa (Ryks et al. 2014). Through the treaty settlement process and subsequent ventures, Waikato-Tainui owns 13 hectares of whenua in the central city of Kirikiriroa (Tainui Group Holdings 2023). It has various endeavours within real estate, significantly providing housing for their tribal people in Kirikiriroa and the wider Waikato. This includes Hopuhopu, Te Hiringa, Te Mauri Paehere ki Mangakōtukutuku and Rotokauri (Waikato-Tainui 2024). The return in real estate has been estimated at around $1.1 – $1.5 billion each year. (Waikato-Tainui 2023, 2024). Therefore, solidifying their role as a major landowner and developer in Waikato, while also stretching to other places within the tribal takiwā and developing other portfolios around health and wellbeing for the tribe.

The treaty settlement process is a common pathway that many iwi and hapū utilise to kickstart our own ventures (Ryks et al. 2014). The process sets settled iwi and hapū in a good position to venture into property development on our own terms by providing the opportunity to grow economic bases, while being granted the ownership of lands that once belonged to us. The settlement process, however, can change the nature of the urban development process by imposing new challenges on iwi and hapū, such as resourcing, knowledge of property development and the urban planning process, let alone how to participate within these systems (Ryks et al. 2014). Therefore, various Māori and tauiwi (non-Māori) experts are consulted to

help guide iwi and hapū organisations (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020). Overall, this section has showcased one of the mechanisms that iwi and hapū have utilised to participate in property development and become major urban developers, with Waikato-Tainui being one of the examples. Although an emerging field, Indigenous property development and participation has the potential to transform the urban and housing landscapes to be more inclusive of diverse housing opportunities, while imbuing Indigeneity within our urban and rural spaces (Olin et al. 2022; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023).

2.3.3 Papakāinga developments

The revitalisation of Māori housing development and collective living is being observed around the motu (island) (Berghan 2020). Urban and rural papakāinga are beginning to be developed by whānau, hapū and iwi. Like many kupu Māori (Māori words), there are many definitions of papakāinga and different terminologies. To break up the word, kāinga means home, village or settlements. Papa refers to Papatūānuku or whakapapa, emphasising individual and/or collective foundation and connection to a place (Berghan 2020, 2021; Lee-Morgan et al. 2021). Contemporarily, it refers to communal settlements that include more than one dwelling that can include communal facilities (Te Puni Kōkiri 2024). The placement of papakāinga is mostly observed to be on Māori and general land (fee simple title), which occupy either urban or rural areas (Menzies 2018; Menzies et al. 2019; Kake 2021). Papakāinga developments come in many shapes and sizes, but all pertain to having many dwellings within one area that is occupied by whānau members with Te Ao Māori principles and values at the nexus of the development. Hence, fostering communal living that our tūpuna experienced, due to the pressures and negative outcomes whānau face within the housing sector (Menzies 2018; Menzies et al. 2019).

Land classification dictates the process on preparing for papakāinga developments, significant developments that occur on Māori land. Various papakāinga toolkits exemplify the steps required to develop successful papakāinga developments on Māori land. Significantly, developing on Māori land requires extra steps in comparison to papakāinga built on general land. To summarise the various steps, the first steps involve socialising the idea of a papakāinga development amongst the other landowners, organise the occupants for the development and dealing with the Māori Land Court. Once organised, a License to Occupy (LTO) is obtained to begin the development and master planning stage that involves technical design and the consenting stages. Lastly, comes constructing, with procurement and finance occurring throughout the entire development, which involves mortgages/property schemes for occupants

from now and into the future (Hastings District Council 2008; Waikato District Council 2015; Te Puni Kōkiri 2017; Te Rūnanga Ā Iwi o Ngapuhi 2019; Western Bay of Plenty District Council 2020a, 2020b, 2020c, 2020d).

The summary of steps outlines what it takes to create and design a papakāinga development on Māori land. However, there are various barriers within the process that complicates the development process for papakāinga, such as Māori land processes, urban planning/local government requirements and financial barriers (Livesey 2010; Kake 2019; Menzies et al. 2019). Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 is the current legislation that deals with Māori land (Jones 2016). In relation to papakāinga development, Māori land that is utilised are Māori Freehold and Māori Customary Land (Te Puni Kōkiri 2024). These blocks of land are collectively owned and managed by multiple owners and generally occupies rural landscapes (Kingi, Wedderburn, and de Oca 2013; Menzies et al. 2019). Collective ownership and multiple landowners creates challenges and struggles for whānau who want to develop a papakāinga by slowing down decision-making and increasing administration costs to progress the development, as the number of owners can span towards hundreds and thousands in serious cases. Hence, approaching a decision and navigating internal matters and interests amongst many landowners to establish a LTO and the development can be hindered severely, along with Māori Land Court proceedings (Livesey 2010; Kingi, Wedderburn, and de Oca 2013; Kake 2019).

On top of Māori land development processes, our environmental planning legislation is another barrier that restricts papakāinga development. Territorial authorities (district councils) manage land use and have their specified boundaries. Within the boundary, there are different zones that dictate specific land use practises. Zoning and associated rules within district plans are the main barrier, accompanied with hapū and whānau understanding and engaging with the resource management process (Kake 2019; Menzies et al. 2019). Māori land is commonly located within rural zones, which only allow for one dwelling at most on a property. Since papakāinga involve various dwellings, it creates more stringent activity classes that require more consideration from the territorial authorities and more technical reports to be created, hence, more costs to commission these reports to satisfy consenting requirements (Kake 2019; Menzies et al. 2019). Moreover, local government processes incur further costs to the development through rates and infrastructure that needs to be in place to service the development, especially in rural areas (Livesey 2010; Kake 2019; Menzies et al. 2019). Combining these barriers, financing is the main struggle for hapū and whānau when

endeavouring on our own papakāinga development (Livesey 2010; Kake 2019; Menzies et al. 2019).

As a response to the complexity of papakāinga developments, central and local government involvement and support have been assisting Māori. In accordance with Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the identified Māori housing issues, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development have developed the Māori and Iwi Housing Initiative Framework for Action (MAIHI) and MAIHI Ka Ora – The Māori Housing Strategy (Ministry of Housing and Development 2021; Ministry of Housing and Urban Development 2021b). The strategy aims to address long standing challenges that Māori are facing within the housing sector. This includes focusing on partnership efforts between Māori and the Crown, supporting Māori led local solutions and Māori housing supply across the nation. Also, it looks to support whānau into housing and sustain Māori housing solutions, while also learning from the experience as well (Ministry of Housing and Development 2021; Ministry of Housing and Urban Development 2021b).

On a local government scale, papakāinga development toolkits have been developed that outline the required steps and solutions to combat the above-mentioned barriers to support whānau on the development journey (Hastings District Council 2008; Waikato District Council 2015; Western Bay of Plenty District Council 2020a, 2020b, 2020c, 2020d). Many district councils have developed their own toolkits for whānau, hapū and iwi to utilise. Each toolkit is significant to the district and policy landscapes to help support tangata whenua willing to undergo a papakāinga development (Hastings District Council 2008; Waikato District Council 2015; Western Bay of Plenty District Council 2020a, 2020b, 2020c, 2020d). Furthermore, many district councils have specific papakāinga rules within their district plans that allow for papakāinga developments to be undertaken in specific areas and zones, in accordance with Māori land distribution within their district. Recognition within the district plan makes the process easier for whānau, hapū and iwi (Te Puni Kōkiri 2024). Most importantly, Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development) supports many with papakāinga development and Māori housing. Other than their own toolkit and guides, they provide financial support for many papakāinga developments (Te Puni Kōkiri 2017).

Papakāinga developments extends the notion of previous reflections providing more variety of housing options that reflects the diverse housing needs of Aotearoa (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020; Olin et al. 2022). Considerably, the importance of Indigenous expression for tangata whenua in Aotearoa. Through housing development, tangata whenua are beginning to

showcase the benefits of Indigenous-led property development. On another note, it is important to mention central and local government support, as they are influential, specifically at the central government level. Central government sets the precedent around Māori housing issues and solutions by developing and implementing policy throughout the different scales of government organisations, while also funding many parts of papakāinga developments (Te Puni Kōkiri 2017; Ministry of Housing and Development 2021; Ministry of Housing and Urban Development 2021b). Yet, local government are also important actors that can induce change through different housing regulations and policies to make the process easier for whānau, hapū and iwi (Te Puni Kōkiri 2024). To conclude, this section discusses the process of papakāinga developments, and the barriers associated with it. Moreover, it exhibits how our government is helping towards Māori housing initiatives and papakāinga developments. Indigenous-led property development has the power to shift how we as a nation conduct housing development and influence better practise and approaches that is inspired by tangata whenua and our Te Ao Māori approaches.

2.3.4 Tangata whenua involvement within urban planning in Aotearoa

As expressed in the previous section, the beginnings of urban planning in Aotearoa was weaponised to marginalise tangata whenua and aided with land acquisition (Hibbard, Lane, and Rasmussen 2011; Kake 2021). Urban planning and the inclusion of Indigenous people is consistently challenged, as it continues to ignore its role in land acquisition under the assumption that Indigenous people ceded to colonial powers (Porter 2013). Despite being a practice centred around the relationship between land and the people, the planning profession continues to resist including Indigenous people in the process (Porter 2017). This translates into incorporating Indigenous knowledge or engaging Indigenous groups in mainstream ways, which leads to poor planning outcomes and disingenuous engagement attempts (Porter 2013).

In Aotearoa, the RMA is the primary legislation that guides urban planning. At its core, it promotes the sustainable management of natural and physical resources in Aotearoa and ensuring that resources are managed to enable future generations (*Resource Management Act 1991*). There are various provisions that pertain to Māori, tangata whenua and mana whenua within the Act. Most importantly, section 6(e), section 7(a) and section 8 directly mention Māori and the importance of our traditions, taonga, resources, role as kaitiaki or ability to practise kaitiakitanga and taking into account Te Tiriti o Waitangi (*Resource Management Act 1991* ; Thompson-Fawcett, Ruru, and Tipa 2017). Furthermore, the RMA encourages Māori participation through other mechanisms, such as recognising Iwi Management Plans (sections

61, 74 and 77), Joint Management Agreements (section 36), Mana Whakahono ā Rohe agreements (sections 58L – 58U and subpart 2) and the importance for local governments to consult with iwi authorities and take into account iwi planning documents when preparing plans and regional policy statements (*Resource Management Act 1991* ; Thompson-Fawcett, Ruru, and Tipa 2017). Significantly, the RMA provides provisions and opportunities to transfer powers from local governments to iwi authorities as well. Although, this is yet to be fully realised with only one, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, having the powers to monitor their significant water body, Lake Taupō-nui-a-tia (*Resource Management Act 1991* ; Kake 2021).

Currently, Māori continue to navigate through the resource management system to develop our own economies and to protect our lands and waterways, while also playing a significant role in reconnecting Indigenous stories and values into the urban domain of Aotearoa (Awatere et al. 2013; Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017). Simultaneously, local governments continue to recognise the importance of engaging with Māori communities to enable our economic and cultural aspirations through supporting our own developments and contributing towards Indigenous identity within the respective cities and towns (Ryks et al. 2014). Noticeably, local government are grappling with what treaty partnership looks like within urban planning. Current RMA provisions with support of subsequent treaty settlement requirements recognises treaty partnership between local government and iwi authorities. Yet, it can prescribe a fraught process of only liaising with allocated iwi entities to satisfy local government obligations (Bell 2018) and not involving tangata whenua within the decision making processes in many cases or creating the notion that Māori outcomes are an afterthought (Awatere et al. 2013; Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017).

Literature continues to emphasise that Indigenous people are not a simple stakeholder within the process, due to past grievances concerning colonial violence to establish sovereignty over Indigenous people that was originally held by them (Porter 2013). Tangata whenua involvement within urban planning comes through various mechanisms that influences urban design, our built environments and the management of our cultural sites. Significantly, the treaty settlement process, rising economic powers of iwi entities and local government willingness to include their treaty partners are the main pathways that involve tangata whenua within urban planning (Livesey 2017b, 2019). As elaborated beforehand, the treaty settlement process supports iwi organisations to establish our own economic assets and sovereignty. Moreover, it allows iwi entities to gain resourcing to invest time and expertise within the urban planning process, while uplifting respective tribal members to participate within the process.

(Livesey 2017a; Bell 2018; Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020). On the one hand, land use influences of papakāinga development has translated into papakāinga provisions becoming more prevalent within district planning documents (Te Puni Kōkiri 2024). On the other, treaty settlements, however, initiate various other legal mechanisms in relation to planning, such as co-management agreements, the recognition of natural resources through statutory acknowledgement of culturally significant sites or natural features and joint management agreements that local governments are required to put into action (Bennett 2015; Livesey 2017a). Overall, better recognition and inclusion of tangata whenua within the urban planning process has moulded into a pathway that has allowed for us to integrate cultural values and stories within the built environment, normally through urban design but inspired different expressions, such as enabling our own developments and better relationship building between local government and iwi authorities (Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017).

