

Māori and Housing in Tāmaki Makaurau: A stocktake of issues, experiences and initiatives

August 2016

Technical Report 2016/026





Māori and housing in Tāmaki Makaurau: A stocktake of issues, experiences and initiatives

August 2016

Technical Report 2016/026

Auckland Council
Technical Report 2016/026
ISSN 2230-4525 (Print)
ISSN 2230-4533 (Online)

ISBN 978-0-9941389-8-9 (Print)
ISBN 978-0-9941389-9-6 (PDF)

This report has been peer reviewed by the Peer Review Panel.
Submitted for review on 20 May 2016 Review completed on 16 August 2016 Reviewed by Dr Claire Gooder
Approved for Auckland Council publication by:  Name: Dr Lucy Baragwanath Position: Manager, Research and Evaluation Unit (RIMU)
 Name: Eva McLaren Position: Manager, Economic and Social Research and Evaluation (RIMU)
Date: 16 August 2016

Recommended citation

Lysnar, P., Tuatagaloa, P and Joynt, J L R (2016). Māori and housing in Tāmaki Makaurau: a stocktake of issues, experiences and initiatives. Auckland Council technical report, TR2016/026

Cover image by Adele Krantz. Location: Tagata Way, Mangere.

© 2016 Auckland Council

This publication is provided strictly subject to Auckland Council's copyright and other intellectual property rights (if any) in the publication. Users of the publication may only access, reproduce and use the publication, in a secure digital medium or hard copy, for responsible genuine non-commercial purposes relating to personal, public service or educational purposes, provided that the publication is only ever accurately reproduced and proper attribution of its source, publication date and authorship is attached to any use or reproduction. This publication must not be used in any way for any commercial purpose without the prior written consent of Auckland Council. Auckland Council does not give any warranty whatsoever, including without limitation, as to the availability, accuracy, completeness, currency or reliability of the information or data (including third party data) made available via the publication and expressly disclaim (to the maximum extent permitted in law) all liability for any damage or loss resulting from your use of, or reliance on the publication or the information and data provided via the publication. The publication, information, and data contained within it are provided on an "as is" basis.

Māori and housing in Tāmaki Makaurau: A stocktake of issues, experiences and initiatives

Penny Lysnar
Penelope Tuatagaloa
Jennifer Joynt

Research and Evaluation Unit
Auckland Council

Executive summary

Auckland is currently facing a housing crisis (Auckland Council, 2012a) characterised by an undersupply of housing, increasing house prices, and a lack of affordable homes for both purchasers and renters. This report outlines the housing challenges that face many Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland (hereafter referred to as Tāmaki Makaurau) and elsewhere in Aotearoa/New Zealand (hereafter referred to as Aotearoa).

Home ownership is a primary form of inter-generational household wealth accumulation for many who live in Aotearoa, and the increasing exclusion of lower income groups, including Māori, from home ownership, coupled with the effects of population growth and ageing, contributes to growing inequality at both the local and national level. This report draws on existing material in order to assist policy development, and is presented as a stocktake that outlines the issues, experiences and initiatives relating to Māori and housing in Tāmaki Makaurau.

More Māori live in Tāmaki Makaurau than in any other region in Aotearoa. At the 2013 Census, 163,920 people in Tāmaki Makaurau identified as being of Māori descent, over 20,000 more than those who identified as being of Māori ethnicity (142,770). Those of Māori ethnicity living in Tāmaki Makaurau comprised 23.8 per cent of all iwi in Aotearoa (compared to 24.5% of Māori descent), or 10.1 per cent of the population of Tāmaki Makaurau (those of Māori descent comprised 11.6%). There was a slight drop in Māori living in Tāmaki Makaurau in 2013 compared to 2006.

Socio-economic indicators reveal that there have been positive improvements for Māori. Between the 2006 and 2013 censuses there has been an increasing proportion of the Māori population aged 15 years and over that have obtained higher educational qualifications and also an increase in the Māori population earning annual incomes of more than \$50,000. Nevertheless, the gap in median weekly income between European/Pākehā and Māori has increased by 103 per cent and despite a closing gap between European/Pākehā and Māori for housing affordability and household crowding measures there remains a large gap between the two groups in terms of housing outcomes more generally.

The primary housing challenges that many Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau face include higher than average rates of household crowding, lower than average home ownership rates and less stability as a result of higher than average rates of renting. Using the median, Māori lived at their place of usual residence for 2.9 years compared to 3.8 years for the European/Pākehā group (2006 Census). In 2013, the majority of Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau had lived at their place of usual residence for less than 5 years (59.1%) and 26.7 per cent for less than a year. This compares to 50.7 per cent and 20.9 per cent respectively, for European/Pākehā living in Tāmaki Makaurau.

Quotes from individuals and whānau from case study reports, show that attempts to meet housing needs are often part of a complex regulatory environment that many low-income individuals and whānau attempt to manoeuvre their way through on a daily basis. Research such as the Family 100 research project (2014), Exploring security of tenure (2015), Experience of rough sleeping (2015), Māori housing experiences (2006), Our Place: Our Home (2001) illustrates how poverty impacts on peoples' lives through the interrelated issues of social and economic exclusion, educational difficulties, stigma, physical hardship, under-employment, inadequate housing and design, food insecurity, violence and constrained access to health and social services. It is apparent that one sector alone, such as housing, is unable to address the interconnected aspects of poverty.

Wider societal structures, whether historical or contemporary, provide a key way of understanding how overarching legal, economic and organisational structures can disadvantage certain groups. This includes nationwide factors such as low wage growth, and undersupply of affordable housing in Tāmaki Makaurau, and central government legislation and regulations including the Residential

Tenancies Act 1986 and Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993. Arguably more profound are the effects of colonisation which have resulted in a substantial loss of iwi equity and identity that has had wide-ranging, long-lasting and ongoing effects. In this regard, while the issue of whenua (land) is much greater than the issue of housing, it is tied closely to Māori notions of home. The work of Cherryl Smith (Ngāti Whātua, Ngāi Tūhoe) refers to how land confiscation, the individualisation of land titles, breaches of land guarantees and the appropriation of land through legislative changes has resulted in the massive relocation of Māori off their homelands into towns and cities (Smith, 2015:97). Similarly, the work of Ian Pool (2015) illustrates the range of ways in which alienation of resources occurred, usually via varying legal instruments and without consultation with Māori. This includes the purchase of Māori land by the Crown (1840–1865), land confiscation (Rauputu) mainly during the 1860s and via the Native Land Court (1860s–early 1900s).

Partly offsetting this are the various central government, local government, community and iwi programmes and initiatives that are in existence and which aim to support housing supply, affordability, quality for both Māori and non-Māori, and the cultural resilience of Māori through the likes of papakāinga housing. It is recommended that a closer study of housing initiatives that have been operating for at least three years could be warranted as a further step to this report.

Table of contents

1.0	Introduction.....	1
1.1	Background and purpose.....	1
1.2	Methodology and report framework.....	1
1.3	Māori concepts of housing	2
1.4	Overview of the Māori population in Aotearoa.....	2
1.5	Overview of the Māori population in Tāmaki Makaurau.....	3
1.6	Age structure of Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau.....	9
1.7	Average household size and household composition.....	10
2.0	Issues and Challenges	11
2.1	Overview.....	11
2.2	Global, structural and Tāmaki Makaurau-wide factors.....	11
2.3	Specific challenges for Māori and iwi	12
2.4	Socio-economic indicators	17
3.0	Housing Experiences	23
3.1	Overview.....	23
3.2	Family 100 Research Project.....	23
3.3	Exploring security of tenure through co-design	27
3.4	An insight into the experiences of rough sleeping in central Auckland	29
3.5	Māori Housing Experiences: Emerging trends and issues	32
3.6	Our Home, Our Place	35
3.7	Summary	38
4.0	Broader Context.....	39
4.1	Overview.....	39
4.2	Colonisation.....	40
4.3	Estrangement	42
4.4	Conclusion.....	44
5.0	Initiatives	45
5.1	Overview.....	45
5.2	Central government	45
5.2.3	Treaty settlements	47
5.3	Auckland Council initiatives and programmes.....	50
5.4	Iwi and community-led initiatives.....	57
6.0	Forthcoming Research.....	59
7.0	Concluding Comments.....	60
8.0	References	61
	Appendix A: Iwi population counts	67
	Appendix B: Ōtara hui on housing needs	72

List of tables

Table 1: Number and percentage of Māori projected to live in Tāmaki Makaurau, 2018 to 2038.....	4
Table 2: Number of Māori living in Tāmaki Makaurau by local board area 2006 and 2013.....	5
Table 3: Ten iwi with largest population size in Tāmaki Makaurau (includes iwi ¹ responses and iwi groupings ²)	6
Table 4: Urban Māori within Tāmaki Makaurau, 2013	7
Table 5: Percentage of residents who own the dwelling they live in, by ethnic group, Tāmaki Makaurau, 2001, 2006 and 2013	14
Table 6: Number and proportion of people living in crowded household by ethnic group in Tāmaki Makaurau, 2006 and 2013	16
Table 7: Tenure, highest educational qualification and personal income, adult population (aged 15 and over) in the 10 largest iwi populations (Māori descent) living in Tāmaki Makaurau, 2013	20
Table 8: Summary of indicators of inequality for Māori.....	21
Table 9: Government agencies with key housing responsibilities or programmes including housing for Māori	45
Table 10: Auckland Council departments/ units with housing initiatives or programmes including a focus on housing for Māori	51
Table 11: Iwi or community-led programmes.....	57

List of figures

Figure 1: Percentage of Māori residing in regional council areas, 2006 and 2013.....	3
Figure 2: Number of Māori living in Tāmaki Makaurau, 2013	4
Figure 3: Location of iwi in Aotearoa.....	8
Figure 4: Median age of all ethnic groups in Tāmaki Makaurau, the rest of Aotearoa, and the Southern Initiative local board areas, 2013	9
Figure 5: Percentage of people living in crowded households in Tāmaki Makaurau, by ethnic group, 2013.....	17
Figure 6: Socio-economic indicators for Māori aged 15 years and over in Tāmaki Makaurau	17
Figure 7: Educational qualifications of Māori in the labour force – Tāmaki Makaurau.....	18
Figure 8: Employment by skill level in Tāmaki Makaurau, 2015	19
Figure 9: Journey from a young person's perspective as they grapple with difficult life choices	31
Figure 10: The hui process	35
Figure 11: Suggested living and design requirements for Māori and Pacific families.....	36
Figure 12: Spectrum of activities outlined in He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata/The Māori Investment Strategy (2015–2018)	49
Figure 13: Auckland Council Housing Activity Stocktake, June 2016	54
Figure 14: Māori-focussed initiatives and programmes in Auckland Council	55
Figure 15: The six Māori Housing Strategy priorities aligned with principal intervention options....	56

List of abbreviations and acronyms used in this report

CHPs	Community Housing Providers
CHRANZ	Centre for Housing Research Association of New Zealand
CNOS	Canadian National Occupancy Standard
FULSS	Future Urban Land Supply Strategy
HAP	Housing Action Plan
HLFS	Household Labour Force Survey
HNZC	Housing New Zealand Corporation
MBIE	Ministry for Business, Innovation and Employment
MELAA	Middle Eastern/Latin American/African
MfE	Ministry for Environment
MSD	Ministry of Social Development
NCEA	National Certificate of Educational Achievement
NPSUDC	National Policy Statement for Urban Development Capacity
NEET	Not Engaged in Employment, Education or Training
NZCPHM	New Zealand College of Public Health Medicine
NZGSS	New Zealand General Social Survey
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAUP	Proposed Auckland Unitary Plan
RBNZ	Reserve Bank of New Zealand
RMA	Resource Management Act 1991
RTA	Residential Tenancies Act 1986
SHA	Special Housing Area
SHRP	Social Housing Reform Programme
TRC	Tamaki Redevelopment Company
TTWA	Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993
TSI	The Southern Initiative
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background and purpose

Auckland is currently facing a housing crisis characterised by an undersupply of housing, increasing house prices, and a lack of affordable homes for both purchasers and renters.¹ This report outlines the housing challenges that face many Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland (hereafter referred to as Tāmaki Makaurau) and elsewhere in Aotearoa/New Zealand (hereafter referred to as Aotearoa).

Home ownership is a primary form of inter-generational household wealth accumulation for many who live in Aotearoa, and the increasing exclusion of lower income groups from home ownership, including Māori, coupled with the effects of population growth and ageing, contributes to growing inequality at both the local and national level.