Considering the context of urban planning in Aotearoa, it is important to acknowledge the practise's journey in respect to including tangata whenua within the process. Acknowledging the rocky past, it is important to recognise the strides taken to restore the historical injustices in regard to engaging and partnering with Māori. Currently, it has improved from the inception of the RMA with changing attitudes from local governments and treaty settlements across the motu. As a result, iwi organisations can have a stake within the planning process through settlement legislation and our growing economic presence (Bennett 2015; Livesey 2017a). Moreover, local government willingness plays a role, where they aim to mend and create better relationships with tangata whenua (Te Puni Kōkiri 2024). Accordingly, Māori and Indigenous outcomes, values and stories are beginning to be imbued within our urban and rural landscapes, while also influencing policy to enable themselves through commercial and housing developments (Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). However, these experiences can be variable and are not distributed within different parts of Aotearoa. Hence, this is only the beginning of achieving better urban planning outcomes with Māori in Aotearoa.

This section exhibited the response that Māori are undergoing and the current pathways that have enabled our own developments. Currently, Māori continue to face adversities in our housing landscape across Aotearoa (Menzies et al. 2019; Berghan 2020, 2021). These adversities are directly related to the effects of colonisation and the influence of western ideologies that do not cater for our cultural lifestyles (Amore, Viggers, and Howden-Chapman

2018; Menzies et al. 2019). To respond to historical injustice and to ensure tribal members have access to quality housing, tangata whenua are becoming involved in housing developments in a multitude of ways. The treaty settlement process aids iwi entities in many ways, significantly property development. The settlement packages provide optimal opportunities through returned lands and capital back to iwi entities, who utilise these assets for property and commercial developments (Livesey 2019; Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). On the contrary, hapū and whānau are beginning to return to communal living by developing urban and rural papakāinga. Papakāinga developments tend to live intergenerationally with various dwellings and communal facilities (Te Puni Kōkiri 2017; Kake 2019). Lastly, tangata whenua are becoming more involved within urban planning. Notwithstanding, the inclusion of Indigenous people within urban planning is consistently debated and resisted (Porter 2013, 2017). The willingness and the imposition of legislative mechanisms through treaty settlements have advocated the significance of involving Māori within urban planning (Livesey 2017b, 2019). In totality, Māori-led housing developments in various forms, coupled with involving tangata whenua in a meaningful way in urban planning are major steps that contribute to more diverse and inclusive housing options, cities and towns that reflect our Indigenous values, stories and wellbeing for our people.

2.4 Summary of the literature

From the literature review, there are three key messages identified. To start, the literature review showcases the differences of Māori ideology than western ideologies, associated with housing development. Te Ao Māori, tikanga Māori, mātauranga Māori and lessons from our tūpuna have a significant impact and influence on how housing development should be conducted. Correspondingly, the second message around historical injustices and our colonial history has also had an impact on our current decision making with housing development. Significantly, it has identified specific avenues and pathways that we can pursue to either develop housing or have induced changes within towns and cities and give recognition of the injustices we have experienced in the past. Lastly, the third message is the importance of understanding these aspects are crucial to understanding development in Aotearoa and Māori decision-making process and pathway to develop housing in Aotearoa.

To complement the intention of the literature review, a whakataukī becomes prominent when reflecting on this literature review. The well-known whakataukī describes the way we walk into the future moving backwards – kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua. The application of this whakataukī indicates that we look towards the past to help inform our future response.

Intrinsically, it reinforces the key messages from the literature review, as our colonial history shaped our built environments and continues to influence urban design and form. It showcases how whānau, hapū and iwi are beginning to change the narrative from first arriving to Aotearoa, to the disestablishment and discouragement of those practises, to the revitalisation of our traditional settlement patterns and ways of living in response to poorer housing outcomes. The literature shows that traditional practises, knowledge systems and ethics remain within contemporary society that may support their decision-making processes, especially when undergoing our own housing and urban developments with significant strides to collective living, like our tūpuna once did. Yet, this was disrupted with the imposition of colonisation that allowed western influences that shaped our built environments, along with intentional practises, schemes and legal mechanisms that purposefully disadvantaged and excluded Māori, while aiming to assimilate our people into western society. Regardless of the severe impact on Māori communities, whānau, hapū and iwi have utilised different avenues to help create our own housing and urban developments through the treaty settlement process, central government support and urban planning mechanisms that tend to the wellbeing of tangata whenua and combat the housing disparities and experiences that Māori experience frequently.

3 He Aha Ki Ngā Kawa?; Methodology

This chapter showcases the methods used to conduct the literature review and to gather and analyse the data used within this thesis. The justification around the choice of methods and approaches is discussed, especially the considerations when working with Māori communities. Lastly, positionality of the author is discussed and how that has impacted the research. In summary, the methods utilised for this thesis was Kaupapa Māori Theory, a scoping literature review, whakawhiti kōrero and qualitative thematic analysis. The literature review and data collection methods provide a solid evidence base for understanding a Māori housing development process or framework and revealing what we consider when developing housing for our people.

3.1 Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori Theory is based and informed by mātauranga Māori and tikanga. It solidifies our traditional practises and develops a culturally appropriate approach within the various fields that Māori work across, especially within academia (Smith 1995 ; Pihama 2015). It has an organic nature that projects forward our language, customs, epistemologies and an Indigenous agenda (Smith 1995 ; Pihama 2015; Tiakiwai 2015). This theory was carried throughout the entire research process. The extent of this will be explored in the different sections of this chapter. Similar to the approaches of tikanga Māori, this theory can be determined and aligned by the researcher's knowledge and experiences. As such, specific strides of the theory helped influence the approaches and methodology around data collection and data sharing, which is an important part of Kaupapa Māori Theory (Smith, 2012).

3.2 Scoping literature review

The purpose of the literature review was to answer the first research question posed by this thesis and provide a foundation of knowledge that contextualises Indigenous property development, specifically Māori housing development (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023; Leonard et al. 2023). Acknowledging that Indigenous property development in Aotearoa is an emerging field of knowledge (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023), a scoping literature review was adopted, based on the premises of establishing an evidence base on the emerging field of knowledge (Booth, Sutton, and Papaioannou 2016; Boland, Cherry, and Dickson 2017) and identifying any gaps within the literature (Boland, Cherry, and Dickson 2017). The literature established Māori experiences from our arrival to Aotearoa, the introduction of the

British Crown, colonisation and where we are now, as tangata whenua within the housing sector. From a history of dispossession, we have observed changes where different governmental organisations are rallying to support our housing ambitions, while taking on the challenge ourselves through different mechanisms to provide housing for our people.

The main search methods that gathered the majority of the literature was through 'backward citation chasing' (Haddaway, Grainger, and Gray 2022) and 'reference list checking' (Booth, Sutton, and Papaioannou 2016). Supplementary, another search method of 'free text searching' was implemented to address specific gaps found when compiling all the literature found from backward citation chasing and reference list checking (Booth, Sutton, and Papaioannou 2016; Haddaway, Grainger, and Gray 2022). Consistent with the reasoning of establishing the scoping literature approach on an emerging topic, citation chasing is a common method utilised to build on the work of primary research and relevant experts investigating this topic (Haddaway, Grainger, and Gray 2022). Consolidating similar references helped build the foundation of the literature review and identify relevant sources that are developed under our experiences and history.

Utilising the bibliography of both Olin et al. (2022) and Barry and Thompson-Fawcett (2020), they provided the literature sources that were analysed for the literature review. Olin et al. (2022) explored the future of housing in Aotearoa, with specific references to Māori housing initiatives around the motu. Combined, Barry and Thompson-Fawcett (2020) investigated the context of settler colonial cities and the implications of the planning profession enabling Indigenous property development. Supplementary to this method, 'free text searching' for the literature was utilised to address the gaps that were identified around the urban history of Aotearoa (Booth, Sutton, and Papaioannou 2016). Therefore, the following searches were pre-defined as:

- "Urbanisation of New Zealand"
- "Urban history" AND "New Zealand"
- "Urbanisation" AND Māori"
- "Urban history" AND "Māori"

These terms were searched within Google Scholar and The University of Waikato Library databases with the subsequent literature utilised to address the identified gaps.

3.3 He Piko, He Taniwha, Waikato Taniwharau

Throughout the beginning of the thesis, ideas around who should be interviewed required tapping into the network of the author, specifically around whakapapa and connections. Smith (1995) states that knowledge can belong to a whānau group. Individuals of the whānau group are considered the storers of knowledge and are tasked to share their knowledge to uplift their mana and support the group. Supplementary, Smith (2015) states that Kaupapa Māori Theory encompasses whānau and whakapapa, due to the way we identify ourselves as Māori. Our identity is bound to many relationships, both tangible and intangible. It is linked to whānau and whenua relationships, while being bound to our marae values and language that is specific to our connections. As such, whānau involvement within the research space is hard to avoid, especially within kaupapa Māori (Māori topics/discussions/theoretical framework). Moreover, whānau members have a duty to upkeep and share the knowledge that has been developed by the collective whānau group (Smith 1995; Smith 2015).

The author has whakapapa and connections within te rohe o Waikato (the Waikato Region). The connections extended to whānau members who had either pursued a papakāinga development, housing development or has the aspiration to pursue either. Furthermore, the researcher engaged with kaimahi who work within te rohe o Waikato who have pursued housing for tribal members. Upon further rationalisation of involving whānau members and kaimahi within the thesis, a whakataukī significant to Waikato became prominent. He Piko, He Taniwha, Waikato Taniwharau – Waikato, the place of many taniwha. Within this whakataukī, taniwha (water spirit or chief) are personified as the many chiefs across Waikato. Therefore, tapping into many of the chiefs or knowledge holders in Waikato that recognises and reinforces a tribal position from the participants that is maintained by a researcher with whakapapa to Waikato.

Western research tends to advocate against this notion, as a researcher must be able to observe things as an outsider to ensure they do not interfere with the research process (Tiakiwai 2015). Turning back towards Kaupapa Māori Theory, Pihama (2015) advocates that it has an organic nature that is constantly evolving. It validates and encourages our abilities to apply our traditions, culture and knowledge within the various fields that we work across. Significantly, this applies to involving whānau within the interview and data analysis process. Similar to Smith (1995), Smith (2015) and Tiakiwai (2015) states that Indigenous researchers are insider researchers through their whakapapa and tribal affiliations. Tiakiwai (2015) argues that Indigenous insider researchers can provide a unique perspective, because of the researchers'

knowledge of the culture, history and those involved in the process. Significantly, she referred to her research process where adopting an insider research approach allowed her to represent the stories of those involved in the research process, while putting forward a position on behalf of her iwi. Additionally, this thesis was approved by the Arts, Law, Psychology and Social Science Human Research Ethics Committee Board (see Appendix Five). The ethics application outlined the key issues and protocols for managing perceived conflicts of interest, when encountered.

In summary, the discourse provided above validates the positionality of the researcher. The kaupapa (topic) of the thesis is directed towards the experiences of Māori communities within te rohe o Waikato. Therefore, whakapapa and whānau connections would have been hard to avoid, based on the whakapapa of the author. Furthermore, implementing this approach allowed for a greater understanding and comprehension of the data received, along with comfortability from established relationships between the participants and the researcher. Essentially, the purpose of interviewing whānau, hapū and kaimahi within Waikato was to push forward and highlight the knowledge of the participants and present a tribal position, as ngā uri o Waikato (descendants of Waikato) and will be referred to as a whānaunga approach, rather than an insider approach from this point onwards.

3.4 Whakawhiti Kōrero

The following section showcases the method of whakawhiti kōrero, which includes the steps taken with the participants before and after each of the whakawhiti kōrero sessions. Informed by Kaupapa Māori Theory (Smith 1995; Smith 2012; Pihama 2015), adopting an insider/whānaunga approach (Tiakiwai 2015) and the work of Kiddle (2021), created the various steps that align with the best practise of working with whānau, hapū and iwi.

3.4.1 Anonymising the participants

A total of 8 participants - 5 whānau, 3 kaimahi - shaped this research. To reinforce, the participants were selected on the following criteria:

- Have whakapapa to Waikato iwi and hapū, **OR** work within Te Rohe o Waikato.
- Developed papakāinga or housing for tribal people (tribal housing) or whānau in Waikato, **OR** have the aspiration to develop papakāinga or housing for tribal people (tribal housing) or whānau in Waikato

Throughout this thesis, the participants will be anonymous. In accordance with many of the participants having whakapapa or working in Waikato, they are named as ngā taniwha o

Waikato (water spirits significant to Waikato) that helped guide Te Waka o Tainui (the Tainui canoe) to Aotearoa, who are significant to us:

- **Mawake-nui-o-rangi** – leader that guided Te Waka o Tainui to Aotearoa
- **Pane-iraira** – secured Te Waka o Tainui, as the wave destroyer
- **Ihe** – a Garfish that flanked one side of Te Waka o Tainui
- **Mangō-hikuroa** – a Thresher Shark that flanked the other side of Te Waka o Tainui

The participants within this thesis reflect the actions of the four taniwha that guided and safeguarded our journey to Aotearoa (Jones, 1995). Their participation and guidance has shaped this thesis, while also highlighting their perspectives as Waikato Taniwharau. Therefore, anonymising and giving significance to their names that represent important pillars and kaitiaki amongst ngā tāngata o Waikato. Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira are the names given to two separate kaimahi groups who work on housing within te rohe o Waikato. Mangō-hikuroa and Ihe are the names given to two separate whānau groups who have developed a papakāinga.