This report draws on existing material in order to assist policy development, and is presented as a stocktake that outlines the issues, experiences and initiatives relating to Māori and housing in Tāmaki Makaurau. The brief was to draw on existing literature, provide an understanding of the housing system as experienced by Māori, assess interventions which make a difference, and discuss what else might be needed. This report has been written in parallel to a similar investigation into the experience of housing in Auckland among Pacific people². There are similarities in the challenges and experiences that Māori and Pacific people (as well as other ethnic groups) face in terms of housing, which are discussed in both reports.

1.2 Methodology and report framework

This report draws on both quantitative and qualitative material in order to provide a fuller understanding of the housing experiences and challenges that many Māori are faced with. This section and Section 2.0 draw on quantitative material such as census data in order to provide an overview of the Māori population in Aotearoa and Tāmaki Makaurau (this section) and an overview of the primary issues and challenges that underpin their experiences (Section 2.0). Statistical data that are specific to the area covered by the Southern Initiative (TSI)³ is also presented, as this covers an area (the local board areas of Māngere-Ōtāhuhu, Ōtara-Papatoetoe, Manurewa, and Papakura) where higher proportions of Māori live compared to the rest of Tāmaki Makaurau and is also an area of high social need.

Section 3.0 reports on primarily qualitative-based research that focuses on the housing and housing related 'experiences' of Māori. In particular, Auckland City Mission's Family 100 Research Project and consequent reports offer insights into how housing is part of a complex and often chaotic environment that many low-income individuals and whānau attempt to manoeuvre their way through on a daily basis. This section includes excerpts from case study reports and quotes from individuals and whānau who participated in research projects.

Section 4.0 provides an understanding of the long term structural factors which have contributed to poor socio-economic outcomes for many Māori. It draws from both academic work and reports

¹ Auckland's housing crisis is referred to in The Auckland Plan. Refer to Auckland Council (2012a).

² Refer to Auckland Council technical report, TR2016/027: *Pacific people and housing in Auckland: a stocktake of issues, experiences and initiatives*.

³ The Southern Initiative is a joint initiative between central government and Auckland Council aimed at bringing about transformational social, economic, and physical change in the area.

written for the likes of Housing New Zealand Corporation (HNZC) and the former Centre for Housing Research Association of New Zealand (CHRANZ).

Section 5.0 provides an overview of the housing initiatives and programmes that operate at the level of central government, local government and the community, while Section 6.0 reports on forthcoming research that was presented at the Australasian Housing Researchers Conference in Tāmaki Makaurau in February 2016, that is relevant to this stocktake. Concluding comments are presented in Section 7.0.

1.3 Māori concepts of housing

As Waldegrave, King, Walker and Fitzgerald point out in their report *Māori Housing Experiences: Emerging Trends and Issues* (2006), individual Māori and whānau are likely to range widely in their views of housing. They comment that:

Some may view the land and house that stands on it as part of their whakapapa (genealogy), and something to keep in trust for younger generations. Alternatively, through the process of urbanisation and the disassociation of many Māori away from their ancestral lands, Māori, as a group, may more closely view housing as a resource that meets certain security, status, and economic needs.

What is clear from the literature is that models that do not value the social, spiritual, and cultural/historical aspects of housing, as well as the economic and status aspects are likely to be inadequate when addressing housing expectations and aspirations of Māori (Waldegrave et al., 2006:23).

In turn, in her literature review of Māori and Pacific peoples housing design needs in the Auckland region, Hall (2008:19) mentions that cultural values are not held consistently among all individuals and care must be taken to avoid viewing Māori as a homogenous group. Keeping in mind the points raised by Hall and Waldegrave et al., this section highlights the challenges that many Māori are confronted with.

1.4 Overview of the Māori population in Aotearoa

As at June 2015 the number of people living in Aotearoa who identified with the Māori ethnic group reached an estimated 712,000 (Statistics New Zealand, 2015a).⁴ This comprised 15 per cent of the population in Aotearoa. Population projections suggest that this figure could rise to 20 per cent in just over two decades (by 2038) (ibid.). While these are estimated figures, data from the Census provide more definitive figures and show the Māori ethnic group population resident in Aotearoa in 2013 was 598,605 and comprised 14.9 per cent, a 5.9 per cent increase from 2006.

The Māori population in Aotearoa has a much younger age structure than the non-Māori population with relatively high proportions at the child and child-bearing age and lower proportions in the older age groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2015a). In 2015 half of the Māori population was aged 24 years or less, in comparison to a median age of 40 years for the non-Māori population. Statistics New Zealand (2015a) states that this younger age structure provides momentum for future growth and is likely to persist, whereas other components of population change such as deaths, migration and changing ethnic identity will play a smaller role in terms of changes in the Māori population.

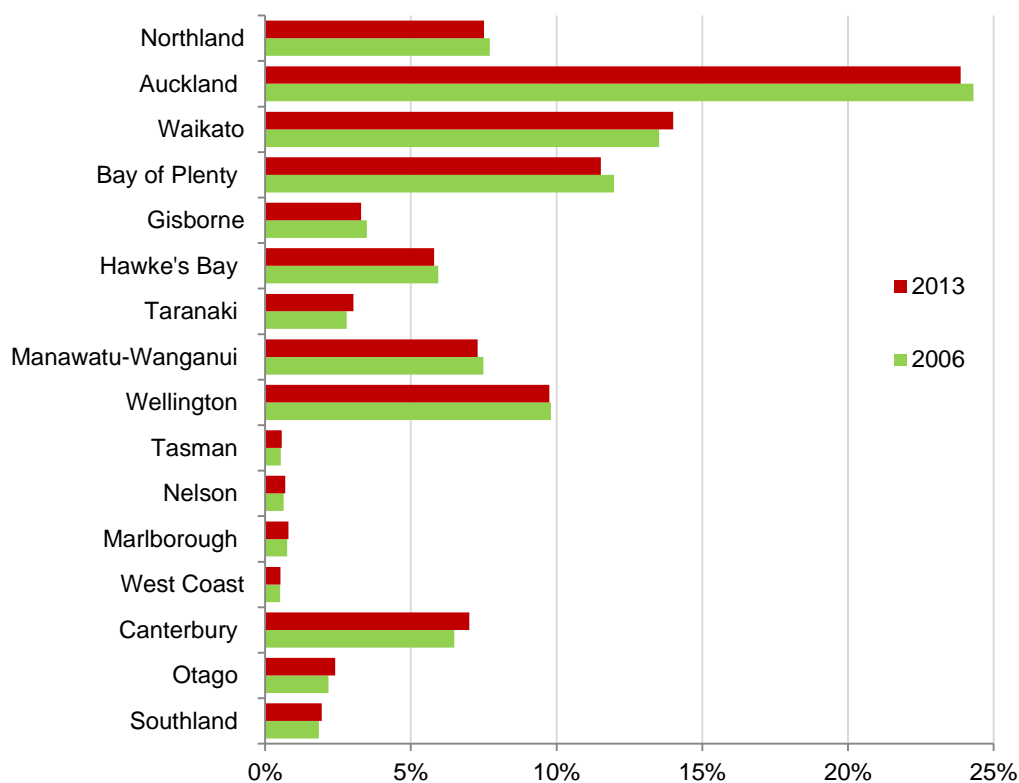
⁴ The concept of 'ethnicity' differs from that of 'descent'. Ethnicity has a social and cultural base, whereas descent has a biological base. At the 2013 Census, 668,724 of the population identified as being of Māori descent, whereas 598,605 identified as being of Māori ethnicity. All these population figures exclude Māori living in other countries (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a).

They also note that because of increasing ethnic intermarriage and identification of children with multiple ethnicities there is also likely to be a growth in people identifying with other ethnicities.⁵

1.5 Overview of the Māori population in Tāmaki Makaurau

More Māori live in Tāmaki Makaurau than in any other region in Aotearoa. At the 2013 Census, 163,920 people in Tāmaki Makaurau identified as being of Māori descent, 21,150 more than those who identified as being of Māori ethnicity (142,770). Those of Māori descent living in Tāmaki Makaurau represented 24.5 per cent of all Māori in Aotearoa, or 11.6 per cent of the population of Tāmaki Makaurau. In comparison, those of Māori ethnicity living in Tāmaki Makaurau comprised 23.8 per cent of all Māori in Aotearoa, or 10.1 per cent of the population of Tāmaki Makaurau. As Figure 1 shows, there was a slight drop in Māori living in Tāmaki Makaurau in 2013 compared to 2006.

Figure 1: Percentage of Māori residing in regional council areas, 2006 and 2013



Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings (2006, 2013)

Furthermore, Statistics New Zealand's population projections suggest that the proportion of the total population in Tāmaki Makaurau who identify as Māori is likely to increase slowly over time, as illustrated in Table 1 below.

⁵ At the 2013 Census, 54 per cent of people identifying with the Māori ethnic group also identified with at least one other ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand, 2015a).

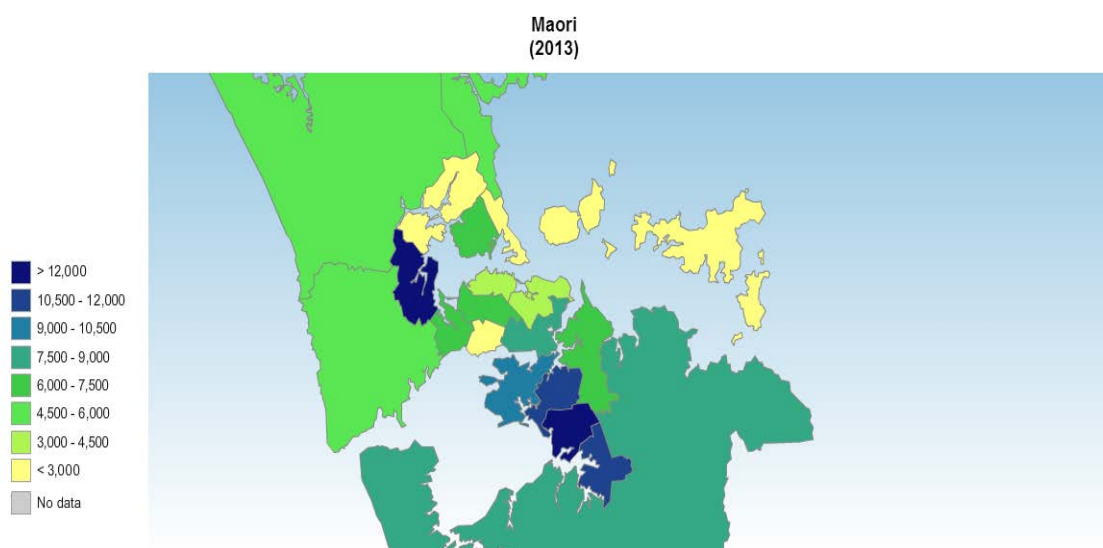
Table 1: Number and percentage of Māori projected to live in Tāmaki Makaurau, 2018 to 2038

Year	Māori in Auckland region	Total population of Auckland region	Māori as proportion of total population in Auckland region (%)
2018	187,100	1,646,500	11.4
2023	205,500	1,767,500	11.6
2028	225,700	1,890,900	11.9
2033	247,700	2,010,500	12.3
2038	270,900	2,123,000	12.8

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Subnational ethnic population projections (2015b)

Māori live in all parts of Tāmaki Makaurau, but with higher concentrations in the southern and western areas as illustrated in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Number of Māori living in Tāmaki Makaurau, 2013



Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings (2013)

At the 2013 Census, the largest proportion of Māori lived in Manurewa local board area (13.4% of Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau) followed by Henderson-Massey (11.2%).

Between 2006 and 2013, the biggest increase in Māori usual residents was in Henderson-Massey, further south in Papakura and Franklin, and in Waitematā local board area. Despite the high number of Māori living in the local board areas of Ōtara-Papatoetoe, Manurewa and Māngere-Ōtāhuhu, the percentage of Māori living in these areas declined by 2.8 per cent (of all Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau) during that time.