3.4.2 Engaging participants

Before beginning the whakawhiti kōrero sessions, important steps must be taken that aligns with whakawhānaungatanga (creating relationships) between the researcher and participants. Kingi, Wedderburn, and de Oca (2013); Tiakiwai (2015); and Leonard et al. (2023) express the importance of establishing relationships and a bond between the researcher and the participants. Kiddle (2021) expresses the important steps to take when engaging with Māori communities and renders the first step as "a thousand cups of tea," which encapsulates the importance of building and solidifying real relationships before the work starts. Both Tiakiwai (2015); and Kiddle (2021) emphasise that this step is through casual means, such as informal conversations or events.

Despite relationships already being established through whānau connections, it is important to undergo whakawhānaungatanga before introducing a kaupapa. Inspired by the approaches taken by Tiakiwai (2015), the expression of interest was facilitated through in person conversations, hui and emails. Approaching whānau members involved in-person conversations or hui to introduce the kaupapa and engage their interest. A different approach was taken when approaching kaimahi. It required tapping into the networks of different kaimahi at iwi organisations. Through internal dialogue with kaimahi that was connected to the researcher and reaching out, kaimahi reached out to the researcher or emails were sent with supporting information around the thesis and external project. After agreeing to be a part of the thesis, initial in-person and online hui were held to provide the opportunity for the researcher

and participants to introduce themselves, the topic of the thesis and the whakawhiti kōrero sessions to be held.

3.4.3 Whakawhiti kōrero sessions

Elder and Kersten (2015) define ‘whakawhiti kōrero’ as the "exchange of ideas and discussion." Within Te Ao Māori, it encourages active discussion and negotiation, specifically utilising Te Reo Māori. This approach allows for easy participation with Māori participants and in most respects communicated easier than using Te Reo Pākehā. It is a commonly used method when interviewing and engaging with Māori communities. The interpretation of whakawhiti kōrero is understood as semi-structured interviews where the questions posed to the participants allow for an open conversation (Elder and Kersten 2015). Smith (2013) states that whakawhiti kōrero is not just a technical instrument for extracting information and data. It is a powerful human interaction that is an exchange of knowledge, memory and thoughts. Therefore, considering all the scholarship around whakawhiti kōrero, the whakawhiti kōrero method was chosen as it is an effective method to engage Māori participants, as we view the interview process as an open discussion that provides the opportunity to exchange knowledge and stories between the researcher and the participants, while using Te Reo Māori (Smith 2013; Elder and Kersten 2015).

The whakawhiti kōrero sessions were held like an interview. Three whakawhiti kōrero sessions were conducted as a group, and one was conducted with one person, resulting in four whakawhiti kōrero sessions altogether. The group whakawhiti kōrero sessions contained two or three participants within each session and a list of questions were developed to help guide the conversation (see Appendix Three and Four) (Pihama, Campbell, and Greensill 2019). The sessions were kept informal with the audio device being kept out of sight (where possible), which lasted between 40 – 60 minutes. Simmonds (2014) emphasises the importance of manaakitanga and flexibility when conducting interviews with participants. Accordingly, this was carried throughout organising and facilitating the sessions. The whakawhiti kōrero sessions were held in different spaces and times. Essentially, the date and location was agreed between the researcher and participant, significantly what was more comfortable and convenient for the participants. Hence, interviews were conducted on dates that worked for the participants and different parts of the Waikato region in either participant’s homes, office spaces or online. Smith (2013) urges Indigenous researchers to move beyond replicating western research methods. Therefore, the role of the researcher must be emphasised in the context of this thesis. The researcher merely attends to listen and facilitate the session. The

participants hold the knowledge of their experiences around housing development. The purpose of the questions was to encourage active discussion and negotiation amongst the participants, yet, they are not bound to what is being asked. They are able to explore other avenues or draw from different experiences pertaining to the question or not. Hence, the whakawhiti kōrero method is a significant enabler for the participants within this thesis.

3.4.4 Ngā tikanga ki ngā whakawhiti kōrero

Before and after the whakawhiti kōrero sessions, tikanga was created to maintain the relationship and express gratitude on behalf of the researcher. Kiddle (2021) employs the following steps that have been renamed to 'Ngā tikanga ki a rātou' and 'Nohoia te mutunga e koe'. 'Ngā tikanga ki a rātou' refers to the tikanga of the people that you will be engaging with. It is important to maintain the tikanga of Māori communities throughout the process, significantly at the beginning of the engagement. This is commonly maintained through a karakia or mihimihi (introductory speech of greeting). 'Nohoia te mutunga e koe' expresses the significance of staying until the end of the engagement. This includes helping pack down, which allows you to connect with the people outside the formalities of the event. Additionally, it is also common gratitude to thank the event space or whare (house or building) by helping manaaki (to take care of) the space that engagement was held in (Kiddle 2021).

Utilising Te Ao Māori proceedings and guided by Kiddle (2021), the beginning of the session started with a mihimihi. The mihimihi acknowledges ngā ātua Māori, Te Kūini Māori (the Māori Queen), ngā mate (those who have passed on), the participants and te kaupapa o te wā (the discussion of the day). After the session, the researcher stayed back, shared kai and spent time with the participants. Both of these were applied with the participants involved in the whakawhiti kōrero sessions to ensure the maintenance of tikanga and good relationship building.

3.5 Data analysis

3.5.1 Transcription of whakawhiti kōrero sessions

Once each of the sessions were concluded and recorded, the researcher utilised a transcription tool, *Kaituhi* to transcribe each of the interviews. This produced a first draft of the transcript that was reviewed and edited before presenting it to the participants. The researcher listened back to the audio recordings of the sessions and edited the transcript to better reflect the conversations that were held within each respective session. Additionally, potential quotes for data analysis were highlighted to possibly be utilised within the data analysis and the

conversations were sectioned within the specific questions (see Appendix Three and Four) that the participants were asked.

After proof-reading and editing, separate in-person hui from the whakawhiti kōrero sessions were held to present the final transcript to the participants. For some of the participants, both an electronic version and hard copies were presented. For other participants, only hard copies were presented. Once finalised, a hui was held for the participants to review and ensure they approved of the content within the transcript and the highlighted quotes to be used within the data analysis. Also, it provided them the opportunity to re-word or remove content in the transcript, emphasise some quotes that may have been missed through the researcher's review of the transcript and add further reflections or clarifications on highlighted quotes to aid the researcher with data analysis. After the review, the transcript was revised and data analysis continued for the findings to be presented to the participants again when completed.

3.5.2 Methodology of analysing the data

The transcription process and the highlighted quotes became the basis for the qualitative thematic analysis that was carried across all of the participants to develop the findings. At the beginning, the highlighted quotes were bundled into their respective groups, whānau and kaimahi. Utilising no software, a manual scan of the quotes in their respective groups was conducted to help with the development of themes. These were then combined or developed into their own themes, based on similar perspectives emerging from the participants or complimenting each of the emerging themes. The themes were then extrapolated with the kōrero of the participants to ensure the themes were consistent. Through this process, the themes were manually highlighted and became prevalent and informed the structure and content that would be contained within the results section.

3.5.3 Presenting findings back to participants

After the completion and review of the findings chapter, a copy of the findings chapter was presented to each of the participants. To present the findings chapter, another separate in-person hui from the whakawhiti kōrero sessions were held. Again, for some of the participants, both an electronic version and hard copies were presented. For other participants, only hard copies were presented. The findings chapter presented to the participants were highlighted, where their kōrero and quotes were included within the findings chapter.

Within each of the hui, the researcher presented the findings chapter broadly around the key findings from the data analysis and delved further into each participant's kōrero and quotes

contained within the findings section. The presentation and hui provided another opportunity for the participants to be comfortable with what was being presented within the thesis and for any further feedback or kōrero to follow from the previous whakawhiti kōrero session and transcription presentation hui. Moreover, to resolve and provide clarity on the findings that the researcher found from the data analysis process. Any further feedback, kōrero or whakaaro that was presented by the participants was captured and included within the findings chapter.

Significantly, this hui allowed for the researcher to present a koha (gift) to each of the participants, as an offer of appreciation from the researcher and research team. The concept of koha is a common practice within Māoridom in many ceremonies and encounters. Mead (2003) emphasises that koha should add to the mana of those people who receive the gift. Correspondingly, Kiddle (2021) summarises the concept of koha by uplifting the space once you leave. Therefore, taking both perspectives into account and the contemporary notion of koha, a voucher was presented to the participants to thank them for their time, whaakaro, kōrero and participation within the thesis.

4 Pūrākau Whakaaro; Findings

This chapter presents results from whakawhiti kōrero sessions conducted with participants. The findings aim to answer the research questions of *what are the values, aspirations and actions tangata whenua use to develop housing in Aotearoa* and *how do the identified values, aspirations and actions of tangata whenua underpin and influence the decision-making process to develop housing in Aotearoa.* Essentially, this section will identify what is important to the participants when developing housing and how it is reflected in the outcomes, whether that is within or beyond the physical structure itself.

The following sections explore the four main themes that emphasise what the participants identified as important when developing housing:

- The responsibilities of living on whenua
- The complexities of developing tribal housing
- Why invest in housing for our people?
- The significance of whānau, hapū and iwi perspectives.

The themes also frame the discussion and serve to emphasise the different Māori values that the participants rationalised when developing homes.

4.1 The responsibilities of living on whenua

This section explores the expectations and responsibilities when you live on whenua. The participants have different experiences regarding whenua they are connected to and where they are situated. Within this thesis, the experiences of whānau living on Māori land, whenua tūpuna and general land who have developed a papakāinga are shared. Moreover, iwi organisations work with whenua that has been returned to them is also included. All the participants expressed the resonating responsibilities that comes with living on whenua in different ways, and the essence of additional responsibilities becoming prominent within the data analysis.

4.1.1 Tiakina tō tātou whenua; look after our land

Mangō-hikuroa and Ihe are the names given to the whānau participants within the thesis. Both participants expressed the significance and privilege of living on whenua tūpuna or whenua that you have roots established upon. However, Mangō-hikuroa stated that living on whenua must include significant strides taken to restore the whenua and return it to what it used to be. This is an instinctive action common from tangata whenua and Indigenous people, due to the

significance of the place historically and its significance now, which sets us apart from other housing developers. They recall its previous land-use and importance to our hapū and whānau:

"It comes with a responsibility, like kaitiakitanga of our whenua. Because we live on a historical site that makes it more different because we have a responsibility to take care of this area."

"We have been planting to try and build up the land again so that in the future someone can build on there."

*(interview with **Mangō-hikuroa** held on 15 December 2024)*

While acknowledging the significance of the site, it brings a major challenge for them. They bring the notion of revitalising the whenua in a sustainable manner that respects and maintains the site, while enabling whānau to come home and live. If the whenua is not tended too, this will impede their aspiration for whānau to return home and live. Hence, their kōrero conveys the additional responsibility as kaitiaki of the area, on top of being occupants.

4.1.2 Tiakina ngā kōrero tuku iho; protect the stories of our past

Another responsibility Mangō-hikuroa and Ihe pertained to was the role of upholding kōrero tuku iho (history or stories of the past). The significance of this responsibility is explored further in a later section, however, both participants feel the innate responsibility to manage and pass down these stories for future generations and expresses our attachment to whenua and place. Mangō-hikuroa expressed the following quote that summarises the feelings from both participants:

"[We need to] pass down our stories to ensure that they are living. Our stories are living and our tūpuna are living."

*(interview with **Mangō-hikuroa** held on 15 December 2024)*

Kōrero tuku iho encompass stories and lessons from our tūpuna that guide our decision-making and actions today. To exemplify, Mangō-hikuroa remember their tūpuna living where they reside now. They aim to plant the whenua and return it to its previous land use. This strategy and approach is guided through kōrero tuku iho, where they viewed their tūpuna managing and sharing the practises to care for whenua through childhood. Living on the whenua brought the innate responsibility to keep their tūpuna alive through associated stories to guide our future generations. On a similar wavelength, Ihe stated the significance of this responsibility where the actions of our tūpuna has been pinnacle for themselves, as it has influenced their perceptions

and practices on what makes a successful home, to build on that knowledge and pass those learnings onto future generations.

4.1.3 Ngā tikanga ki ngā whare; the protocols of the houses

Pane-iraira and Mawake-nui-o-rangi represent the participants who are kaimahi that work on housing within te rohe o Waikato. When developing housing, Pane-iraira stated the importance of tikanga and cultural protocols to be followed throughout the lifecycle of their housing projects. Complimentary, Mawake-nui-o-rangi works with tribal tenants who will occupy the settlement. They elaborate on the importance of working at a whānau and tenant-level, which involves enhancing the mauri (life-force), tikanga and expectations of those occupants.

Both participants seek to enhance the mauri of the area and implement tikanga for the settlement, which is important to consolidate before homes become available to potential occupants. Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira stated that this may involve different cultural protocols, such as a karakia or a mauri stone is placed before the potential occupants occupy the home. It is important from a Te Ao Māori perspective to go through this process to ensure the safety and wellbeing of the occupants, the homes constructed and support the intentions to create a flourishing community.