Table 2: Number of Māori living in Tāmaki Makaurau by local board area 2006 and 2013

Local board area	2006	2013	2013	
			As a % of total Auckland Māori population	As a % of the local board population
Rodney	4,680	5,082	3.6	9.9
Hibiscus and Bays	4,308	5,004	3.5	5.8
Upper Harbour	2,424	2,610	1.8	5.1
Kaipātiki	6,738	6,615	4.6	8.5
Devonport-Takapuna	2,634	2,847	2.0	5.3
Henderson-Massey	14,676	16,008	11.2	15.9
Waitākere Ranges	4,482	5,001	3.5	11.0
Great Barrier	171	150	0.1	18.2
Waiheke	915	891	0.6	11.4
Waitematā	3,567	4,374	3.1	6.1
Whau	5,871	6,387	4.5	9.4
Albert-Eden	5,502	6,108	4.3	6.8
Puketāpapa	2,673	2,853	2.0	5.7
Ōrākei	3,318	3,600	2.5	4.7
Maungakiekie-Tāmaki	8,901	8,505	6.0	13.2
Howick	5,739	6,327	4.4	5.2
Māngere-Ōtāhuhu	10,875	10,335	7.2	15.9
Ōtara-Papatoetoe	12,003	10,791	7.6	15.6
Manurewa	19,791	19,128	13.4	25.3
Papakura	11,091	11,976	8.4	28.1
Franklin	6,936	8,175	5.7	13.2
Auckland	137,301	142,770	100.0	10.7

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings (2006, 2013)

Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau tend to live in areas characterised by higher levels of socio-economic deprivation. In 2013, half of all Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau lived in an area rated 8, 9 or 10 on the NZDep2013⁶ scale, compared to 29 per cent for all Aucklanders.

⁶ The NZDep2013 is an index of a range of socio-economic variables, and is measured at the household level. It provides an overall score of deprivation in a particular meshblock, with 10 indicating relatively poor outcomes and 1 indicating relatively positive outcomes. The NZDep2013 was calculated using 2013 Census data on a weighted index. Refer to <http://www.otago.ac.nz/wellington/departments/publichealth/research/hirp/otago020194.html> for more information.

Table 3: Ten iwi with largest population size in Tāmaki Makaurau (includes iwi¹ responses and iwi groupings²)

A	B	C	D	E ³
	Number in Tāmaki Makaurau	Percentage of all iwi groups in Tāmaki Makaurau	Number in Aotearoa	Percentage of each iwi living Tāmaki Makaurau
Ngāpuhi	50,577	32	125,601	40
Ngāti Porou	13,161	8	71,049	19
Waikato	13,011	8	40,083	32
Ngāti Maniapoto	8,346	5	35,358	24
Ngāti Whātua	7,353	5	14,784	50
Te Rarawa	7,224	5	16,512	44
Ngāi Tahu / Kāi Tahu	6,600	4	54,819	12
Tūhoe	6,231	4	34,887	18
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	5,991	4	35,874	17
Te Arawa (iwi not named)	4,677	3	19,722	24

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 2013, Māori descent data.

Notes:

1. In 2013 approximately 14,000 people gave their iwi but did not respond to the Māori descent question, compared with approximately 20,000 people in 2006.
2. Includes all people who stated each iwi, whether as their only iwi or as one of several. Where a person reported more than one iwi, they were counted in each applicable iwi.
3. Column C differs from Column E in that the former shows that Ngāpuhi (for example) comprise 32 per cent of all iwi groups living in Tāmaki Makaurau, whereas Column E refers to the percentage of an iwi (eg. 40% of Ngāpuhi) that live in Tāmaki Makaurau rather than elsewhere in Aotearoa.

Table 4 provides a breakdown of mana whenua and mātāwaka (taura here and taunga hou) groups in Tāmaki Makaurau based on the 2013 Census and provided by Ryks, Pearson and Waa (2016). The authors differentiate these terms as follows:

- Mana whenua – those iwi and or hapū who hold traditional mana over the land that they reside in.
- Mātāwaka – all Māori living in urban areas who do not hold traditional links to that area.
- Taura here – those who live in urban areas but who retain links to iwi/hapū outside of the area.
- Taunga hou – (a metaphor for the anchoring of waka in a new harbour and establishing a new life there) those of Māori descent who self-identify as Māori, have travelled to an urban location (or their ancestors did) and have been permitted to ‘drop anchor’ under the auspices of mana whenua (Ryks et al., 2016:31).

Drawing on Moeke-Pickering (1996), Barcham (1998), Meredith (2000) and Kukutai (2004), Ryks et al. go on to state that taunga hou Māori may have affiliations to pan tribal groups, churches, sports groups and other networks that assist in maintaining aspects of Māori culture. Thus taunga hou can be considered a diverse population that is uniquely located in the urban environment, and whose collective association does not primarily rely on kinship ties, but also ties of location, cultural association and socio-economic status. In comparison, the use of the term taura highlights the needs, interests and impacts of iwi not located in urban area, but who have economic interests in the urban environment including investment in capital and infrastructure (Ryks, 2016:31).

Noting that these conceptualisations of urban Māori are exploratory and evolving, Ryks et al. also emphasise the heterogeneity of urban Māori:

And while ‘the many permutations of Māori identity and urban locality make a general description of urban Māori realities challenging’ (Kukutai, 2014:87), the conceptualisation presented here is important as it helps destabilise a view that compromises the capacity of urban Māori to be collectively and individually different (Paradies, 2006) and helps to understand the richness of contemporary urban Māori realities (2016:31).

Table 4: Urban Māori within Tāmaki Makaurau, 2013

	Mana whenua	Mātāwaka		Total Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau
		Taura here	Taunga hou	
Number	19,527	84,633	18,279	122,016
Percentage	16	69	15	

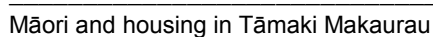
Source: Ryks et al. (2016:34)

The total number of Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau (122,016) reported by Ryks et al. above differs from the figures provided in the discussion in Section 1.5 above (i.e. at the 2013 Census, 142,700 people in Tāmaki Makaurau identify as being of Māori ethnicity, and 163,920 in Tāmaki Makaurau are of Māori descent). This is because Ryks et al. did not include the following categories in their calculation:

- Those who identified as being of Māori ethnicity, but who did not respond to the census question on whether they were of Māori descent.
- Those who identified as being of Māori ethnicity, but who reported they did not have Māori descent.
- Those who responded positively to the question of Māori descent, but who did not indicate their iwi and also did not identify as being of Māori ethnicity.

Figure 3 shows the tribal locations of iwi in Aotearoa, while Appendix A provides a full list of the iwi groups in Aotearoa, their total population, and their population in Tāmaki Makaurau, at the time of the 2013 Census. In the following section, Table 7 provides a breakdown of the ten largest iwi in Tāmaki Makaurau in relation to home ownership, qualifications, and income.

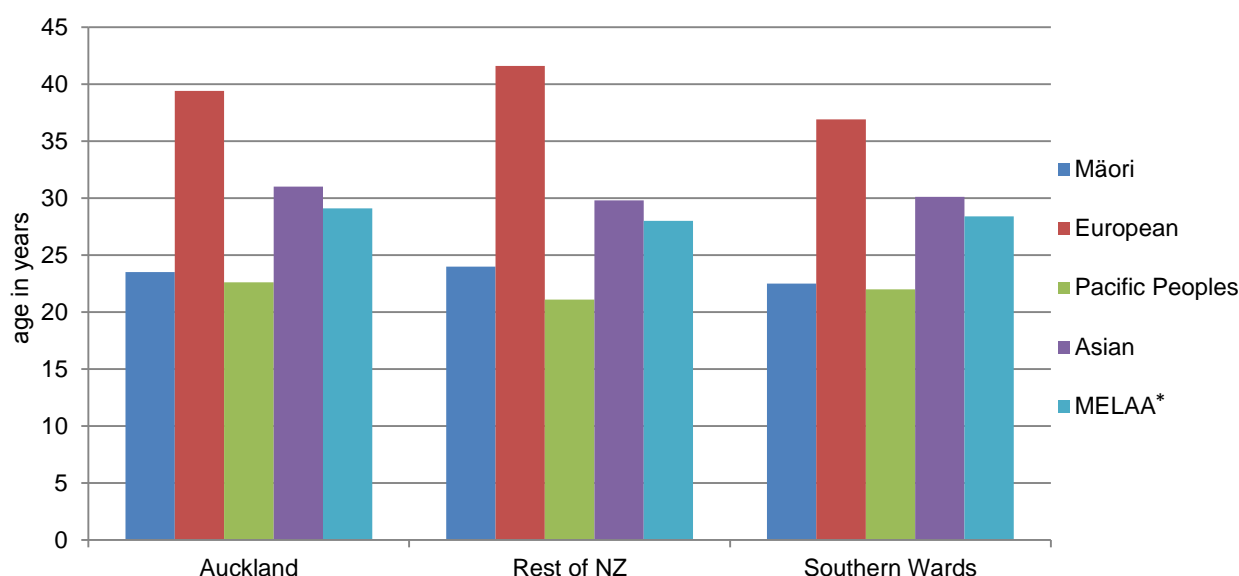
Source: New Zealand Trade and Enterprise (2015)



1.6 Age structure of Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau

As mentioned above, the Māori population in Aotearoa has a much younger age structure than the non-Māori population. In 2015, half of the Māori population was aged 24 years or less, in comparison to a median age of 40 years for the non-Māori population (Statistics New Zealand, 2015a). Census 2013 data show that the median age for Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau is about the same (23.5 years) and slightly younger (22.5 years) in the southern initiative local board areas of Māngere-Ōtāhuhu, Ōtara-Papatoetoe, Manurewa and Papakura. As Figure 4 shows, Māori and Pacific peoples have the youngest median age groups in Aotearoa, Tāmaki Makaurau and in the southern local board areas.

Figure 4: Median age of all ethnic groups in Tāmaki Makaurau, the rest of Aotearoa, and the Southern Initiative local board areas, 2013



Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings (2013)

Notes: People could choose more than one ethnic identity so percentages may not add to 100.

* MELAA refers to those of Middle Eastern, Latin American or African ethnicity

In addition, Māori are experiencing structural ageing (or population ageing), although not to such a great extent as the European/Pākehā population. Over the last decade and a half the number of Māori children (aged under 15 years) as a percentage of the total Māori population has decreased (from 36.7% in 2001, to 35.3% in 2006 to 33.6% in 2013). In contrast, the percentage of Māori aged 65 years and over is increasing (from 2.4% of the Māori population in 2001, to 3.1% in 2006, to 4.4% in 2013). The median age of Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau increased from 22.3 years in 2001, to 22.6 years in 2006, to 23.5 years in 2013. With a growing older population, this has implications on housing needs.

1.7 Average household size and household composition

Goodyear and Fabian (2014: 64) reported that households (including Māori) in Tāmaki Makaurau are larger on average, at 3.0 usual residents per household compared to 2.3 in the West Coast region, 2.6 in Wellington and 2.5 in Canterbury. As in 2001 and 2006, the Tāmaki Makaurau local board areas with the highest average household size in 2013 was Māngere-Ōtāhuhu, at 4.0, followed by Ōtara-Papatoetoe, at 3.8, and Manurewa, at 3.6, all areas with high Māori populations as noted earlier.

Aucklanders (including Māori) were more likely to live in a complex household⁷ than people living elsewhere in Aotearoa, at 30.4 per cent in 2013 compared to 18.8 per cent for those living elsewhere (Goodyear and Fabian 2014: 66). This is an increase from 27.8 per cent in 2001. According to the same report, Māori were much more likely to live in complex households than those of European/Pākehā or other ethnicity. In 2013, about two in five Māori lived in a complex household, compared with about one in five people of European/Pākehā or other ethnicity.

Figures available at the national level show the most common type of household for Māori was one-family households, with or without other people (78.3%), followed by two-family households, with or without other people (10.7%), and one-person households (5.5%) in 2013. For Māori living in families, 81.4 per cent lived as members of a family, compared with 80.7 per cent in 2006. Of those living in a family situation, most lived in a couple with child(ren) family (52.1%). There were 224,625 dependent children (aged less than 18 years and not employed full time). Of these, 57.8 per cent lived in a two-parent family, with the rest living in a family with one parent (42.2%). The proportion of Māori who lived as an extended family (20.6%) was higher than for the total population in Aotearoa (11.7%) (Statistics NZ, 2013a).

⁷ Goodyear & Fabian (2014) refer to 'complex households' as those containing a family and other people, or more than one family.

2.0 Issues and Challenges

2.1 Overview

This section outlines global, structural and Auckland-wide factors that affect housing in Tāmaki Makaurau for Māori. Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 is briefly discussed before addressing home ownership, renting, household size and overcrowding as it relates to Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau. Various social and economic indicators are also provided in section 2.4.

Keeping in mind the point raised by Waldegrave et al. (2006), Hall (2008), Cram (2015) and Kepa et al. (2015) that care must be taken to avoid viewing Māori as a homogenous group, many Māori both within Tāmaki Makaurau and outside of the rohe experience the challenges of lower than average health and wellbeing, school and post-school qualifications, and employment opportunities; all of which contribute to reduced home ownership rates, housing choice and quality of housing. While Section 4.0 addresses the factors underlying these challenges this section reports on how home ownership, renting and household overcrowding has changed over time in Tāmaki Makaurau.

2.2 Global, structural and Tāmaki Makaurau-wide factors

In some respects the housing issues and challenges that Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau face are reflective of structural factors⁸ that occur at a global and nationwide level. For instance, the lack of supply of affordable housing in the Tāmaki Makaurau region is due, in part, to the city's desirability and identification as one of the world's most liveable cities. Along with Māori, there are a significant number of other New Zealanders and 'new New Zealanders' who choose to make Tāmaki Makaurau their home.⁹ In this regard, households in Tāmaki Makaurau spend more of their income on housing than households elsewhere in Aotearoa.¹⁰

A further global factor relates to the short and long term interest rates that many countries, including Aotearoa, are experiencing (Bernanke, 2015). In general, low interest rates bring about increased investor and home buyer activity in the housing market; creating greater demand for housing and therefore higher prices.

Other structural issues relate to central government legislation and regulations such as the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) and nationwide building controls (i.e. Building Act 2004, Building Regulations 1992, and the Building Code). While such legislation and regulation is necessary and is often of benefit to home owners and renters, it nevertheless adds complexity and cost to the supply of affordable housing. The Residential Tenancies Act 1986 (RTA), currently under review, also has a direct influence on Māori, and others', experiences of housing in Tāmaki Makaurau, and is discussed in more detail below.

At the local government level, planning and zoning and planning rules influence land prices and the density and range of housing that is available, which all affect the supply and cost of housing. Central and local government decisions around infrastructure resourcing such as roads, rail, public transport, water, power and sewage also ultimately shape housing supply and costs.

⁸ This refers to factors that have a sustained rather than cyclical or short term effect.

⁹ Statistics New Zealand figures showed a record net gain of 63,700 migrants (not seasonally adjusted) in the November 2015 year. Just over half of all migrants who stated an address on their arrival card were moving to the Auckland region.

¹⁰ In 2015, households in Tāmaki Makaurau spent an average of 18.8 per cent of their income on housing, compared to 14.4 per cent for the rest of Aotearoa. The average mortgage payment for Tāmaki Makaurau households was \$501.30 per week compared with \$348.90 for the rest of Aotearoa (Household Economic Survey 2014/15, Statistics New Zealand, 2015d).

Beyond central and local government, the likes of banking institutions (many of them overseas owned) and their lending criteria (influenced by the Reserve Bank of New Zealand which sets the likes of the official cash rate and loan to value ratios) also have a critical and eventual bearing on the individual Māori person, couple or family who wish to buy or rent a home in Tāmaki Makaurau.

A combination of these, and other factors addressed further on in this report, mean that Māori living in Tāmaki Makaurau are confronted with increased house prices and rents and a widening gap between what they earn and what they can afford to pay in rent or mortgage payments.

While low interest rates provide something of a panacea for those in the position to be able to buy a house, the growth in the 'intermediate housing market'¹¹ and 'Generation Rent'¹² is likely to create increased competition for those looking for rental accommodation (Eaqub & Eaquad, 2015).

Along with the various central and local government factors that impede housing affordability, including those mentioned above, are the policies and programmes that have been created to increase housing affordability, supply and quality. These are addressed in Section 5.0 of this report.

2.3 Specific challenges for Māori and iwi

This sub-section outlines specific challenges that many Māori individuals, whānau, hapu and iwi who live in Tāmaki Makaurau face with regard to housing.

2.3.1 Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993

In its current form, Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 (TTWA) has placed critical constraints on the decision making ability of many owners of Māori freehold land, and has prevented them from utilising their land for the likes of housing (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016). A new Bill has been drafted, and it is hoped a new Act will be passed towards the end of 2016. The current Bill sets out to enable Māori land owners/governance bodies of Māori land to create residential leases or tenancies, without needing to go through a judicial process in the Māori Land Court. As it is expected that the new TTWA will become enabling rather than constraining for Māori and housing, the new Act is discussed in further detail in the 'Initiatives' section of this report (5.0).

2.3.2 Home ownership

In a Motu working paper on home ownership by Roskrug, Grimes, McCann and Poot (2011) the authors note the benefits to home ownership include improved outcomes for children and reduced crime and general wellbeing. The authors state that:

Many of these benefits relate to community interaction. The theory behind this relationship is that when someone purchases a home and becomes the owner occupier, this financial investment also reduces geographical and labour mobility due to transactions costs. This provides an increased incentive for an individual or family to invest in their community, through engagement in local decision making as well as through interactions with other members of the community (networks) and through participation in community activities (DiPasquale & Glaeser, 1999; Glaeser et al., 2002; Earls et al., 1997, cited in Roskrug et al., 2011:2)

¹¹ Those who are in work but cannot afford to buy.

¹² A term that the authors Shamubeel and Selena Eaquad use to refer to the growing number of younger New Zealanders who will not be able to afford to buy a home.

In the *Māori Housing Trends 2010* report written for Housing New Zealand Corporation (HNZC) the authors Flynn, Carne and Soa-Lafoa'i report that between 1926 and 1945 home ownership rates were higher for Māori than European/Pākehā (Flynn et al., 2010:49). However during this time Māori home ownership was mainly rural and with their shift to urban areas in the 1950s and 1960s the rate of home ownership for Māori decreased considerably (ibid.). Although there was a further peak in Māori home ownership in 1991 (just over 50%, in comparison to just over 74% for European/Pākehā) the proportion of Māori living in owner-occupied homes has continued to decrease since then and at a greater rate than European/Pākehā households (Flynn et al., 2010: 49–57).

While home ownership rates have been decreasing throughout Aotearoa for Māori and non-Māori alike, this has been more pronounced in Tāmaki Makaurau. In 1986 home ownership in Tāmaki Makaurau (73.9% - across all ethnicities) was comparable to home ownership rates in the rest of Aotearoa (73.6% - across all ethnicities) (Goodyear & Fabian, 2014:34). However, in 2013 only 61.5 per cent of households in Tāmaki Makaurau owned their own home (or held it in a trust) compared to 66.2 per cent elsewhere in Aotearoa. In their *Housing in Auckland* report, Goodyear and Fabian report that Gisborne was the only region with a lower home ownership rate than Tāmaki Makaurau, at 52.9 per cent (ibid.).

Goodyear and Fabian report on the wide variation in home ownership rates across different local board areas in Tāmaki Makaurau. In 2013, the Hibiscus and Bays local board area had the highest home ownership rate at 74.1 per cent, and Waitematā had the lowest at 39.1 per cent. The largest decreases in home ownership between 2006 and 2013 occurred in Ōtara-Papatoetoe, Manurewa, Māngere-Ōtāhuhu and Waitematā (Goodyear & Fabian, 2014:37); again the same areas with sizeable Māori populations.

In this regard, home ownership rates for Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau are significantly lower than those of European/Pākehā and Asian ethnicities. In 2013, the home ownership rates for Māori were 40.2 per cent compared to 69.6 per cent for European/Pākehā and 60.5 per cent for Asian (Goodyear & Fabian, 2014:36). As shown in Table 5, the rate of home ownership for Māori has been declining over time, from 42.8 per cent in 2001 to 41.5 per cent in 2006.¹³

Flynn et al. (2010:53) argue the difference in home ownership rates can be attributed to the shift from rural to urban areas for Māori, high living costs in areas such as Tāmaki Makaurau, the loss of intergenerational experiences of owning a home, the younger age structure of the Māori population, larger household sizes, lower levels of educational achievement, employment and income, and the desire to reside near whānau.¹⁴ They also report that even when income, age and location are taken into consideration, fewer Māori than European/Pākehā live in owner-occupied homes (ibid: 57). The intergenerational repercussions of owning a home result not only in the experience of owning a home as mentioned above, but also in less transfer of wealth between generations. Larger household sizes also mean that individual children receive a smaller share of wealth (Flynn et al., 2010).

¹³ Interestingly, Table 5 shows that Pākehā/European home ownership rates declined between 2006–2013 at a greater rate than for Māori, although the rate of home ownership for Pākehā/European remains higher overall. The drop in home ownership rates is part of a wider trend of decreased home-ownership in Tāmaki Makaurau across all groups.

¹⁴ Research by Flynn et al. (2010), Statistics New Zealand *Motivations for Migration* (2007), and Waldegrave, King, Walker & Fitzgerald (2006) suggests that proximity to whānau is very important for Māori, and that Māori in cities often accepted lower grade housing to be close to family members.

Table 5: Percentage of residents who own the dwelling they live in, by ethnic group, Tāmaki Makaurau, 2001, 2006 and 2013

	Census year			Change (percentage points)		
	2001	2006	2013	2001-2006	2006-2013	2001-2013
Māori	42.8	41.5	40.2	-1.3	-1.3	-2.6
European/Other*	71.6	72.0	69.6	0.4	-2.4	-2.0
Pacific peoples	37.6	35.7	32.0	-1.8	-3.7	-5.6
Asian	61.4	61.8	60.5	0.4	-1.3	-0.9
MELAA**	31.3	38.0	36.7	6.7	-1.3	5.4

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings (2001, 2006, 2013).

Notes: People could choose more than one ethnic identity so percentages may not add to 100.

* 'Other' has been combined with European as the majority of the 'Other' response consists of 'New Zealander'.

** MELAA refers to those of Middle Eastern, Latin American or African ethnicity.

2.3.3 Renters

Decreased home ownership rates amongst Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau have predictably resulted in increased rental rates. Flynn et al. (2010) report that Māori renting in the residential rental market face a number of challenges including:

- Competition for limited rental stock.
- Lack of security of tenure (mainly due to the Residential Tenancies Act 1986) creating instability for families.
- Lack of affordable rental stock.
- Lack of quality rental stock.
- Lack of rental stock of sufficient size for large Māori households.

The 2015 New Zealand General Social Survey (NZGSS) and resulting publication *Perceptions of housing quality in 2014-15* (Statistics New Zealand, 2015a) showed that certain population subgroups reported higher proportions of housing issues: those in one-parent families with children, people of prime work age, and Māori and Pacific peoples. These groups were also more likely to be renters. The finding that renters were far more likely than owner-occupiers to report that their home was always or often cold (35% and 15% respectively) is supported by the 2010 House Condition Survey by BRANZ. This survey found that rental housing was in worse condition than owner-occupied housing and had a greater incidence of components in poor or serious condition (Buckett, Jones & Marston, 2010). In turn, the paper on rental affordability from 1998 to 2012 by Statistics New Zealand (2013d:23) reports that Tāmaki Makaurau was consistently the most unaffordable region since 1998.

There is limited data on the ethnicity of renters in Tāmaki Makaurau, however as reported in Goodyear and Fabian (2014: 45), the local board areas which recorded the largest increase in renters since the 2006 Census were the same areas with high Māori populations. These were Māngere-Ōtāhuhu (by 6.3 percentage points to 54.5% in 2013), Waitemātā (by 5.8 percentage points to 58.0% in 2013), and Ōtara-Papatoetoe (by 5.7 percentage points to 49.6% in 2013). They also report that over a third of the Māori population in Tāmaki Makaurau comprise of children, and that between 2006 and 2013 there was an increase in the proportion of *all* children (aged less than 15 years) in Tāmaki Makaurau who lived in rental housing (from 39.8% to 43.7%).

According to the same report, private renting was seen to be the most common in Tāmaki Makaurau with 81.4 per cent (116,571 households) of rental households renting from the private

sector in 2013. Compared to 2001, private rental has increased from 76.9 per cent, while the percentages renting from Housing New Zealand, or a local authority/ city council have both fallen (from 19.0% to 17.5% and 2.6% to 1.1% respectively). As expected, people in households who rented their home were more likely to have moved at least once during the previous year than those in households who owned their home. In Tāmaki Makaurau, over a third (35.0%) of people in households who rented had lived there for less than one year compared with 14.4 per cent of those in households who owned their home or held it in a family trust. This is similar to the proportion of Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau who lived at their place of usual residence for less than one year (26.7%) as reported earlier.