4.2 The complexities of developing tribal housing

This section explores the complexities and challenges that the participants face when developing housing. The participants communicated their challenges within development processes that hinders their progress to establish housing for whānau and tribal members. The various complexities discussed were spurred from interview questions about any of the barriers they have faced developing housing and returning back home. The conversation led to deeper questioning about, whether there was anything missing within their own process of moving home and developing their homes, the option to change this process and the negative and positive outcomes within the development of housing for whānau and tribal members.

4.2.1 The complexities of living on whenua tūpuna

Mangō-hikuroa stated the various challenges they face living on whenua tūpuna and their process of establishing their papakāinga. The struggles with having multiple owners of Māori land and the implications of living within rural landscapes regarding mahi (work/employment) were discussed. Mangō-hikuroa continued to allow whānau to occupy the area when they want to come home or have nowhere else to go. However, their vision for their papakāinga continues

to be contested by other landowners when other whānau are beginning to move home and become a part of the papakāinga. They stress that the multiple owners system is a barrier for them to execute their vision for their papakāinga.

Regarding accessing mahi within rural areas, Mangō-hikuroa appreciated that being self-employed allowed them to return and establish their papakāinga. The flexibility of their employment and the opportunity to branch out and create their own employment avenues has allowed them to live on whenua tūpuna. However, they acknowledge it as a barrier for others willing to return home, especially accessing mahi close by. The literature is consistent with the remarks of Mangō-hikuroa, which underlines the complexities within collective ownership (Livesey 2010; Kingi, Wedderburn, and de Oca 2013; Kake 2019) and limited mahi options within rural areas (Menzies et al. 2019) being a significant barrier living on whenua tūpuna.

4.2.2 The impact of the market and planning policy

Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira acknowledged the struggles they grappled with developing housing for tribal members. Both participants reflected on their already established housing developments and the outcomes for tribal members. They consider the positive outcomes to achieve tribal member home ownership and occupations, yet, they note the variability of the market and influence of planning policy.

Mawake-nui-o-rangi noted a crucial element to consider is the size of Māori families and the colonial ideology of housing not being fit-for purpose for our whānau structures. Pane-iraira presented a related but new challenge, where homes are getting smaller in urban areas and the efforts to cater for tribal members within larger whānau were made difficult. Both participants acknowledged the significance of the planning changes in regard to density and intensification, including the market favouring smaller homes. However, this variability has had an influence on the outcomes for their established developments, regarding the positive and negative outcomes for tribal members, specifically whether tribal members are willing to occupy smaller houses. Yet, Pane-iraira advocates that there is still a bit of maturity that needs to occur across what is affordable, the reality of high density living and urban living. Moreover, the opportunity to cater for bigger whānau is too unaffordable, hence, their decision-making around housing topology and whānau size is limited to what can be delivered within their capability.

4.2.3 Financial constraints

One of the main issues that Pane-iraira contemplates is presented in the following quote:

"I think it comes back to the issue of capital, [the] best use of capital. So, are you better to take $1,000,000, which would build two houses or are you better to take that $1,000,000 and give tribal members a deposit for their first whare. So again, that's the challenge we are in."

*(interview with **Pane-iraira** held on 28 March 2025)*

They ponder the best use of capital investment that will support tribal members. In relation to the housing space, they ask: would a good investment be developing housing for the people or direct capital for tribal members to achieve a first home deposit? From this revelation, it is important to highlight the unique position of both Pane-iraira and Mawake-nui-o-rangi. Being a housing developer, while providing other avenues to aid tribal members to access a home. However, their unique position comes with the challenge of what are the best ways to invest for people to achieve better housing outcomes. This will continue to be explored within this chapter. On top of this consideration, Pane-iraira stresses the challenge to have capital upfront to pursue housing developments, significantly, the requirements for infrastructure to service the developments, exacerbates their finances further and requires careful and future planning to execute.

On top of their tribal capital, Mawake-nui-o-rangi highlights that they receive funding from different sources to aid their ventures within housing developments, including significant funding support they receive from central government. They accentuate the reliance on funding from the government and how the changing political cycle can have implications on securing funding and extending timeframes to construct housing. The challenge with changing governments stem from working with current governments to socialise their housing project, only for changes amongst Parliament to occur and then start from the beginning with impending Members of Parliament. However, they acknowledge that this presents new opportunities to seek other funding sources and relationship opportunities with other organisations to assist with funding.

4.3 Why invest in housing for our people?

This section showcases the reasoning why some iwi invest in housing. The participants provided their whakaaro when asked about the benefits and outcomes that occur when we develop housing for our people. Significantly, why invest in housing in comparison to other health and wellbeing initiatives to uplift our whānau, hapū and iwi. As such, the findings of this section speaks to the importance of providing housing for our people, especially with the current pressure of the housing sector for current and future generations in Aotearoa.

4.3.1 The whare should come first

When asked about why invest in housing opportunities rather than other avenues, Mawake-nui-o-rangi commented:

"I think it's probably one of the most important ones."

"I think having or not having a house could contribute negatively or positively to your physical health and your wairua [spirit]."

"I think having a house is a good stable platform to continue or work towards your aspirations"

*(interview with **Mawake-nui-o-rangi** on 6 March 2025)*

Mawake-nui-o-rangi advocated that a home creates a foundation for whānau to achieve goals. Essentially, the home is the first place that allows whānau to achieve aspirations and improve our own health and wellbeing. Having a home allows for whānau members to gain employment and access education for ourselves or our tamariki, amongst many other benefits. Moreover, they observe the sense of pride that many people obtain when they own a home. Equivalently, Pane-iraira comments on their own impacts as a developer. They emphasise that they help create intergenerational change, acknowledging that this may be the first time a whānau member has owned a home. As such, they recognise the impact as the main reason why they develop housing, because the outcome transcends the physical structure. The impacts are felt most when both Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira know the occupants personally, through their selection process and attending cultural events for the beginning of construction, the opening of the housing developments and move in days with the occupants.

4.3.2 Hokia tō tātou ūkaipō; returning home

The beauty of living on whenua tūpuna or a place with established tūrangawaewae is the ability to create a focal point for the hapū and whānau to return too. To elaborate further on previous findings, Ihe expressed that our papakāinga has also transformed into becoming an urban marae. They acknowledge the learnings of their mātua and how their parent's practises influenced their own perspective of how a papakāinga should operate. Meaningfully, they recall their whaea (mother) and her ākona (teachings):

"It showed what sort of place Mum had, she had the door open. Our family used to come to visit her and they always came."

*(interview with **Ihe** on 23 January 2025)*

They watched her set down the tikanga of an open-door policy for whānau and friends to visit constantly. Intrinsically, they carried this tikanga with them and continue to practise it with the current papakāinga to remain open and transformed it to function like a marae. Correspondingly, Mangō-hikuroa share the same sentiments that were expressed beforehand, where they become a place for many whānau to return and build a home. To elaborate further on the impact, both Ihe and Mangō-hikuroa state that maintaining the whenua and keeping ownership of the papakāinga within the whānau, they are able to pass these learnings and other kōrero tuku iho in relation to the whenua and place onto future generations.

4.3.3 Responding to the needs of whānau and tribal members

All the participants expressed their concern for whānau and tribal members. Collectively, they had observed the impact and pressure of our housing crisis on whānau. They state that many struggle to secure tenancy or have nowhere else to go. Mangō-hikuroa and Ihe suggested to keeping the papakāinga and whenua ready or accessible when whānau want to return home or need to access housing. Nevertheless, Ihe recognises the efforts of Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira, especially providing housing opportunities for rangatahi (younger generations).

Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira accept that many of the tribal members are in different positions on the housing ladder, whether that is starting our journey, requiring assistance, have the capability to make a deposit on a home or are within government state housing. Accordingly, they also provide a myriad of workshops that upskill and uplift tribal members with financial literacy and home ownership to better position us into potentially buying a house within their own developments or in the open market. Furthermore, to support whānau who are in a position to put a deposit on a home, Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira provide different schemes for tribal members to support us to meet the requirements to buy a home. To date, they have implemented shared equity and explored rent to own schemes to put tribal members on the housing ladder and help subsidise for us to buy a home. Lastly, Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira establish relationships with state housing providers, specifically Kāinga Ora, the Ministry of Social Development and many more purposefully to help us to access or support those already within the state housing system.

4.4 The significance of whānau, hapū and iwi perspectives on housing

This section investigates the importance of the participant's perspectives and how that has influenced what housing might represent from whānau, hapū and iwi perspectives. A lot of the participants' kōrero pertained to improving and safeguarding whānau and tribal members.

However, unravelling the concept of wellbeing of our people was multi-faceted, considering that Māori and Indigenous wellbeing goes beyond the structure of the home and requires a future outlook, so we continue to help whānau and tribal members.

4.4.1 Ko te tāngata; for the people

Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira identified what is profound to them when developing housing. Pane-iraira comments on their own design guidelines that is implemented with every residential development:

"We create design guidelines. A lot of design guidelines try to support community. So you're trying to create something that's enjoyable for the people to live in. You're not just building houses, you are actually building things like the look, the robustness, quality and the landscaping of the development, so it softens up the external concrete or timber. So, place-making, creating central hubs where people are living."

"That's probably one of its qualities, but it's also creating communities that are mindful within layouts and master plans of developments and things like reserves and playparks. And then, you've got the more boring stuff but when you're designing, equally important, [which] is around stormwater management. It gets quite technical these days around wetland creation, water retention and detention tanks and all of it, but it all coincides with the Waikato perspective, because it's water that will go into the awa [river] eventually."

*(interview with **Pane-iraira** on 28 March 2025)*

Pane-iraira articulates the art of place-making is important for them when creating housing developments. Their concept and interpretation of place-making encompasses promoting community amongst potential tenants, mindfulness of the facilities and greenspace surrounding the housing development and positive environmental outcomes. Both Pane-iraira and Mawake-nui-o-rangi utilise a few methods to encourage community amongst the tenants, such as planting fruit trees within each property and no fences to divide properties amongst the tenants. The purpose of these efforts are to encourage people to share and enable whakawhānaungatanga with each other.

The awareness and attentiveness of the development is an important aspect, taking into account the distance of facilities like reserves and parks to support the community aspect further or the impact that the development will have on the environment. Pane-iraira states that they are mindful of the technical outcomes for the development, therefore, the location of the development and stormwater considerations and mitigations sets them apart from other developers and emphasises our perspective as tangata whenua. The home is important, however, our impact on the environment is equally important to consider by pursuing such an endeavour,

especially our impact on our waterways. Therefore, our considerations around a good papakāinga and housing development extends beyond the structure alone, but other important elements, such as the social and environmental outcomes of the development.

4.4.2 Whakamaheretia tō tātou anamata; planning for our future

For the participants, planning for the future involves ensuring the whenua is ready for when the opportunity arises and to plan out assets and development capability to continue supporting tribal members. As expressed beforehand, the kōrero from Mangō-hikuroa and Ihe pertains to their papakāinga, where the papakāinga or whenua is ready for the opportunity for whānau to return home or occupy the papakāinga. This innately involves future planning on their behalf. Significantly, both participants are beginning to communicate their intentions about the future of their papakāinga respectfully. Mangō-hikuroa continues to socialise their aspirations amongst other whānau and landowners, while Ihe intends to call hui (meetings) with whānau to discuss and visualise the future of our papakāinga for the next generations.

On a similar wavelength, Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira express that they have good knowledge and expertise of their assets, which generates their capital to allow for projects to go ahead. With this in mind, Pane-iraira states that their development approach requires significant future planning to manage and indicate their approaches within the short-term (10 years), medium-term (20-50 years) and long-term (100 years). Therefore, their housing and asset development process involves future planning across different technical aspects to inform their projects, including housing for the future. Fundamentally, this analysis involves looking at the assets they currently own and their development potential. Hence, they consider the location of the whenua they currently own, infrastructure requirements and capital capacity to help indicate a good time to invest in developments or projects. Pane-iraira expresses that this approach is an whānau, hapū and iwi approach, which again sets them apart from other developers. To combine the whakaaro of Mangō-hikuroa, Ihe, Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira, this section expresses the attachment to whenua, where we want to build in particular places. The particular places include whenua tūpuna, places where whānau have grown up and whenua that has been returned. This is another point of difference that tanata whenua have to other housing developers.

4.4.3 Āwhinatia ngā tamariki me ngā mokopuna; supporting our future generations

Considering our future generations, all the participants expressed the importance to help safeguard our rangatahi, tamariki and mokopuna (grandchildren), especially with securing

housing. Pane-iraira expresses that housing will get more unaffordable, hence, tribal members and whānau will look towards iwi organisations for support, who will continue to play a vital role within this space. As expressed countlessly, Mangō-hikuroa and Ihe recognise the role they also play by enabling whānau to access the papakāinga or whenua tūpuna when they need. To extend their intentions behind their whakaaro, they both recognise whānau who return home allow for their younger generations to benefit immensely.

Mangō-hikuroa reflects on their own rangatahi and the benefit of them living with each other. Their reflections offer to emphasise the benefits of whānaunga living with each other. Whānaunga are able to strengthen their relationships with each other, especially rangatahi Māori (younger generation of Māori). Also, attesting to the convenience of whānau living, such as whānau helping each other with everyday tasks, such as school drop-offs and pick-ups. On the other hand, Ihe communicates that they aspire for whānau members to occupy the papakāinga, whether that is occupying the current papakāinga or expanding upon the current papakāinga to encourage whānau to live there. The significance of this approach is to ensure the whare tūpuna (ancestral home) and kōrero tuku iho remains and its associated function is maintained for current and future generations.