2.3.4 Household crowding

A Ministry of Health report on crowding (2014) states that freedom from crowding is one of the six dimensions of housing adequacy recognised by Statistics New Zealand. The Ministry describes crowding as occurring in a dwelling when the number of people residing in a household exceeds the capacity of a household to provide adequate shelter and services to its members. Crowding can arise for a number of reasons, including socio-economic status, cultural preference, social cohesion, limited availability of appropriate housing stock and accepting high occupant density as a means of containing cost (ibid.).

The Canadian National Occupancy Standard (CNOS) is the primary indicator used to assess crowding in Aotearoa and is used by the Ministry of Health and Statistics New Zealand. The CNOS was developed to help determine the number of bedrooms a dwelling should have to provide freedom from crowding (Ministry of Health, 2014). It is based on the number, age, sex and interrelationships of household members.

The CNOS states that:

- No more than two people shall share a bedroom.
- Parents or couples may share a bedroom.
- Children under 5 years of age of the same or opposite sex may share a bedroom.
- Children under 18 years of age of the same sex may share a bedroom.
- A child from 5 to 17 years of age should not share a bedroom with a child under 5 years of age of the opposite sex.
- Single adults 18 years of age and over and any unpaired children require separate bedrooms (Ministry of Health, 2014).

National and international research has shown that non-European/Pākehā populations, such as Māori and Pacific peoples in Aotearoa, live in the most crowded housing (Baker et al., 2013) but that this is not just a product of poverty. A combination of factors contribute to crowding including larger household size (including multi-generational families), affordability issues (the household cannot afford a dwelling large enough to accommodate its members), living arrangements and lack of housing stock (Ministry of Health, 2014).

In terms of health, the Ministry of Health (2014) cites reports that show household crowding is an important risk factor for infectious diseases such as rheumatic fever, meningococcal disease, respiratory infections, skin infections, pneumonia, elevated blood pressure and increased risk of childhood injuries. It also notes research that suggests that adults and children living in crowded households are less likely to access health care services than are those in non-crowded households and that provision of adequate, affordable warmth may reduce absences from school or work.

Flynn et al. (2010:29) also report on Statistics New Zealand data that demonstrates that crowding is concentrated disproportionately among some ethnic groups, and is associated with low income, high numbers of dependent children, two or more families living in a household, one-parent families (living with others) and extended family living. Goodyear and Fabian (2014:79) show that ethnicity was the most important factor in explaining differences in crowding. This is similar to the findings of a research carried out in California (Moller, Johnson & Dardia, 2002) which noted that black, American-Indian, Asian, and Hispanic populations in the United States had much higher levels of crowding, and this difference remained significant even when controlling for factors such as low income. However, as Goodyear, Fabian and Hay note (2011) a preference to live in an extended family household should not be equated with a preference to live in a crowded household.

The increasingly diverse population of Tāmaki Makaurau, combined with relatively higher housing costs, may also be contributing to the high and persistent levels of crowding (Goodyear & Fabian 2014:79). Most ethnic groups in Tāmaki Makaurau experienced a small decline in the proportion of people living in crowded households between 2006 and 2013 (refer to Table 6). For Māori, the proportion of people living in crowded households had declined by 1.4 percentage points from 26.8 per cent to 25.4 per cent.

Table 6: Number and proportion of people living in crowded household by ethnic group in Tāmaki Makaurau, 2006 and 2013

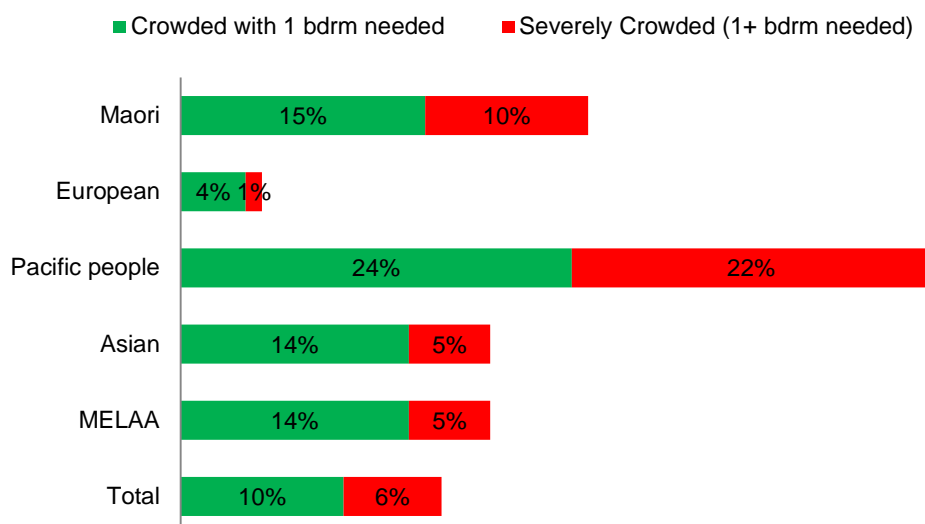
	2006		2013	
	Number	%	Number	%
European/Pākehā/Other	38,787	5.2	39,939	5.2
Māori	33,735	26.8	33,702	25.4
Pacific people	78,015	47.8	81,642	45.3
Asian	47,508	21.5	57,294	19.5
MELAA*	4,059	23.7	4,392	18.8

Source: Goodyear and Fabian (2014:80)

* MELAA refers to those of Middle Eastern, Latin American or African ethnicity.

In 2013, over a quarter of Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau lived in crowded households, with 10 per cent living in households needing two or more bedrooms (severely crowded). In comparison, only one per cent of those of European/Pākehā ethnicity lived in households classified as severely crowded (see Figure 5). Māori tend to accommodate a larger number of people in their households including parents or grandparents on a permanent basis and visiting whanau. Hence, the perception and reality of whether overcrowding is being experienced is often influenced by cultural issues such as extended families living together. Structural considerations may also have an impact. For example, a household that in theory may be overcrowded, based on the number of people per bedroom, may nevertheless be equipped with sufficient resources to comfortably house all occupants, such as extra service areas (bathrooms, toilets).

Figure 5: Percentage of people living in crowded households in Tāmaki Makaurau, by ethnic group, 2013

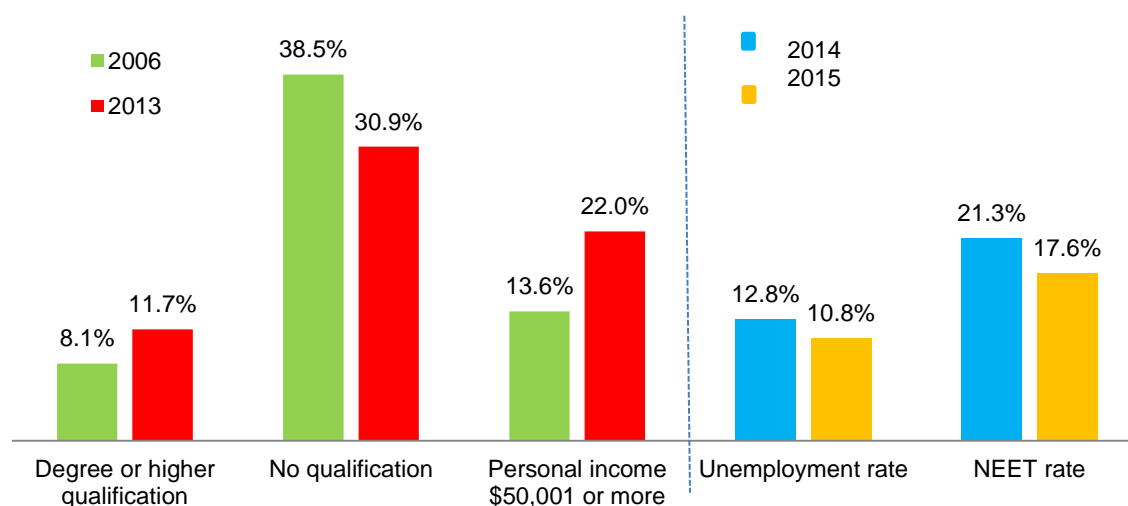


Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings (2013)

2.4 Socio-economic indicators

Home ownership, and housing experiences more generally, can be influenced by socio-economic factors such as levels of educational attainment, employment status, skills and income levels. There have been positive improvements across some of these socio-economic indicators for Māori as illustrated in Figure 6. Between the 2006 and 2013 censuses there was an increase in the proportion of Māori aged 15 years and over who obtained higher educational qualifications, and an increase in the proportion of Māori receiving annual incomes of more than \$50,000.

Figure 6: Socio-economic indicators for Māori aged 15 years and over in Tāmaki Makaurau



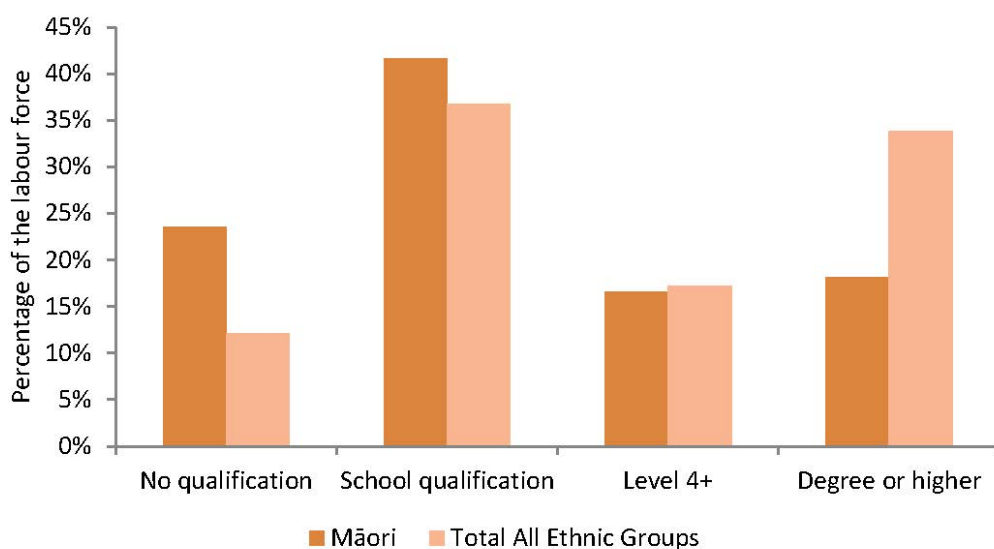
Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings (2006 and 2013) and Household Labour Force Survey (December 2014 and December 2015)

Note: Data on qualifications and personal income is taken from the 2006 and 2013 Census results. Data on unemployment and NEET rate is from the HLFS for year ending December 2014 and December 2015.

2.4.1 Qualifications

Figure 7 is taken from the 2015 report on Māori in the labour market¹⁵ (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2015) and shows that 41.6 per cent of all Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau had school qualifications and 16.6 per cent had NCEA Level 4 or higher qualifications. In comparison to the rest of Aotearoa, Auckland has the largest disparity between Māori and others¹⁶ in terms of the proportion of the labour force with degrees or higher qualification.

Figure 7: Educational qualifications of Māori in the labour force – Tāmaki Makaurau



Source: Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (2015)

2.4.2 Skills and occupations

MBIE (2015) reports that the most common occupations for Māori workers in Tāmaki Makaurau are professionals (21.3%), clerks (15.1%) and technicians and trade workers (12.3%). However, the number of Māori in skilled occupations decreased by 6.4 per cent from 2014 to 2015 as a result of the overall decline in Māori employment in the region.

The biggest employers of Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau were the construction, manufacturing, health care and social assistance industries. There were also proportionately more Māori working in goods-producing industries and fewer in the service industries, in comparison to Total All Ethnic Groups (MBIE, 2015).

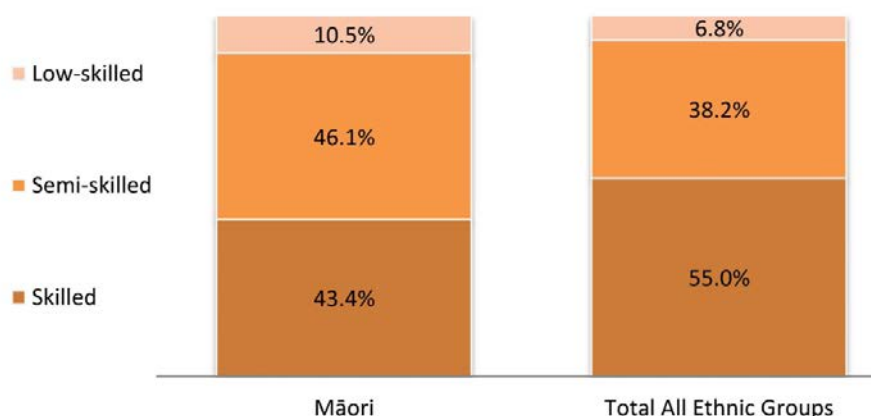
As illustrated in Figure 8, in 2015, Tāmaki Makaurau had the smallest proportion of Māori workers in low-skilled occupations compared to other regions. However, when compared with the total employed, there were proportionately more Māori in low-skilled occupations and semi-skilled occupations.¹⁷

¹⁵ This report presents data from the Household Force Survey (HFLS) for Māori. Throughout the report, statistics for Māori are compared to those for Total All Ethnic Groups.

¹⁶ As stated in the footnote above, the MBIE report on 'Māori in the Labour Force' (2015) compares statistics for Māori with those for Total All Ethnic Groups.

¹⁷ Skilled occupations include those in manager, professional, technician and trades occupation groups; semi-skilled occupations include technicians and trade workers, clerks, sales, service and plant operator occupation groups; and low-skilled occupation are labourers. (as copied from footnote in MBIE report, page 15)

Figure 8: Employment by skill level in Tāmaki Makaurau, 2015



Source: Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (2015)

2.4.3 Employment and NEET

The Auckland Regional Household Labour Force Survey (HLFS) shows that unemployment rates among Māori were lower and participation in employment higher compared to a year earlier (end Dec 2014). However, employment participation rates for Māori remain low and unemployment high compared to most other ethnic groups. According to the HLFS, the latest unemployment rate¹⁸ for the year ending December 2015 was 10.4 per cent for Māori, compared to 4.4 per cent for European/Pākehā and 6.2 per cent for Tāmaki Makaurau overall (Statistics New Zealand, 2015c).

In addition, Māori youth not in employment, education or training (NEET rate)¹⁹ also declined from an annual average of 21.3 per cent for ending December 2014 to 17.6 per cent by end December 2015.

2.4.4 Income

The median income for Māori in 2013 (\$24,500) was \$29,600 less for Aucklanders as a whole, and \$12,000 less than the European/Pākehā ethnic group. Despite this, Māori had the second highest proportion of adults earning \$50,000 a year at 22 per cent (behind European/Pākehā at 36.8%), compared to other ethnic groups.

Table 7 below shows that those of Ngāi Tahu / Kāi Tahu descent have a higher proportion of their population living in Tāmaki Makaurau who own or partly own their usual residence, have a degree or higher and earn a personal income of \$50,001 or more in comparison to the total iwi population in Tāmaki Makaurau. Whilst only 12 per cent of those of Ngāi Tahu / Kāi Tahu descent live in Tāmaki Makaurau (and comprise only 4% of all iwi living in Tāmaki Makaurau), 38.5 per cent of them own or partly own their usual place of residence live in Tāmaki Makaurau (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

¹⁸ The official unemployment rate in Aotearoa is calculated by Statistics New Zealand using the quarterly Household Labour Force Survey. It is calculated as the number of people aged 15 years and over who did not have a paid job, were available for work, and were actively seeking work, expressed as a percentage of the labour force.

¹⁹ Youth NEET is defined as young people aged 15–24 years who are: unemployed (part of the labour force) and not engaged in education or training and not in the labour force, and not engaged in education or training due to multiple reasons. The NEET rate measures youth NEET as a ratio of the youth population.

Overall, for those of Māori descent, about 29,820 in Tāmaki Makaurau own or partly own their place of usual residence; a quarter of these are of Ngāpuhi descent, followed by Ngāti Porou with 6.9 per cent and Ngāi Tahu / Kāi Tahu 5.9 per cent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

Table 7: Tenure, highest educational qualification and personal income, adult population (aged 15 and over) in the 10 largest iwi populations (Māori descent) living in Tāmaki Makaurau, 2013

	Own or partly own usual residence	Degree or higher qualification	Personal income \$50,001 or more
Ngāpuhi	22.9	10.4	19.9
Ngāti Porou	23.9	14.7	24.7
Waikato	21.4	10.5	18.1
Ngāti Maniapoto	23.4	12.1	22.1
Ngāti Whātua	22.7	11.3	20.6
Te Rarawa	26.1	14.7	23.1
Ngāi Tahu / Kāi Tahu	38.5	25.5	35.0
Tūhoe	16.3	11.7	19.3
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	21.1	13.3 5	24.0
Te Arawa (iwi not named)	21.6	13.7	22.2
Iwi total (Tāmaki Makaurau)	27.3	13.0	24.2

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings (2013)

2.4.5 Overview of socio-economic indicators

In 2014 Marriot and Sim reported on *Indicators of Inequality for Māori and Pacific Peoples* in a Public Finance working paper at Victoria University of Wellington. The authors argue that while some indicators have improved; most have not, and while redistribution of wealth minimises the symptoms of various problems to some extent, it does not address the underlying causes of inequality. They report that the gap in median weekly income between European/Pākehā and Māori had increased by 103 per cent and that despite a closing gap between European/Pākehā and Māori for housing affordability and household crowding measures (highlighted in Table 8 below) there remains a large gap between the housing outcomes for the two groups (2014:24). They state:

Poor results are found in the measures of health, paid work and economic standard of living. The category that produces the best results is knowledge and skills. However, within this category the results are also mixed, with improvement visible in early childhood education, secondary school achievement, and tertiary participation, but not in tertiary education outcomes (Marriot & Sim, 2014:26).

They also refer to work undertaken by the OECD (2008, 2013) that stresses upskilling as a key factor that has succeeded in reducing wage dispersion and increasing employment rate. They contend that the greater disparities in wages have resulted in greater state involvement in assisting low-income earners to maintain a moderate state of living (Marriot & Sim, 2014).

This is supported by the report from the Royal Society of New Zealand (2014) titled 'Our Futures - Te Pae Tāwhiti' which contrasts work-rich households with work-poor ones. While work-rich households have been able to invest in post-secondary qualifications, work-poor households have qualifications that are inappropriate to a changed labour market or lack advanced qualifications altogether. The report also notes that Māori are more likely to be in work-poor households or have more precarious employment. This is reflected in the findings from the 2013 Census that shows the

unemployment rate for the European/Pākehā ethnic group was 4.4 per cent, compared to 14.3 per cent for the Māori ethnic group (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2014:26; Statistics New Zealand, 2013). In this regard, Marriot & Sim (2014), the Royal Society of New Zealand (2014) and the OECD (2008, 2013) clearly regard improved tertiary education outcomes and upskilling as fundamental to reducing inequality in Aotearoa.

Table 8: Summary of indicators of inequality for Māori

Group	Indicator	Māori	Gap between European/Pākehā and Māori
Health	Life expectancy at birth	Improved	Closing
	Prevalence of cigarette smoking	Improved	Increasing
	Obesity	Worse	Increasing
	Age-standardised suicide rates	Mixed	Increasing
	Infant mortality rates	Improved	Closing
Knowledge and skills	Participation in early childhood education	Improved	Closing
	School leavers with qualification of NCEA Level 2 or higher	Improved	Closing
	Proportion of population with a bachelor's degree or higher	Improved	Increasing
	Tertiary participation rates	Improved	Gap is gone
Paid work	Unemployment	Worse	Increasing
	Employment	Worse	Increasing
	Workplace injury claims	Improved	Closing
	Median weekly earnings	Improved	Same
	Percentage of population receiving a core benefit	Worse	Increasing
Economic standard of living	Median weekly income	Improved	Increasing
	Personal income distribution	Worse	Increasing
	Housing affordability	Improved	Closing
	Household crowding	Improved	Closing
Cultural identity	Māori language speakers	Worse	Worse
	Māori medium education	Worse	Worse
Social connectedness	Internet access at home	Improved	Increasing

Source: Marriot & Sim (2014).

2.4.6 Summary

Both this section and the previous section have provided quantitative data about Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau and elsewhere in Aotearoa. Section 1.0 provided an overview of the population of Māori (and iwi) in Aotearoa and Tāmaki Makaurau, their age-structure, the household size and composition of families living in Tāmaki Makaurau including Māori. This section has focussed on the challenges that face Māori with regard to home ownership rates, renting and household crowding. While this material provides a numerical picture of Māori, the following section aims to provide a more personal perspective of the housing and associated challenges that many Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau experience.

3.0 Housing Experiences

3.1 Overview

An article resulting from the Family 100 Research addressed below, refers to the concept of 'phronesis': practically orientated knowledge about how to address issues (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot & Tankel, 2013a). By drawing on this concept as a means of analysis, Hodgetts et al. emphasise that:

People experiencing hardship have a stock of practical experiential knowledge about their situations (phronesis) that other people lack. Such experiential wisdom is not simply cognitive in nature; it is embodied through feelings of humiliation, frustration, fear and anxiety that can manifest around interactions with unsympathetic institutions in particular locales (see Bourdieu, 1998) (Hodgetts et al., 2013a:6).

As such, this section draws on research literature that has focussed on the specific housing and housing-related experiences that Māori individuals and whānau have spoken about. By analysing the reports of those who experience hardship it is possible to demonstrate how a myriad of structurally patterned practices and relationships are interconnected and embedded in the everyday lives of families in need and in the practices of agencies responsible for helping them (Hodgetts et al., 2013a:6).

While some of the research that reports on these experiences is particular to Tāmaki Makaurau, other projects have a nationwide or local community focus. Several of the projects reported on both quantitative and qualitative data, however, in the discussion below we focus only on the research material that relates to the experiences of the research participants. Likewise, several of the projects interviewed Māori and non-Māori participants, and where possible, we report on the experiences specific to Māori. Six projects are discussed below, including a brief outline of each project.

3.2 Family 100 Research Project²⁰

This project was developed in order to produce a detailed picture of families experiencing long term hardship in Tāmaki Makaurau and their interactions with agencies. The study participants were regular users of foodbank service provided by the Auckland City Mission and were involved in the project over a 12 month period. Participants provided detailed information about a wide range of topics ranging from their experiences of poverty, income and debt, to their interactions with agencies and services providers (Auckland City Mission, 2014; Auckland City Council, Auckland City Mission & ThinkPlace, 2015).

One hundred participants were selected to represent the demographics of the Mission's clients; 88 of the participants were female (reflecting the gendered nature of long term hardship), and 40 were Māori. The findings from the project are notable not only for giving a voice to the participants involved, but for looking at a broad range of issues in concert, rather than focusing on a specific issue in isolation such as housing (Auckland City Mission, 2014; Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot & Tankel, 2013b).

By exploring how key issues such as health, housing, debt and education work in concert to shape lives of deprived and impoverished people, the project seeks to

²⁰ Authors: Auckland City Mission, Auckland Council and ThinkPlace, 2014

understand how social structures hold families in a repeating cycle of poverty and to provide a means for them to lead more secure lives. (Auckland City Mission, 2014:14)

The narratives from the recorded interviews provide provoking insights about the complex and chaotic system that those in long term hardship are required to navigate in order to have their needs met (ibid:6). Several reports were published from the research project and provide sober reading.

In a journal article by Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Tankel and Groot (2013b) titled 'Researching poverty to make a difference: The need for reciprocity and advocacy in community research' the authors report on the experiences of Anita, a 36 year old Māori woman who lives in Mangere with her long-term partner Luke and eight children:

Luke currently lives in Tauranga three nights a week [he] found part-time work (20hrs a week) driving a bread truck and sleeps in a relative's garage when in Tauranga ... Anita has also re-entered part-time work (25 hours a week) as a cleaner at a nursing home ... The family lives in a 3-bedroom state house (rent is \$415 per week) that is in very poor condition and scheduled for demolition as a result of the government transfer of state housing provisions to the private sector. The family's housing future is uncertain as there are simply fewer state houses available and they cannot afford private rental...

Anita is \$40,000 in debt. This debt was accumulated through Anita using clothing trucks and fringe lenders to cover basic necessities... She prioritises rent above all other expenses. After her bills are paid Anita is often in deficit each week, which means food and power becoming discretionary items.

Over the last year, Anita kept her children home from school on 70 occasions because she could not provide them with lunch ... Some nights the family just eat potatoes, rice or fried bread. Anita is no longer eligible to access a food grant from WINZ due to increased restraints on eligibility criteria.... Her children's school is aware that she is often unable to send them to school due to lack of food; however they have still involved truancy officers with the family. Last week the school notified Child Youth and Family (CYFs)...