4.5 Summary of the findings

The four themes discussed emerged from the kōrero and whakaaro of the participants during the whakawhiti kōrero sessions. The first theme explored the responsibilities that come with owning or protecting whenua, regardless of status (Māori land, general land and treaty settlement land). As kaitiaki, it is important to care for whenua, whether that involves sustainable practises to revitalise the whenua, conducting karakia or implementing tikanga to uplift the mauri of the whenua and the people occupying the area. From these efforts, protecting the whenua will also maintain our stories of the past and continue to recognise our tūpuna. The second theme discussed the complexities that whānau and iwi organisations experience, whether that is papakāinga or tribal housing development. The barriers that emerged were navigating and coordinating the papakāinga developments on Māori land, the impact of the market and planning policy for tribal housing and the financial aspect of providing housing or determining good financial investments to empower our people within the housing sector.

The third theme investigates why we invest in housing to improve our health and wellbeing. The participants express that the house is the first thing to manage, as it allows for stability and for whānau to seek further opportunities, such as education, mahi and more. Moreover, the

participants are aware of the effects of inadequate housing and the pressure of the housing crisis, therefore, they express their efforts of being prepared when whānau want to return home or the reasoning why they do housing developments, amongst providing other services and schemes to help whānau, wherever they are on the housing spectrum. Lastly, the forth then highlights our perspectives within the housing space. Whānau, hapū and iwi put people at the forefront when developing housing and are consistently looking towards the future to inform their next steps to either create new developments or maintain their papakāinga. Significantly, the future outlook that the participants hold acknowledges the struggle tamariki and mokopuna may endure, as housing becomes more unaffordable, but also maintaining hapū and whānau identity, hence, they are beginning to plan and support future generations.

Altogether, the findings establish different aspects of our decision-making processes and the reasoning behind our approaches. Within the section, there were various contrasts made that showcase the difference between tangata whenua and western housing developers in Aotearoa. To elaborate, the determination of where we build is associated with our attachment to whenua and various values and considerations shape what the housing development should include, such as stormwater mitigations, no fences and planting fruit trees are different to western developers. Moreover, the importance of providing housing for whānau, hapū and iwi members, where whānau are planning for the future, managing the whenua to allow for whānau to return back home and getting involved by subsidising or supporting whānau and tribal members to secure a home. Therefore, there will be challenges to integrate Māori decision-making and rationales within urban growth modelling and the ABM, as the reasoning and rationales may not be synonymous with other western housing developers in Aotearoa.

Alongside the challenges with urban growth modelling, the contrast outlines that the understanding of a ‘typical developer’ is not a one size fits all approach. Māori housing developers are bound by many factors, based on mātauranga Māori and tikanga Māori where our attachment to whenua and positive environmental and social outlooks should inform decisions and manifest through our own housing developments. Additionally, our colonial history has bound us spatially where we build on whenua that was returned through treaty settlements or aids our endeavour into housing development. These pathways and decisions are specific to whānau, hapū and iwi only and rationalise how and why we develop housing in a specific way that ignores other established rationales, behaviour and values that have shaped the current understanding of western housing developers in Aotearoa.

To further investigate the findings, the discussion aims to bring everything together and explore the implications of the findings. This will involve linking the key themes from the findings to create a Māori housing development rationale and what guides our decisions when developing housing and what it looks like from the data collected. Moreover, providing discourse around how these development rationales are different in the realm of traditional housing developer rationales and its potential impact within academia and the housing sector. To conclude, the discussion will address the gaps and next steps of further research that could be conducted.

5 He Whakaaro Takarangi; Discussion: '*Transcending the physical structure*'

In the previous chapter, four main themes emerged as the findings of this research; the responsibilities of living on whenua, the complexities of developing tribal housing, the reasoning why Māori invest in housing, and the significance of whānau, hapū and iwi perspectives. Within each of these themes, values pertaining to Te Ao Māori emerged that guided the participant's aspirations and actions from the experiences of developing housing, which will be elaborated within the discussion.

The first part of the discussion aims to justify the themes further to identify and connect the values, aspirations and actions that pertain to the findings of the research. The purpose of making these correlations is to showcase our decision-making processes through the Māori worldview, while also relating it back to literature to emphasise why we develop housing in a specific way. Once identified and discussed, the second part of the discussion will explore the complexities and the emergence amongst traditional housing development rationales. This is supported by a diagram encompassing the relevant elements to create our own framework. Māori and Indigenous perspectives are significantly distinct, therefore, our perspectives provide the opportunity to enlighten others and potentially highlight the indigenisation of how we do housing that not only satisfies our duty to aid the housing crisis, but also contribute to our cultural identity and wellbeing for ourselves and the wider population of Aotearoa.

Lastly, the discussion will conclude on the limits, gaps and areas for further research of this thesis. It will display initial thoughts around the benefits of implementing the Māori housing development framework within an ABM and urban growth modelling. Most significantly, suggested pre-cautionary approaches to guide its integration, as many do not include Māori and Indigenous perspectives, as agents themselves. Additionally, the impact the rationale may have within academia and the housing sector will be discussed and its potential influence. To conclude this section of the discussion, the limitations and gaps in the research will be presented and explored that may inspire further investigations or studies to be underdone. This discussion expands on the three research questions of *what are the values, aspirations and actions tangata whenua use to develop housing in Aotearoa* and *how do the identified values, aspirations and actions of tangata whenua underpin and influence the decision-making process to develop housing in Aotearoa* and *in what ways does the conceptualisation of a Māori housing development rationale indigenise housing development in Aotearoa.*

5.1 Coming into our own: Māori housing development rationales

Before presenting a complete Māori housing development framework, it is important to break down each of the values, aspirations and actions and the process of how each element involved prompts one another within the housing development regime. This section presents a table that extrapolates the values, aspirations and actions that were mentioned by the participants and considered within the findings chapter. The next section will visualise the analysis to present a Māori development framework.

5.1.1 Breaking it down and building it up: Creating a Māori housing development framework

The values, aspirations and actions that have been recognised were extracted and determined from the various themes acknowledged in the findings chapter. Additionally, this was combined with the knowledge and scholarship of Mead (2003), Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett (2017), Waa, Pearson, and Ryks (2017), Duncan and Rewi (2018), Yates (2021) and Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett (2023) to produce the values presented in Table 1. It became apparent that the values centralised what was important to the participants and influenced their aspirations and actions to develop and establish homes. Table 1 showcases the process where the values provided the aspirations that whānau, hapū and iwi want to include in the housing development. This was followed by actioning the values and aspirations by putting them into practice. Meaningfully, Table 1 provides an interpretation of what housing developments could represent physically. Moreover, it can incorporate social cohesion and whānaungatanga amongst the occupants, promotes mindfulness of the impacts that the structure has on the environment and the notion itself to care for people, be a representation of whānau, hapū and iwi autonomy that contributes to uplifting our wellbeing.

To expand further on the values, **kaitiakitanga** is a constant theme within the realm of environmental management. Whānau, hapū and iwi are kaitiaki and are synonymous with the environment. As explored beforehand, the emergence of kaitiakitanga as a value for housing development was alluded to in the literature. Both Furey (2010) and Kawharu (2018) mentioned the origins of Māori and understanding of kaitiakitanga, which is exemplified within the kōrero of the participants. The findings around the significance of whenua, the responsibilities and other environmental considerations speaks directly as kaitiaki and the practise of kaitiakitanga, in relation to the sustainable management of whenua.

Manaakitanga is another important value that is embedded and underpins many other Te Ao Māori values. It is commonly understood as kindness and an ethic of care extended from one person to another, whether they are whānau, manuwhiri (visitors/guests), mentors or any other person that visits the rohe (Mead 2003; Duncan and Rewi 2018). To differentiate from orangatanga, it refers the act of kindness and care that a person executes that uplifts the mana of themselves and the person they are caring for. This is illustrated through the care that the iwi organisation has extended to tribal members, such as providing workshops and supporting whānau directly within state or emergency housing. Their intentions are to manaaki whānau, hapū and iwi members across the housing continuum, whether that is associated with financial literacy, home ownership workshops or supporting whānau directly in state and emergency housing.

Orangatanga is closely connected to manaakitanga, where contributing to one's health and wellbeing is an extension of care. Nevertheless, orangatanga is a value that relates to our health and wellbeing, which spans our physical, mental, spiritual and cultural wellbeing. Inspired by the Māori urban design values of Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett (2017), it promotes positive health and wellbeing. Within the context of housing, whānau, hapū and iwi provide homes for whānau and tribal members to improve our health and wellbeing. Considering the colonial history of Aotearoa, Māori urban migration and dominance of western ideologies throughout the urban and housing landscape, Māori health and wellbeing on this front continues to diminish (Haami 2018; Berghan 2020; Kake 2021; Lee-Morgan et al. 2021). Therefore, whānau, hapū and iwi continue to respond to achieve better housing outcomes (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020), which creates better health and wellbeing outcomes for us.

Rangatiratanga is a value that whānau, hapū and iwi strive for consistently. Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett (2017) and Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett (2023) emphasise that it relates to whānau, hapū and iwi leadership and self-determination, which can be expressed in different disciplines and fields. Although having mana whenua and tangata whenua status, rangatiratanga expresses that whānau, hapū and iwi continue to have autonomy over decision-making. Moreover, the impact of on-going colonisation disrupts our rangatiratanga over Aotearoa. Therefore, whānau, hapū and iwi are taking significant strides to take back control for the betterment of our people (Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). In relation to housing development, it contributes to our own autonomy over the housing development process, where the development reflects our identity, positively contributes to our

people and cultural wellbeing (Barry and Thompson-Fawcett 2020). Therefore, being one of the many expressions of rangatiratanga, but asserting our status as tangata whenua through cultural identity and economic status.

Ūkaipō is another expression that showcases one's roots, origins or home. Inspired by Waa, Pearson, and Ryks (2017), the term **ūkaipōtanga** was reshaped into a term that was more reflective from the research findings. The participants, Mangō-hikuroa and Ihe expressed their experiences of developing a papakāinga living on whenua tūpuna and established tūrangawaewae. The kōrero surrounding the responsibilities and the benefit of living on whenua that is significant to people over generations brought forward the notion to continue to push for whānau to return home eventually and contribute towards the various benefits of living on whenua tūpuna and tūrangawaewae. Therefore, the value ūkaipōtanga encourages whānau to return home.

Lastly, **whānaungatanga** is another core value within Te Ao Māori. It is the basis of many aspects of Māori society, which is established through connections and relationships between the tangible and non-tangible (Mead 2003; Kawharu and Newman 2018). However, this concept of whānaungatanga embodies the findings. Mangō-hikuroa expressed the significance of having whānaunga living with one another, which is something that Mawake-nui-o-rangi and Pane-iraira aim to harness within housing developments. Therefore, whānaungatanaga represents the encouragement and benefits of the relationships between whānau and tribal members occupying the papakāinga or housing development.

Table 1. Ngā whanonga pono, wawata me ngā mahi e pā ana i ngā pūrakau kōrero; Values, aspirations and actions pertaining from the findings (Table by Author)

Ngā whananonga pono; values	Ngā wawata; aspirations	Ngā mahi; actions
Kaitiakitanga	To safe-guard and improve the land and the environment.	• Stormwater treatment and retention before returning to waterways. • Sustainably managing the whenua through planting to allow for further occupation.
Manaakitanga	To take care of whānau and tribal members.	• Supporting whānau within state and emergency housing. • Providing workshops on home ownership and financial literacy for tribal members. • Conducting karakia to safe-guard whānau before occupation. • Implementing financial schemes to support whānau securing a home. • Implementing tikanga and expectations with the occupants living in the housing development.
Orangatanga	To positively contribute to the health and wellbeing of whānau.	• Providing whānau with warm, accessible, and quality homes. • Location and proximity to greenspaces and parks. • Implementing whānaungatanga initiatives within the homes (see whānaungatanga section) • Future planning to continue supporting future generations by building homes.
Rangatiratanga	Reinforce whānau, hapū and iwi self-determination and autonomy.	• The capability to develop papakāinga and housing for whānau and tribal members. • Autonomy over housing design and outcomes. • Establishing our own cultural identity and recognition.
Ūkaipōtanga	Encourage whānau to return home,	• Creating a place for whānau to return too. • Keeping kōrero tuku iho and tūpuna alive for current and future generations. • Enabling whānaunga to live with each another.
Whānaungatanga	Enable relationships between whānau and tribal members.	• No fences surrounding the property and planting fruit trees to encourage relationship building between neighbours and te taiao.

5.2 Te Ao Hurihuri; the changing world: what makes it unique?

Moving into this section, the Māori development rationale and framework will be presented that was created from the whakaaro of the participants, what they considered important when developing housing and a breakdown of the values, aspirations and actions that created the conceptual diagram contained within this section. Furthermore, discussing its impact within the housing sector in Aotearoa, specifically how our worldview has the potential to influence current housing development practises, but also highlight perspectives that may synergise and create change amongst other developers in Aotearoa.

5.2.1 By Māori, for Māori: a Māori development rationale

Baker (2016) created the Whānau Rangatiratanga frameworks that involved a conceptual and measurement framework that showcases whānau wellbeing from a Te Ao Māori perspective. Likewise, Penny et al. (2024) developed a Māori wellbeing model for housing and urban environments. Complementary, Yates (2021) conceptualised the Mauri ora navigator, Te Tatau Housing Development Holistic Wellbeing Compass that exhibits the inclusion or absence of socio-cultural-ecological wellbeing for urban areas, neighbourhoods and housing. Merging Table 1 and the scholarship of Baker (2016), Penny et al. (2024) and Yates (2021) led to the development of Figure 2.

Figure 2 displays that our values produce a starting point for us. Before beginning to conceptualise and design a papakāinga or housing development, our values inform our navigation of our direction and areas to invest in. Mawake-nui-o-rangi expressed that this is a key element where values are incorporated at the very beginning:

" I think it is important right from the beginning to have the values incorporated very early."

*(interview with **Mawake-nui-o-rangi** on 6 March 2025)*

To extend this notion, Pane-iraira implements design guidelines to various housing developments. These values were instilled within the guidelines that iwi would like to see within housing developments for whānau, such as fostering community and environmental outcomes being the most prevalent throughout the findings. Within Figure 2, the values are placed meticulously on the outside to communicate the overarching influence that feeds into the aspirations and actions for both papakāinga and housing development. Although the values are within their own respective realm, defining each of the values in the previous section displayed how many of the values can overlap with each other. It is important to distinguish that all of the values mentioned and wider within Te Ao Māori are interconnected with each

other. They all exist at the same frequency, where one is not more important than the other or ordered within a hierarchy. To exemplify further, ūkaipōtanga helps harbour whānaungatanga by allowing whānaunga to live together and re-invigorate kaitiakitanga between whānau who have returned home to protect and manage the whenua and te taiao. Therefore, it is important to articulate that these values and the others contained within the diagram are intertwined with each other and work together, never in isolation.

With the known values, the aspirations come into fruition. Informed by the respective values, the aspirations implement the purposes of our housing developments. Thus, the aspirations are accompanied with the respective values and also become the overarching influence on the housing development process, as depicted in Figure 2. For example, from kaitiakitanga comes the aspiration to safe-guard and improve the land and the environment, while developing papakāinga and housing developments. Additionally, from ūkaipōtanga derives the aspiration to encourage whānau to return home through developing a papakāinga. The aspirations provide a constant reminder and measurement framework that ensures we are working towards these aspirations. However, true testaments around the reflection of our values is upheld in our actions that allow us to achieve our aspirations for our housing developments.

Reflected in Table 1, the actions accompany the various values and aspirations that serve as an extension of the respective value and aspiration. Hence, the actions are represented as the inner circle in Figure 2. The overarching values and aspirations overlap the inner circle, because they shape the action and accomplishments that were laid at the start of the housing development process. The actions indicate different initiatives that develop and put each value and aspiration into practice, which creates the intended housing development. Our actions can range from developing intentional guidelines like Pane-iraira, developing on whenua tūpuna to maintain or re-establish the connection whānau have with land like Mangō-hikuroa mentioned, implementing no fences to separate properties as suggested by Mawake-nui-o-rangi or as Ihe stated, a method to maintain and transmit kōrero tuku iho. Overall, the actions can be deliberate and beneficial for whānau throughout the lifetime of the housing development. In its entirety, this housing development process distinguishes us from other developers, as this process imbues traditional knowledge from our tūpuna, past experiences, surrounding the impact of colonisation towards empowerment, where we are continuing to define the path for our own people, as a form of tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake.

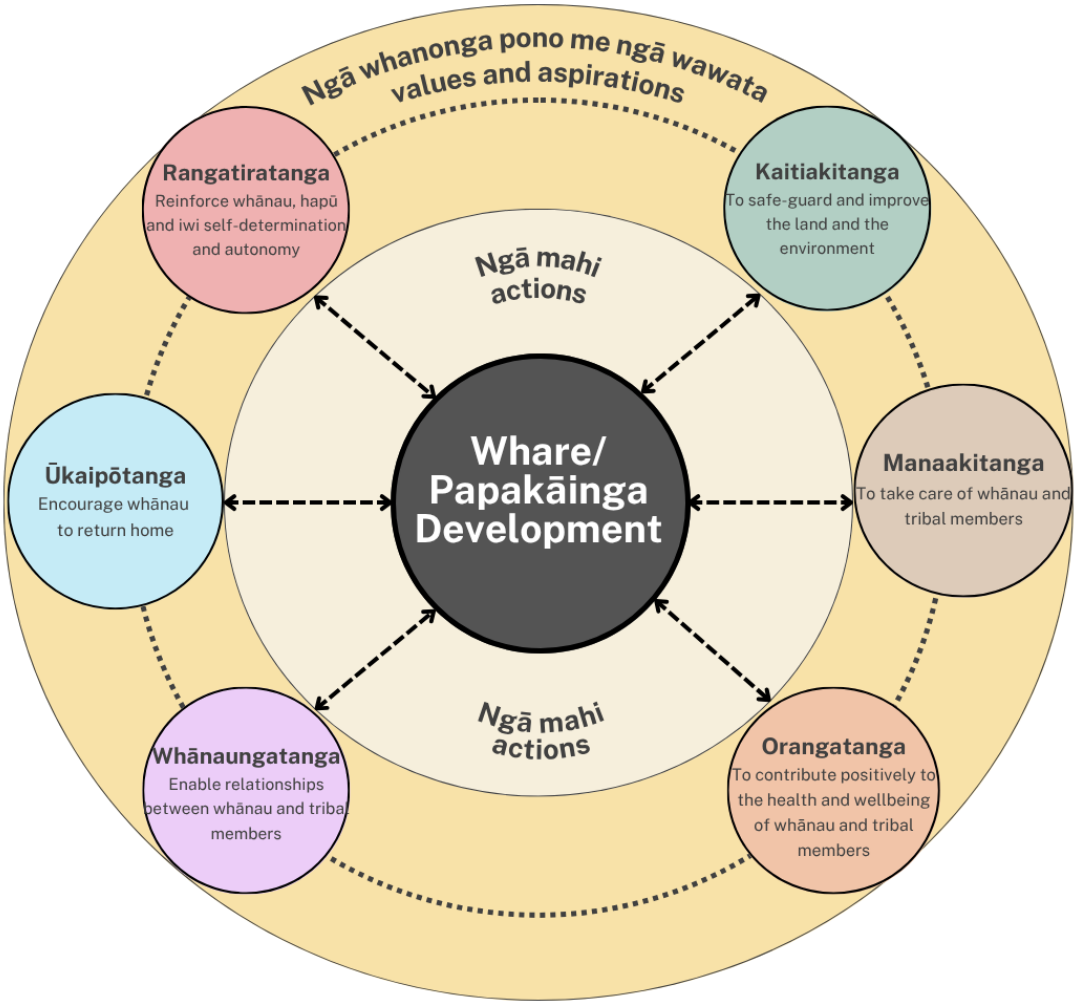

Figure 2. A conceptual diagram of a Māori housing development framework (Figure by Author)

The value of Figure 2 demonstrates that our comprehension of 'housing development' and 'developers' in Aotearoa is not correct and requires re-examination. Significantly, our current understanding of developers is limited to single entities with single values and inputs that inform planning and urban growth policy (Adams and Tiesdell 2010; Adams, Croudace, and Tiesdell 2012; Allison et al. 2023). The creation and presentation of Figure 2 showcases different values, rationales, timescales and pathways that are not accounted for within the traditional expectations of housing developers. To differentiate, Māori develop and operate differently within the housing sector, where we are more spatially defined and utilise whenua we currently own, has been returned or has significant value to develop housing for our people. Furthermore, traditional housing development has mainstream economics as a fundamental

aspect that leads decision-making (Adams, Croudace, and Tiesdell 2012). Figure 2 showcases that our values speak to multiple disciplines, such as environmental and social outcomes and Indigenous knowledge systems to guide our decision making with economic capital to support everything involved and allow development to occur. Collectively, it disrupts scholarship and understanding in development and developers and emphasises the need for re-examination and consideration to include Māori and Indigenous concepts and decision-making within the interpretation of development and developers.

5.2.2 The impact of a Māori development rationale

Our values and aspirations are paramount, as they guide us within the housing development process. They are instinctive and never questioned within the grand scheme of housing development, especially when working with whānau, hapū, iwi. However, the origin of our values and subsequent aspirations and actions are drawn from our traditional sources of knowledge, from the times when our tūpuna first arrived to Aotearoa that has evolved into contemporary society. As expressed in the literature review, our values stem from our understanding of the world (Royal 2010; Reilly 2018), relationships with the different environmental domains (Walker 1990; Royal 2010; Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017), tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori (Mead 2003; Duncan and Rewi 2018). These values can be actioned through practicing kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga and whānaungatanga and are applicable to many different fields and influence different approaches and methods. However, the values identified in Figure 2 encompass traditional knowledge and the endurance and resilience of Māori during colonial times. It is important to acknowledge the influence that colonisation and urbanisation has had on our values and methods to approach housing development, as it created the need for us to define ourselves for our people within the housing sector and created innovative ways to work within a system that continues to disadvantage and marginalise us.

Drawing from Figure 2, the values of ūkaipōtanga, orangatanga and rangatiratanga speaks the experiences we endured when settlers arrived to Aotearoa and the continuous breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. As stated in the literature review, events exiling us from our homelands and Māori urban migration distanced us from our ancestral whenua and led many of us to live and establish our livelihoods in urban centres, along with successive generations (Walker 1990; Ryks et al. 2014; Haami 2018). Hence, ūkaipōtanga is reminiscent of the ability to pursue papakāinga that provides the opportunity for whānau to return back home, to our ancestral whenua and a place where our tūpuna thrived. In doing so, we reclaim the experiences,

knowledge and ways of being that were lost to many, as we were pushed away from our ancestral homelands.

Rangatiratanga and orangatanga work in unison. Rangatiratanga recalls the stolen sovereignty from tangata whenua to the Crown and the ensuing negative effects on our health and wellbeing (Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). Yet, our resurgence through the treaty settlement process to develop housing, economic assets and our own means to develop papakāinga (Livesey 2017a; Livesey 2019; Kake 2019) asserts ourselves and contributes to rangatiratanga within the housing space by taking control over our own determination and growing our own economic assets. As such, from progress towards our own mana motuhake comes orangatanga, where we continue to provide for our people to positively contribute to our health and wellbeing that transcends from providing housing for whānau, hapū and iwi.

The application of Māori housing development rationales and framework contributes directly to the indigenisation of housing development in Aotearoa. Indigenisation reflects Indigenous priorities, where we seek sovereignty, partnership and self-determination, while presenting different positions and perspectives to re-think notions related to differences and equality (Smith 2012 ; Staniland, Ruwhiu, and Dell 2024). This rationale and framework is deeply rooted within Māori and Indigenous epistemologies and ontology, as explored earlier. From this, it is evident that our decision-making processes involve consolidating our own knowledge, tikanga and learnings from our tūpuna. As such, it represents a significant historical milestone that provides a diverse agenda towards the process of creating a housing development logic that seeks self-determination within the housing sector and aims to change the narrative around our experiences towards our struggle of being forcibly placed in urban centres (Ryks et al. 2014; Ryks, Pearson, and Waa 2016; Ryks, Simmonds, and Whitehead 2019) and our association with poor housing outcomes and wellbeing statistics (Menzies et al. 2019; Berghan 2021; Statistics New Zealand 2021). The literature review and findings defines a new chapter occurring within the housing sector and positive contribution to Māori housing health and wellbeing. We continue to emerge as our own housing developers, which takes on the a dual role of developing housing for our people and extending our knowledge to better position ourselves on the property ladder and the requirements for home ownership. This is one example of indigenisation occurring within the housing sector in Aotearoa.

To expand further, Smith (2012) and Staniland, Ruwhiu, and Dell (2024) emphasises that indigenisation refers to our assorted knowledge that reflects our own histories, experiences and

locations. Circling back the scholarship of Smith (1995), Smith (2015) and Tiakiwai (2015), the whānaunga positionality of the researcher was adopted to provide a Waikato tribal perspective, as a means to uplift our whānau, hapū and iwi perspectives. Similar to other fields, housing development and the reasoning behind it will vary from different whānau, hapū and iwi. Therefore, providing a Waikato perspective that draws from our experiences and histories, as a way that elevates our own perspectives and approaches within the housing sector, but also uplifts our own tikanga, mātauranga Māori, rangatiratanga and mana motuhake. Furthermore, it provides another example of the application of tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori within a western framework or defining our own pathway, which continues to make advances within many different fields and disciplines in Aotearoa and is another example of indigenisation on a local scale.

5.2.3 Bringing something 'invisible' into mainstream

The conceptualisation and analysis of Figure 2 has significant innovations, such as presenting mātauranga Māori that contributes to the indigenisation agenda of housing discussed in prior sections. Yet, it is important to acknowledge that the conceptualisation of Figure 2 is a key innovation in itself. The innovations pertain to reporting on an existing Māori methodology or decision-making process that is currently emerging within academia, housing development and planning practice. Thus, the application and integration within the respective fields surrounding housing development in Aotearoa transpire, along with further research questions surrounding implementation.