Anita's financial situation has contributed to her resorting to stealing food to feed the family. She says that:

It's important for the kids to be fed no matter what. My bottom line is if I can't get help then I take the situation into my own hands. The stuff that I steal shows that I'm doing it. I'm not in there stealing fancy cheeses and wine and stuff like that. I've been into a fruit shop and stolen a bag of mandarins so that my kids will have some fruit in their lunch boxes... Stealing doesn't come easy to me. You have to work up the courage. I deal with the guilt of it. I do know what's right and wrong, but when push comes to shove, my kids come first. I steal because I have to. It doesn't give me a rush or make me feel good, like a lot of thieves. It worries me if I go inside. That's not going to be good for my kids either. But when I weigh things up, I don't have anyone to ask for help. I have to steal probably at least once a fortnight, but it could be three times a week at some points (Hodgetts et al., 2013b:52-53).

In a further article by Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Tankel and Groot (2014) they describe how ongoing health issues are a barrier to one of the participants in the study, Jade, and to her gaining employment and moving out of poverty:

Like many of the participants in our research, Jade has ongoing health issues ... Our field-notes record that Jade's ex-partner had 'knocked several of her front teeth out'. Jade could not afford to access dental care and 'this resulted in her gums becoming seriously infected and many of her other teeth becoming rotten/damaged'. Jade's oral health has a substantial impact on her social participation in that 'bad breath is a side effect of the rotting teeth. She finds this very embarrassing, and is very self-conscious' ... It was noted that Jade 'has gone through periods of intense pain with her teeth, including a period where she could not eat and was constantly bleeding from her mouth, and was in huge amounts of pain' ... During an interview, Jade stated that 'the pain makes me almost suicidal' ... Recently Jade overdosed twice on pain killer while trying to manage the pain and sees the pain as a barrier to her gaining employment and moving out of poverty (Hodgetts et al, 2014:97-98).

Hodgetts et al. note how poverty influences lives both materially and psychosocially through the interrelated issues of social and economic exclusions, education difficulties, stigma, physical hardship, under-employment, inadequate housing, food insecurity, violence and constrained access to health the social services. They comment that the health sector alone cannot address the health impacts of increased poverty given that poverty is a diverse but interconnected phenomenon (2014:98).

In their third article from the Family 100 project, Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot and Tankel (2013a) write that agencies misrecognise the serious difficulties that families in long term hardship endure, and the time-consuming nature of sustaining everyday life. These are reflected in the comments made by various participants:

It's the running around. I'm pretty organised and even if you do have ... the paperwork that's required, there is still one thing that they will demand you get ... So you've got to rebook your appointment, use up more gas to go and run around, or more money for the buses (Hayley).

Firstly it's my time. I don't like going there, wasting all those hours ... (Leona).

If you need help with WINZ or anything you've gotta go through the budgeter ... They just write down where all your money goes and come up with the conclusion, you're short. Well, I already know I'm short! But WINZ doesn't care – they get the budget report and still they see that there's not enough each week, but it doesn't matter, they just want that bit of paper to prove it ... I hate WINZ. I find them really hard to deal with... When you go in to see someone and they're giving you advice about something they they've got absolutely no idea about ... I get quite upset ... They know that I don't get much money and yet they're trying to throw things at me... (Shelley).

They could have a little kid's play area. Maybe those plastic screens between each cubicle where you sit because then not everyone's gonna hear your conversation ... I don't want everyone seeing me cry ... WINZ is a last resort for a lot of people ... Toilet facilities, especially if you've got a little kid that needs to go ... Literally crappy ... You could be sitting and waiting for your appointment, your kid really needs to go and you're gonna walk out of there, across the road, go through the mall, get to the toilet then come all way back to oh, your appointment was 10, 15 minutes ago. I've had to rebook an appointment just because I needed to take my little boy to the toilet ... There's a lot of people who urinate on the street outside (Charlotte).

Bloody depressed to the point of doing damage to myself ... Because you feel like you're inadequate and you can't do anything right for your kids ... Having to go back

in, to punish yourself even more ... There are no excuses for them to hold back on your benefit (Amelia).

I have anxiety when I know I have to go to WINZ, so I'd much rather go and find help from another agency. Not be questioned and put down ... I'm afraid of the emotional roller-coaster that I'm gonna face having to justify everything (Mavis).

Do you know how it feels to repeat that I'm on anti-depressants? How many times have I repeated that, yes, I tried committing suicide. "Yes, I was raped by my father". It's pathetic and it makes me hate them ... I'm too scared to go to WINZ to put a bit more in the bills, so we can have one heater on ... to warm my children. I can't go in there ... because it's not worth repeating my life. They're that callous (Michelle).
(Hodgetts et al., 2013a:7-13)

In their analysis of the information provided by the participants, Hodgetts et al. argue that in Aotearoa today, families in need are treated unfairly by state institutions tasked with their care. The authors argue that state agencies increasingly operate as agencies of repression rather than care, and that families in need are dehumanised and rendered as 'problems' or 'strangers' to be regulated and managed at a distance, rather than treated as fellow human beings to be supported and embraced (2013a:14-15). Using the concept 'structural violence' as a means to recognise the 'ongoing, patterned, emplaced and embodied nature of larger structural systems of inequity in society' that have emerged as a result of neoliberalism, the authors contend that systemic violence must be named and addressed, just as intimate partner violence has been (2013a:15). This argument and the concept of 'structural violence' are discussed further in Section 5.0.

A further report from the Family 100 project, authored by ThinkPlace and Auckland City Mission (2014) titled 'Demonstrating the complexities of being poor; an empathy tool' provided the following key insights from the research project:

- The service agency landscape is wide, varied and complex, as are the intricate stories of the marginalised poor who participated in the project.
- Participants were required to tell and re-tell their stories of despair to many different agents to 'prove' they were poor, truly desperate and deserving of help.
- High interest fringe lenders can be seen as an easier, friendlier solution than dealing with government and non-profit agencies.
- For the marginalised poor, there are many obstacles into suitable employment.
- When services could not fill the gap, participants sought help from informal supports such as neighbours, family, friends and churches or marae.
- Cold damp houses in disrepair contribute to feelings of shame, low self-worth, stress and poor health.
- Food scarcity was evident and a lot of people spent a lot of energy obtaining small amounts of food.
- Participants felt guilty, sad, depressed and ashamed due to lack of food and their inability to provide for their families.
- It takes a lot of time and effort to be poor.
- Participants were immersed in the present and made decisions based on the needs confronting them on the day (ThinkPlace & Auckland City Mission, 2014:18-19).

At a broader scale, there is a relationship between colonisation, housing and homelessness as discussed in Section 5.0. Here, the work of Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, Rua and Groot (2015) is drawn on, and addresses the way in which colonialism and societal developments have impacted whānau in an economic, cultural and social sense. Groot et al. present a case study entitled 'Maia', compiled from common aspects of interviews with Māori homeless people in Tāmaki Makaurau. They relate the experiences of a Māori woman who was removed from her hāu kainga/tribal homeland as a child:

I used to sleep in this paper bin. There was this Māori actor who walked past once and I was embarrassed, but he gave me some cash and bought me some food. He could have just turned his back on me, but he gave something back to another Māori, he didn't have to, he could have just turned around, but he didn't. It made me feel happy. They know all the issues. They know the story of why people are in that position, but it's not an embarrassment to them. Foreigners that come to New Zealand they don't know the story, they come to see Māoris playing in the All Blacks, doing the haka and stuff like that (Groot et al., 2015).

One of the strengths of the Family 100 Project is the way in which it has highlighted how various poverty related issues such as poor health, debt, lack of food, low education, low pay, lack of employment, and dehumanised welfare support can culminate and create further stress and despair for individuals and whānau. In contrast, the following project focuses specifically on the issues surround housing tenure in Manukau.

3.3 Exploring security of tenure through co-design²¹

This report summarises the findings from a project which explored the lived experiences of tenants and landlords in South Auckland. The project included interviews with 14 tenants, 7 landlords, 5 central government agencies and five NGOs. It was funded through Treasury and was co-located with the Southern Initiative team in Manukau, with support from Auckland Council. Below are observations from interviews with a large low-income family, and a solo parent:

Ina and Sam have six children ranging from pre-school to high school. Education and a decent, affordable home for their children are very important to them. Up until recently they lived in private rentals but struggled to cover bills on two low-paying jobs. When Sam's over-time earning dropped they had to look for a new home.

Finding a home was daunting and choice was limited. Some property management companies required long questionnaires and checklists, some even asked for car registration and WOF details. The long queues to view houses felt like a beauty pageant. They ended up renting a 'decent' house but stretched their budget to get it. Eventually they fell behind with the rent and were evicted – their previous landlord had been more lenient about them paying back arrears, unlike the current property manager.

With the poor credit history and low income, their housing options were highly limited. They ended up moving into a boarding house, placing the girls with relatives in another part of town so that they could remain at the same school.

Kelly is a solo mum with a seven year old son. She has moved 15 times in the past three years. Her violent partner kicked holes in the walls of the last house they rented and she ended up in the Tenancy Tribunal being ordered to pay damages of over \$3000. She has been unable to rent a house since then. Consequently she has

²¹ Authors: Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, Auckland Council & the Auckland Co-design Lab (2015).
Note: This report does not represent central or local government policy.

constantly moved between different friends and family members on a temporary basis. Most recently she has been living in a caravan park where over 300 people live since she has nowhere else to go. She is currently trying to find some permanent accommodation for herself and her son.

Kelly is aware that the constant moving has been detrimental for both herself and her son. She really wants to be able to settle somewhere so she can study to better herself and get her son back on to Kōhanga reo. She feels her previous history has meant it has been impossible to find a place to rent. She wants landlords to sympathetically consider people's past and what they have been through (MBIE, Auckland Council & Auckland Co-design Lab, 2015).

The report provides 12 key insights from the research project, as follows:

1. It is tough for families to thrive when they are caught in a void between social and private renting.
2. When it comes to quality and the size of rental properties most renters are 'market takers' not 'market makers'.
3. A lack of tenure security impacts on people of all ages, especially the elderly.
4. If you are new to Aotearoa the social norms and nuances of the private rental market can be confusing and make it hard to find stable and secure tenure.
5. The tenancy tribunal was set up for tenants and landlords but most cases appear to be brought by landlords.
6. The quality of the relationship between the landlord and tenant is an important factor in developing longer tenancies.
7. There are too few homes in South Auckland for large families and too little flexibility around how existing housing can be lived in safely.
8. Frequent moving disconnects families from their communities.
9. Some landlords like to go the 'extra mile' to support their tenants, but they need quality advice about what works best.
10. The three way relationship between tenants, property managers and landlords can be a barrier to getting basic house maintenance completed.
11. The motivations of property investors do not always align with the reality and responsibilities of being a landlord.
12. We often talk of the Auckland housing market, but in reality there are many localised housing markets that may need different approaches to improve them (MBIE et al, 2015).

While the next phase of work for this project is yet to be decided, the authors are hopeful that the insights and concepts explored in their report will be used as a catalyst for further research and discussion. At the time of writing, the research and evaluation unit (RIMU) at Auckland Council is undertaking a study of rental property managers in Tāmaki Makaurau, as part of a wider research project on private rental sector landlords in Aotearoa being carried by the SHORE research team at Massey University. We now move from the concerns that confront renters, to the experiences of rough sleepers in Tāmaki Makaurau.

3.4 An insight into the experiences of rough sleeping in central Auckland²²

In this project, researchers spoke to people with lived experiences of rough sleeping in Tāmaki Makaurau. The resulting report walks the reader through the rough sleeping experience and highlights the key insights generated by the research.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were carried out with 13 people who were sleeping rough, nine people who had formerly slept rough and three people with family members sleeping rough. Findings from the project are reported on below, as well as a diagram (Figure 9) that illustrates the housing journey of a young homeless person.