It is important to emphasise that our reasoning and decision-making processes have always existed and in many cases have been downplayed or completely ignored. Furthermore, our depictions as tangata whenua in the eyes of outsiders also supported the notion of western ideology to dominate and diminish mātauranga Māori (Smith 2012; Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly and Thompson-Fawcett 2017). The title of this section inspired this innovation where Figure 2 already established what ourselves and our tūpuna have utilised, which has evolved and formed a part of the indigenisation agenda. The decision-making process exemplified in Figure 2 is something that many non-Indigenous people may not know and that this knowledge continues to emerge showcases our position as emerging property developers in Aotearoa and the start of the implementation phases (Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). Hence, the emergence and testing of Figure 2 within academia, the housing sector and the planning profession will be the main area, where many future research questions will emerge. Most significantly, determining the preparedness of these areas and disciplines to account for and

implement our approaches and pathways into academia, environmental planning and the housing sector in Aotearoa.

Within academia, the impact of Māori housing development foundations contributes directly to Māori and Indigenous property development on a national and international scale. It adds another tribal and Indigenous perspective on the matter that may propel Indigenous property development further, highlight the challenges Māori face when developing housing, the role and significance of the treaty settlement process to advance property development and the inclusion of Māori and Indigenous values within planning practise, which continues to be a work in progress (Ruske 2014; Livesey 2017b; Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017; Waa et al. 2017; Livesey 2019; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). Moving into the housing development sector, many whānau, hapū and iwi are working and navigating the current housing sector to establish papakāinga and homes for the people, such as the general pathway, the papakāinga/Māori land process or working with returned assets are intriguing pathways. Therefore, these pathways reveal the innovations and journey that many whānau, hapū and iwi undergo across Aotearoa. However, it highlights areas for improvement where both the housing sector or planning field can consider and help implement different initiatives to support tangata whenua.

Regarding environmental planning, central government and local authorities need to continue considering how planning provisions could support papakāinga development on general or Māori land, or account for areas that have been returned to iwi, when considering district rules, zoning changes and urban strategies for the districts (Livesey 2010). At the central government level, a recent development for papakāinga involves proposed national environmental standards at the central government level that pertain to national rules and standards for papakāinga developments in Aotearoa (Ministry for the Environment 2025). Regarding the housing sector, Menzies et al. (2019), Olin et al. (2022) and Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett (2023) countlessly reinforce the need for our housing sector to be more comprehensive to our evolving housing needs. As a result, Māori housing development rationales and the framework have the potential to influence what homes could look like in Aotearoa. For example, our housing sector needs to incorporate the housing needs and requirements for the size of whānau to be more broader than the Pākehā nuclear family model and consider these implications on the performance of medium-density residential standards or intensification standards on tangata whenua (PWC and Sense Partners 2021).

5.3 Karawhiua; next steps and study limitations

To round out the discussion, this section will present the next steps of this thesis. With the development and discussion around the Māori housing development rationales and framework, the next steps involve considering its application and whether it can be modelled within the ABM. Therefore, initial thoughts around the application of Māori values and principles into an ABM will be considered. To finish, the limitations of the study will be discussed providing justifications or improvements for further research opportunities.

5.3.1 Recommended approach to implementing Māori values into urban growth modelling

The development of the ABM is intertwined with this thesis and the mahi of other people within the research project. The significance of this thesis was to investigate the decision-making pathway that whānau, hapū and iwi consider when developing housing, as emerging property developers in Aotearoa. The benefits from highlighting our own housing development rationale and decision-making pathways may showcase some synergy with other housing developers, who produce housing with either community values, environmental outcomes or other outcomes that tangata whenua implement. However, careful consideration should be conjured around how and if it will be implemented within the ABM. The conceptualisation of Figure 2 has provided an insight into potential decision-making pathways we may undertake when developing housing. To expand further on the indigenisation of housing development in Aotearoa, Figure 2 stemmed from specific whānau groups and kaimahi within Waikato to showcase a glimpse to how Waikato whānau and iwi organisations may undergo housing development that pertains to our own knowledge and experiences (Smith 2012; Staniland, Ruwhiu and Dell 2024). Therefore, the Māori housing development rationales and framework should not be applied as the overall Waikato tribal perspective on housing development and our decision-making processes. Moreover, it should not be applied to other tribal takiwā or be defined as a ‘Māori’ or collective approach to housing development. The conceptualisation of this process should serve only as a guide for other housing development foundations and contribute to the Waikato tribal perspective on housing development.

To further emphasise, our traditional knowledge, experiences and historical injustices has differentiated us from other housing developers in Aotearoa and prescribed a different approach to be able to develop housing. This has had a major influence in the methods we have applied to housing development and many other fields (Smith 2012; Staniland, Ruwhiu and

Dell 2024). Our experiences as tangata whenua have constituted our own unique approach and pathways to housing that may not compare to other housing developers in Aotearoa. Therefore, the application of a Māori housing development logic may be challenging to implement within the ABM, as it may follow a different decision-making perspective and is drawn from our own traditional and contemporary Indigenous knowledge. Yet, that is not to say all aspects and actions are un-modellable, as some may be modellable, such as the location of tribal owned whenua or Māori land to determine potential housing development from tangata whenua. But, taking into account the provisions around Māori and Indigenous Data Sovereignty, specifically when utilising mātauranga Māori and Indigenous knowledge within the ABM to ensure it will be protected, along with participants' expertise and knowledge shared within this thesis (Kukutai and Cormack 2021). Overall, the learnings and acknowledgment of these provisions are to vocalise caution around the implementation of Māori and Indigenous values within the ABM, to prevent further cascades of injustice, but most importantly, respect the knowledge provided within this thesis and the participants, regarding their contribution and own mana, as individuals and whānau.

5.3.2 Study limitations

Taking a whānaunga approach and interviewing whānau and kaimahi within one region was done meticulously to help contribute to our tribal perspective and identity, and uplift Waikato whānau and rangatiratanga. However, it is important to mention the limitations from taking a whānaunga approach. One of the limitations involved was limiting the participant selection process to te rohe o Waikato. Engaging with other participants outside the rohe could have increased the sample size and diversify the results and reasoning with papakāinga and housing across Aotearoa. On a similar wavelength, another limitation involved the specific selection of whānau participants being limited to the connections and knowledge of the researcher. This isolated the opportunity to involve other participants who have undergone or aspiring to develop a papakāinga or housing within te rohe o Waikato. Being able to engage more whānau or tribal members would have created a stronger impact towards developing our own papakāinga and housing development rationales from a Waikato tribal perspective. Therefore, further research could be conducted on a wider scale than what is allowed within a one year master's thesis that either includes perspectives across Aotearoa or extends the number of participants to engage within te rohe o Waikato.

To reinforce again, the whānaunga approach was justified, however, it is important to highlight the limitations from adopting this approach. Traditional western research advocates to have an

outsider perspective on a problem that it is being investigated. This will limit the influence of bias to occur throughout the research investigation and produce justified and, supposedly, unprejudiced results (Tiakiwai 2015). Although considered a potential beneficiary of either one of the papakāinga or housing developments, the whānaunga approach was adopted, as it was deemed to be more aligned with Kaupapa Māori research, where this thesis is produced for Maori, by Maōri. As a Māori and Indigenous researcher, implementing this approach allowed for a greater understanding and comprehension of the data received throughout the research process (Tiakiwai 2015). As such, the researcher already understood or could relate to the history, associated tūpuna, stories and experiences mentioned from the participants. In turn, it allowed for a deeper understanding of our culture, language and histories that an outsider positionality cannot account for.

6 Poroporoaki; Conclusion

This chapter provides a summary of this thesis to bring everything together to display the purpose of the research in relation to the identified research context. Moreover, reinforce the findings and the contribution of the research within academia, the housing sector, environmental planning and Te Ao Māori within each respective field. To conclude, this chapter imparts important implications for additional research to consider how our kōrero and whakaaro can be included within our ABM, academia, housing and environmental planning in Aotearoa.

This thesis aimed to centralise Māori decision-making processes, specifically how and why we develop housing in Aotearoa and the values and principles that inform our housing development process. The focus was on Waikato whānau, hapū and kaimahi, who have either developed housing for our people to present our own whakaaro and endeavours within this space. In relation to the research questions, our legacy has been established from our arrival to Aotearoa, the colonial history and the impact it had on us, through exile, relocation and then partaking within the urban and housing development space. From these experiences, whānau, hapū and iwi began to develop housing for the betterment of our people to access healthy and affordable housing and maintain the learnings of our tūpuna by encouraging whānau to return home. This created a narrative of moving from a position of disempowerment towards empowerment into the present day. With that established, this thesis continued to investigate what values, aspirations and actions tangata whenua utilise for housing and how they underpin or influence the decision-making process to develop or influence housing development. Tangata whenua have been participating within the housing sector, however, the knowledge and reasoning behind how we develop homes continues to emerge, such as other iwi and tribal perspectives in Aotearoa (Olin et al. 2022; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). Therefore, many of the values acknowledged were intended to push forward our own knowledge and contribute a tribal perspective in the existing realm of scholarship and experiences of Māori and Indigenous property development.

From the various whakawhiti kōrero with the participants, the key findings outline significant values, aspirations and actions that were utilised to create a housing development and highlighting significant barriers faced within this space. The key findings start with the additional responsibilities while occupying whenua being pinnacle, regardless of land status. Furthermore, the importance of safeguarding the whenua and managing it sustainably to protect

the area and allow for more whānau to return home and become a part of the papakāinga. Moreover, protect incoming occupants on newly developed areas of housing through karakia and other practices and establish with the tikanga of the occupants themselves. Moreover, protect incoming occupants on newly developed areas of housing through karakia and other practises and establishing with the tikanga of the occupants themselves. Nevertheless, going through the process and establishing either comes with complexities. Producing developments on Māori land is a consistent barrier for whānau, which continues with the influence of the market and environmental planning policy that favours a specific way to develop housing that makes certain approaches more financially viable. Equally, financial constraints was raised to develop both papakāinga and homes. However, a different perspective was brought forward where some of the participants pondered different ways that are a good investment for us in the housing space, such as using their finances to build houses or invest in workshops that upskill whānau to help obtain their first home.

Moving further into the key findings, an important question on why whānau and iwi organisations focus on providing housing for our people, rather than investing in other health and wellbeing pillars. It was centralised that a home is the first thing to get right to ensure stability and enables whānau to pursue further aspirations and opportunities. Furthermore, the impact of providing housing and being able to support whānau into homes was a major driving force why they develop housing, along with the impending pressure of homes becoming more unaffordable and inaccessible. Expanding on the unique position of the participants as housing developers, the different supportive mechanisms range from upskilling whānau around home ownership and help securing a home deposit by implementing shared equity or similar schemes to name a few. The significance of whānau, hapū and iwi perspectives shift into focus that could differentiate our methodology and rationale to housing development that others do not consider. A key theme throughout the findings was our people being at the nexus of what we are trying to achieve. Nonetheless, our wellbeing is symbiotic with the natural environment, the people around us and maintaining and transmitting our stories amongst other methods. Therefore, these insights were imbued within the housing development, and what it should achieve. Additionally, a future outlook or foresight is another perspective to ensure we continue to help our future generations with papakāinga, homes and the associated benefits that come along with it.

A major contribution from the findings was the conceptual figure outlining a Māori housing development framework and decision-making process on how papakāinga and housing

developments are created. Drawing from the data analysis and associated scholarship established the relevant values that the participants consolidated when developing either housing. It was evident that our prominent Te Ao Māori values were the first things considered and implemented at the early stages of the development and design stages. From here, our values flowed and developed the aspirations on what the development should achieve, which were manifested through the actions. The values utilised were reminiscent of both tikanga and mātauranga Māori that guided our tūpuna and has evolved into modern day society (Walker 1990; Mead 2003; Puketapu-Dentice, Connelly, and Thompson-Fawcett 2017; Duncan and Rewi 2018; Reilly 2018). Additionally, recounting our experiences of settler colonialism that created the values associated with tino rangatiratanga and reclaiming the experiences that were taken away from us (Livesey 2017a; Livesey 2019; Kake 2019; Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023).

Another contribution is the need to re-examine and re-consider our current comprehension of housing development and developers. The Māori housing development framework exemplified the values, rationales, timescales and pathways, which differ from western developers. The creation and display of the framework highlighted our decisions around where we develop and the multi-disciplinary approach on what the housing development should include and achieve. This expands further than traditional developer rationales, where mainstream economics are the fundamental aspect that drives decision-making (Adams and Tiesdell 2010; Adams, Croudace, and Tiesdell 2012). In contrast, our decision-making is guided by environmental, social, economic and cultural pillars that pertain to our epistemology and different mechanisms, as a result of colonisation. The framework disrupts and reinforces the need for previous scholarship and considerations to include Māori and Indigenous decision-making.

Having a rationale and framework that emanates the learnings of our tūpuna and a form of reclamation is a significant part of the indigenisation agenda, especially within Aotearoa's housing sector (Staniland, Ruwhiu, and Dell 2024). Yet, the impact of the conceptual diagram is another innovation for further research, relating to its impact in academia, housing development and the environmental planning field. Essentially, contributing a tribal perspective towards Māori and Indigenous property development could be astronomical (Kitson, Barry, and Thompson-Fawcett 2023), more environmental planning provisions to reduce the barriers we face (Livesey 2010; Ministry for the Environment 2025) and the call for more diverse housing outcomes that account for the general population and tangata whenua of Aotearoa (Menzies et al. 2019; PWC and Sense Partners 2021; Olin et al. 2022; Kitson, Barry,

and Thompson-Fawcett 2023). These are the key areas for further research that could occur with the impact of this thesis.

More additional research that could be explored is the integration of Māori values and knowledge into an ABM. A protective and pragmatic approach was adopted based on the recognised pathways whānau, hapū and iwi traverse to establish housing, which is different to general developers in Aotearoa. Furthermore, taking into account past lessons and the imposition of Māori and Indigenous Data Sovereignty (Kukutai and Cormack 2021) to protect our mātauranga Māori. A further analysis of these considerations are the next steps from the completion of this thesis. Further considerations and research around these matters will provide more confidence and understanding that could elaborate on the earlier thoughts and impacts that were accentuated within this thesis. To finalise this thesis, investigations surrounding the impact of this research, previous scholarship and the application of the ABM have the potential to fundamentally showcase the weight our Māori and Indigenous reasoning and rationales have within the housing sector and by extension academia and environmental planning provisions that may have promise in Aotearoa and globally.

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Appendices

Appendix One: Information Sheet

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Marcus Fletcher
Phone +64 21 055 1898
Email : mf156@students.waikato.ac.nz

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

'Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au' – A Māori Housing Development Process

This information sheet outlines research for managing the residential and urban development in natural hazard risk areas by developing a state-of-the-art agent-based model that takes into consideration how Māori develop housing or within residential areas.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email alpss-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Division of Arts, Law, Psychology and Social Sciences, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

About the Research
This project is led by Marcus Fletcher mf156@students.waikato.ac.nz, a researcher at Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. In recognition of the importance and incorporation of Indigenous knowledge, this research is funded by the Earthquake Commission (EQC) Toku Tū. It will involve co-designed research outputs in collaboration with whānau members and kamahi working within Waikato.

With the support of EQC Toka Tū Ake, we are developing a state-of-the-art agent-based model of housing development for Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ) to understand how hazard maps or policies may affect decision-making by developers. Therefore, we are developing a basis of the current and future urban landscape, specifically understanding the values and aspirations of Māori associated with developing housing and papakāinga. Māori are becoming formidable forces within urban development by leading both large and small-scale developments. Thereby, becoming important developers within cities around ANZ. In contrast to other developers, it is understood that Māori property developers have a different rationale towards development informed by Te Ao Māori.

What will you be asked to do?
Whakawhiti Kōrero (Semi-Structured Interviews): You are asked to participate in semi-structured interviews that prioritises your voice and perspectives about your experiences living on whenua tūpuna and developing housing. Questions by the interviewer will serve as a guide, but the ultimate direction of the discussion will be steered by you. Interviews will adopt a semi-structured format and intend to spark conversation between you and the researcher. Interviews will be recorded in a conversational setting using audio equipment, subject to the participants' approval.

Time commitments and details:
Semi-structured interviews will go no longer than 3 hours. Appropriate breaks will be allowed for throughout the time commitments.

Data collection:
Semi-structured interviews will be recorded and transcribed by the researcher to undergo data analysis. The transcript will be provided back to you for feedback and the opportunity to remove sensitive information. Quotes from the semi-structured interviews will be utilised for data analysis and develop a basis around the values and aspirations associated with developing housing and papakāinga.

What are the Expected Outcomes?

This research aims to identify and understand the values and aspirations that are associated when Māori develop housing and papakāinga. These will be developed from the semi-structured interviews and will contribute towards the conceptualisation of specific values and aspirations of the 'Māori Development Process.' This evidence base will contribute towards the development of the agent-based model that will model the current and future urban land use in ANZ. Presentation of research findings will be published in academic journals and presented at conferences, and part of Marcus Fletcher's Master's Thesis.

Confidentiality and Anonymity
As part of our commitment to the University of Waikato's ethical research and engagement with Māori communities, your participation in this research will remain confidential. Your name and identifying information will not be included in any reports or publications to achieve cultural safety within the co-design research outputs. The researcher will anonymize all data before analysis and publication.

Data Storage and Access
Interview recordings and notes will be stored securely on password-protected University servers for five years. Only the research team will have access. After five years, the data will be de-identified and archived for long-term research purposes.

Your Rights as a Participant
Your rights as a participant regarding the interview process:

> **Right to be informed:** You have the right to be informed about the interview process, including the purpose of the interview, the types of questions that may be asked, and how your information will be used.
>
> **Opportunity to provide informed consent:** You have the right to choose whether to participate in the interview.
>
> **Right to withdraw:** You have the right to withdraw from the interview process at any time, even after the interview has begun. Or up to 30 days after the interview.
>
> **Right to decline to answer questions:** You have the right to decline to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with and you may ask questions at any time.

If you have any questions about the interview process or your rights, please do not hesitate to ask.

Interview processes and protocols.

Thank you for your interest in being interviewed.
We are excited to move forward with the interview process.

Here are your next steps:

To Participate in whakawhiti kōrero interviews:
Marcus will be in touch in setting and time, date and place to have the whakawhiti kōrero interviews. This will be developed based on your availability to which Marcus can work around. This can occur during the weekday and weekends.

We will then send you a formal interview invitation with more details. This invitation may include information on what to expect during the interview and how to prepare. Interviews will occur kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face).

To Decline the Semi-structured interviews:
If you are unable to participate in the interview process at this time, please let us know as soon as possible. We appreciate you informing us of your decision.

No further action is required if you are not interested in participating in the interview process.

Contact information.

Having trouble? We are here to help!
If you've encountered an issue with any interviews, or issues have arisen because of the research engagement, such as physical, psychological, social, or privacy issues, you can contact the following people.

Researcher
Marcus Fletcher
Mobile: +64 21 055 1898
Email: mf156@students.waikato.ac.nz

Supervisor
Sandi Ringham
Phone: +64 7 838 4428
Email: sandi.ringham@waikato.ac.nz

Research Project Lead
Iain White
Phone: +64 7 837 9166
Email: iain.white@waikato.ac.nz

Thank you again for your interest in being interviewed. We look forward to hearing from you soon!

Ngā mihi nui,
Marcus Fletcher – Researcher

Appendix Two: Interview Consent Forms for participants

Environmental Planning Programme
School of Social Sciences
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Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Marcus Fletcher
Phone +64 21 055 1898
Email : mf156@students.waikato.ac.nz

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email alpss-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Division of Arts, Law, Psychology and Social Sciences, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Research title: 'Ko au te whenua, Ko te whenua ko au' – A Māori Housing Development Process

Researcher: Marcus Fletcher, Environmental Planning Programme, University of Waikato

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [Π] the appropriate box for each point.	**YES**	**NO**
I have read the information sheet about this research and understand what a whakawhiti kōrero (semi-structured interview) is.		
I agree to participate in the whakawhiti kōrero interview that shall not exceed more than 2 hours of duration.		
I agree to being audio recorded.		
I wish to receive a copy of the semi-structured interview transcript.		
I wish to receive a summary of the findings.		

For the purposes of this research, my identity will remain anonymous and I shall be recorded as a participant, 'Waikato Hapū member' or 'Waikato Iwi/Māori Kaimahi.'

I _____agree to be part of this research.

"I agree to take part in this research and acknowledge receipt of a copy of this information sheet and signed consent form. I understand my rights as a participant in this research and that my identity will remain confidential and anonymity guaranteed unless I state otherwise. I have had adequate opportunity to discuss the above information and I am satisfied with the answers that have been provided."

Signature of participant: _____ ***Date*** _____

Signature of researcher: _____ ***Date:*** _____

Your details (for my records)

Name: _____

Age:

18-24	☐	45-49	☐
25-29	☐	50-54	☐
30-34	☐	55-59	☐

35-39	☐	60-64	☐
40-44	☐	65 and over	☐

Address: _____

_____

_____

Phone number: home _____**cell:**_____

Email: _____

Gender: _____

Iwi affiliation: _____

Ethnicity: _____

Occupation: _____

If you have any questions at any point during this research please do not hesitate to contact me. Thank you for your time and for being an important part of this research.

Participants can withdraw from the research project 30 days after the interview, by:
Contacting me by phone: +64 21 055 1898
Emailing me on: mf156@students.waikato.ac.nz
Or, by written notice to, Marcus Fletcher, Te Wānanga o Ngā Kete - Division of Arts, Law, Psychology and Social Sciences - Te Kura Aronui - School of Social Sciences, Private Bag 3105 Hamilton 3240 New Zealand.
Or face to face communication.

Appendix Three: Question sheet for whānau participants

Environmental Planning Programme
School of Social Sciences
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Marcus Fletcher
Phone +64 21 055 1898
Email : mf156@students.waikato.ac.nz

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email alpss-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Division of Arts, Law, Psychology and Social Sciences, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Research title: 'Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au' – A Māori Development process

Researcher: Marcus Fletcher, Environmental Planning Programme, University of Waikato

Whakawhiti kōrero (Semi-structured interview) kaupapa

The research will employ semi-structured interviews, fostering a conversational flow that prioritises participants' voices and perspectives. While a predefined list of questions serves as a guide, the ultimate direction of the discussion will be steered by the participants themselves.

Topic Area	**Specific questions**	**Time allocation**
Whakawhanaungatanga	Kōrero/pūrakaau on how whānau arrived here: 1. Tell me about yourself? 2. Tell me how you came to be here? 3. Tell me about your home/village? 4. Who and how many people live here?	Maximum 2 hrs. Breaks will be scheduled throughout the interview process.
Values and aspirations to develop housing and papakāinga	Understanding the values and aspirations of whānau living on ancestral whenua: 1. How does it feel to live on ancestral whenua/back home? 2. Do you have any goals or aspirations that you would like to achieve living on ancestral whenua/back home? 3. What was the process that got you to live on ancestral whenua/back home? 4. Was there a purpose to come back and live on ancestral whenua/back home? 5. What aspects do you think are important to create a successful housing development?	
Decision-making to develop housing and papakāinga	Decision-making processes of whānau living on ancestral whenua:	

	1. What brought you back home? 2. What was front of mind when you returned and developed your home? 3. Were there any barriers preventing you from returning home? 4. What do you think would help other whānau members get back home? 5. Given where we are now, is there anything you would change throughout your process? 6. Can you give an example about what the 'perfect' home/papakāinga development look like?	

Appendix Four: Question sheet for kaimahi participants

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The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
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Research title: 'Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au' – A Māori Development process

Researcher: Marcus Fletcher, Environmental Planning Programme, University of Waikato

Whakawhiti kōrero (Semi-structured interview) kaupapa

The research will employ semi-structured interviews, fostering a conversational flow that prioritises participants' voices and perspectives. While a predefined list of questions serves as a guide, the ultimate direction of the discussion will be steered by the participants themselves.

Topic Area	Specific questions	Time allocation
Whakawhanaungatanga	Kōrero/pūrakaau on how whānau arrived here: 1. Tell me about yourself? 2. Tell me how you came to be here? 3. Tell me about your mahi (work)?	Maximum 2 hrs. Breaks will be scheduled throughout the interview process.
Decision-making processes to develop housing	Understanding the processes to develop housing for Iwi members: 1. To what degree are you involved in housing development for the tribe? 2. What inputs into housing developments are required from you and your team? 3. Do you work across the organisation(s) to coordinate housing developments? 4. What aspects do you think are important to create a successful housing development? 5. Are there any common barriers within the process? 6. Is there anything missing within the current development process you have?	

Aspirations and outcomes from developing housing	Desired outcomes from developing housing opportunities for whānau: 1. What are the main outcomes you would like to see for the tribe from providing housing? 2. Are there any positive and negative outcomes that come from housing developments for the tribe? 3. Why invest in housing opportunities rather than invest in other avenues for tribal wellbeing?	

Appendix Five: Ethics Approval Letter

Te Wānanga o Ngā Kete | ***Division of Arts, Law, Psychology & Social Sciences***

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Private Bag 3105
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New Zealand

School of Psychological and Social Sciences
Psychology Programme
Dr Oleg Medvedev
Tel: +64 7 837 9212
Email: oleg.medvedev@waikato.ac.nz
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THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Marcus Fletcher
mf156@students@waikato.ac.nz

Dr Sandi Ringham
Professor Iain White

Te Kura Toi School of Arts
Environmental Planning Programme

25 September 2024

Dear Marcus

Re: **FS2024-40: Ko au te whenua, ko te whenua ko au – The Maaori Development Process**

Thank you for submitting your revised application to the ALPSS Human Research Ethics Committee. We have reviewed the final electronic version of your application and the Committee is now pleased to offer formal approval for your research activities.

We encourage you to contact the committee should issues arise during your data collection, or should you wish to add further research activities or make changes to your project as it unfolds. We wish you all the best with your research. Thank-you for engaging with the process of Ethical Review.

Kind regards,

Dr Oleg Medvedev, Convenor
Division of Arts, Law, Psychology & Social Sciences Human Research Ethics