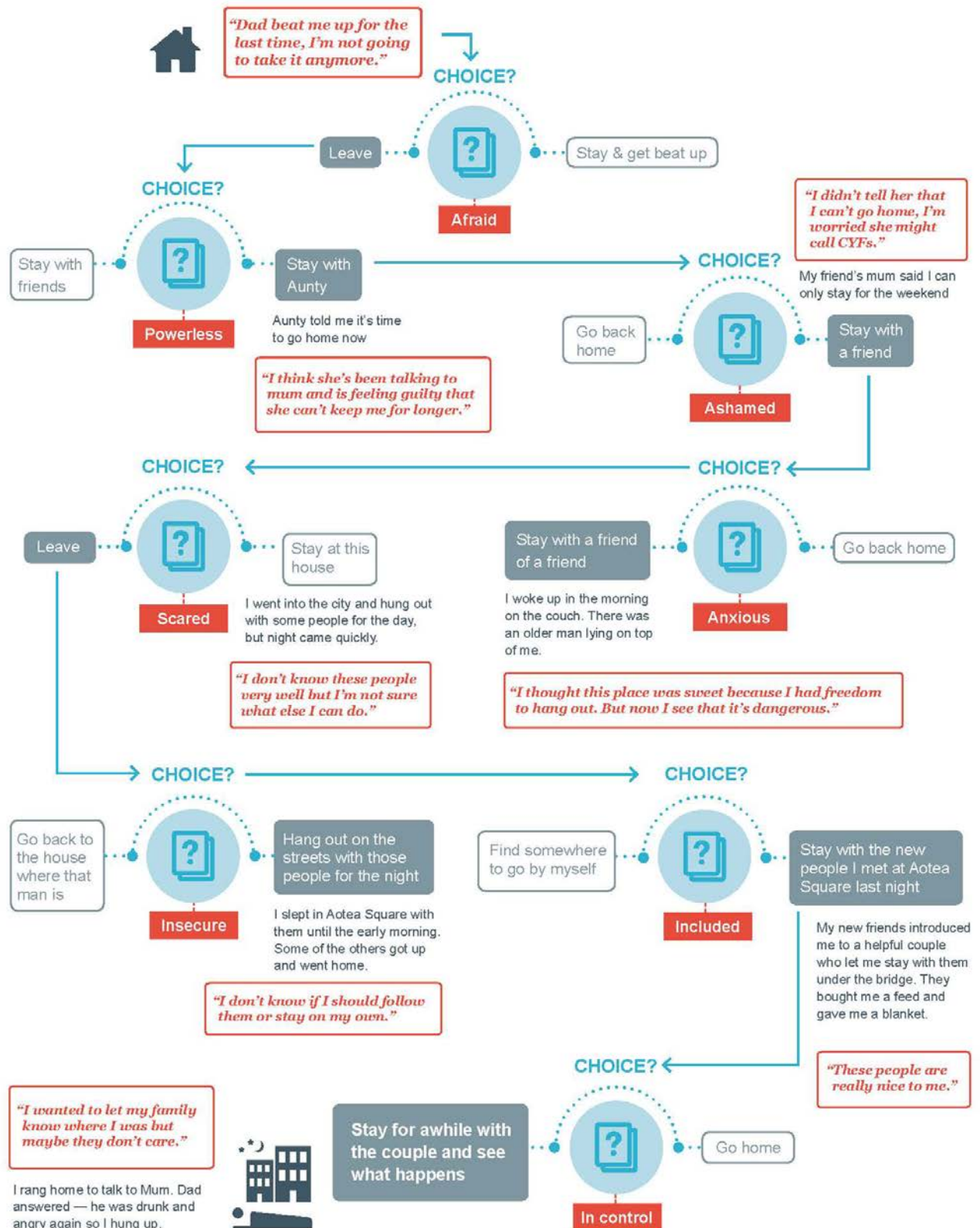
- Triggers and coping pathways: There are many different triggers onto the street and while there, people develop strategies and methods to cope and make a home for themselves. There are also many different triggers to leaving the street and seeking accommodation. However, the difficulties of being housed can sometimes be a trigger to returning to the streets.
- A history of suffering is common pathway to life on the streets: When asked to share their journey towards life on the streets of central Auckland, people often told stories of physical violence, emotional abuse and neglect when they were younger. These experiences were often, but not always, at the hands of close family members who were ultimately responsible for their care. It would seem that, for some, the vulnerabilities of life on the streets were preferable to the vulnerabilities of life at home and offered a way to claim independence.
- Choice: Many rough sleepers reported that it was their choice to sleep rough. As they described their childhood stories, it became apparent that the notion of choice is complex. Although family violence was a trigger on the journey to sleeping rough, the 'choice' to do so was more often than not a result of having no other options. The choice to remain on the street was often grounded in a sense of financial security (having no rent or utility bills to pay), a sense of independence and a lack of appropriate options for alternative accommodation.
- Personal safety is an ongoing concern for those who sleep rough: People sleeping rough are vulnerable to physical attack, especially from intoxicated patrons who leave bars and nightclubs late at night. Participants also reported being vulnerable to assault by friends and family who also slept rough. Numerous strategies are employed to keep themselves safe. A strategy used by women was to avoid showering and use unpleasant body odour to repel unwanted sexual advances.
- Street-based social networks are very important: Such networks offer practical, financial and emotional support. In a world where people felt they were being judged, social networks offered some reprieve. For those who were experiencing significant dislocation from family and other loved ones, a 'street family' offered a very viable and real alternative.
- Like any social relationship, however, relationships on the street are complex. Street-based friendships can sour as people take advantage or manipulate each other, or even when one friend moves off the street into housing. Some participants spoke of a sense of obligation to have sex in exchange for money, drugs, food or shelter.
- There are a range of obstacles that hinder access to social services: Two key problems were raised by participants. First, some social services were not available at the time that

²² Authors: Auckland Council, Auckland City Mission & ThinkPlace (2015).

people most needed them (often after hours). Second, securing the appropriate documentation to facilitate access to the available services was difficult.

- Most people living on the street do not possess formal documents such as birth certificates, driving licenses or passports and many do not have bank accounts. However, these things, in addition to a permanent address, are required to access support from Work and Income and other services.
- Once housed, creating a home is not straightforward: A main concern was the higher cost of living when compared with living on the streets. Managing a severely limited budget is difficult and it is easy to fall behind on rent and other important bills. Although budgeting and other support services are available to help, there is a constant juggle.
- Once housed, creating a home by inviting friends over was often a tension. On the one hand, friends can 'overstay their welcome', carry out illegal activities or cause damage to the property, all of which jeopardise tenancy agreements. On the other hand, inviting friends over to socialise and share a meal is an important part of making a home for oneself.
- For many housed rough sleepers, the streets provided a 'fall-back' option that was always ready to welcome their return. While this offered an important safety net, it also creates a slippery slide back into street life. Overall, it seems that the pathway into secure housing is extremely difficult while the pathway back onto the streets is easy (Auckland Council, Auckland City Mission & ThinkPlace, 2015:4–18).

Figure 9: Journey from a young person's perspective as they grapple with difficult life choices



Source: Auckland Council, Auckland City Mission & ThinkPlace (2015:7).

From research that addresses the interrelated issues facing foodbank recipients (Section 3.2) to those confronting renters (Section 3.3) and the experiences of rough sleepers (Section 3.4), we now turn to research that reports on other factors that affect housing choices for Māori.

3.5 Māori Housing Experiences: Emerging trends and issues ²³

A report by CHRANZ and Te Puni Kōkiri reported on interviews with 70 Māori individuals and whānau across Aotearoa (including interviews in Manukau) to ascertain factors that affected their housing choices, experiences and options. While this report was written in 2006, the findings remain relevant. Their analysis from the interviews highlighted the following key factors:

- Location: proximity to whānau can be a crucial determinant of where people preferred to live. In cities, participants often accept lower grade housing to be close to their families rather than better housing in a suburb further away.
- Aspirations and Barriers: home ownership aspirations for Māori are high; however, low incomes, high debt levels, poor access to finance, high property prices, and an inability to access information about home owning are a significant barrier to home ownership. Discrimination also continues to pose a barrier to housing access for Māori.
- Experiences: satisfaction with housing was higher when living close to whānau or on whānau land. In cities, home ownership provides a sense of security in the form of secure tenure, capital gain and the ability to move to more desired locations. Renters were generally happy with their housing experience.
- Design: Māori housing needs to be able to accommodate visitors and whānau on a permanent basis. Open plan designs provide more flexible living arrangements with adequate and appropriate cooking, bathing, washing, living and sleeping facilities (Waldegrave et al., 2006:12-13).

In interviews with householders and key informants in Manukau, Waldegrave et al. identify the inability to own their home as a source of dissatisfaction for many Māori (2006:71). Barriers included poor access to information about home buying and the systems and processes involved, and difficulty fitting the criteria of lending institutions. The authors also reported that there was the feeling that for Māori living on low wages and benefits, the very idea of owning a home was submerged by their focus on everyday living. One key informant stated:

Some of the people we deal with, I don't think the notion of owning a home even exists with them because of the difficulties they have just trying to focus on everyday living and to have any ambitions beyond that is so difficult given the fact that they are on benefits and have difficulty managing their finances just to take care of their everyday needs with focussing on buying a home (Waldegrave et al., 2006:71).

A comment by another key informant refers to the position of Māori in relation to becoming home owners in comparison to Indian, Chinese and other Asian people who were perceived to work collectively towards home ownership. The informant saw the inability of Māori whānau to work collectively towards home ownership as an example of the loss or weakening of a traditional collective approach:

Part of our struggle is that all this historical stuff that we have forgotten to talk about, we have lost memory, collective memory of how we can do things collectively, and it's

²³ Authors: Waldegrave, King, Walker & Fitzgerald (The Family Centre Social Policy Unit/Research Centre for Māori Health and Development, Massey University) for CHRANZ & Te Puni Kōkiri (2006).

how do we restore that, is some of the challenges to us as a whānau in our cities. And it's being able to get that information and pass it on again. That's a huge challenge for us working in our communities, because ...other people are doing it. I say to my kids, go marry an Indian or Chinese you will get a house. (Waldegrave et al., 2006:71)

In this regard, the authors report on a battle that was perceived to be taking place between two versions of whānau: collective or extended versus nuclear. The dominance of the nuclear model was seen as a barrier to practicing and resurrecting collective approaches to achieving home ownership. A key informant stated:

There were actually policies that allowed us to house ourselves collectively in the city, they were called co-operative housing and we could form a collective and buy houses as a collective, but that's all kind of changed (Waldegrave et al., 2006:72).

Interviewees also compared the current economic situation in 2006 (pre-GFC) with the collapse of employment and incomes in the 1980s and 1990s, increased barriers to home ownership and increased pressures and stresses of life:

The result of that is people getting into a state of despair, and ... then it flows onto other issues, it flows onto abuse and everything that goes with it because of those conditions. We don't understand how to manage our finances and get into a state of despair. Kids take things from the shop, your kids want toys, the parents can't handle it, they get abusive. The refugees are overflowing at this time of year ... And it's a ... flow on of all these conditions, people just want a safe home (Waldegrave et al., 2006:72).

The change in demand from three bedroom standalone homes to one or two bedroom homes and larger houses was also discussed by a respondent from Manukau:

The trend is our teenage children, our 18, 19 aren't leaving home and they are staying there, but they are also having children, so then you start having that as well, so that's why the houses are getting bigger. I suppose too there is more of a trend for the grandparents to be living [in the same home] as well, particularly where there is a disability eh, it's huge .. as soon as there is illness, it seems to be in a lot of cases whānau is the only option available to them, that they will accept, so umm, that's probably a trend that's happened quite a bit. I think it has always been there but particularly in urban where they may have been living ... I know of one case where they were living down the line, they bought the parents here, rather than go to the parents (Waldegrave et al., 2006:88).

At a general level (not specific to Tāmaki Makaurau) the authors comment that community change was associated with high rents in the private rental sector and that fewer Māori lived in private rentals. 'Māori in the community primarily lived in State House rentals, and despite the gentrification of the community as whole, little had changed for those living in State Housing' (Waldegrave et al., 2006:96).

With regard to how Māori housing needs differ from the standard housing model, the authors reported that there was overall agreement from the respondents (not specific to Tāmaki Makaurau) that Māori need to accommodate larger numbers of people than was the case with the general population (Waldegrave et al., 2006:104) as follows:

This need was associated with larger family size, and the practice of receiving and accommodating visiting whānau and other visitors on a relatively frequent basis. All respondents unequivocally stated that being able to accommodate guests was

important. The nature of accommodation needs included being able to permanently house elderly parents and host whānau for short periods for tangihanga and other whānau gatherings.....

The apparent willingness of Māori to host and accommodate people even if the family are unable to support the guests could result in crowded or unhealthy living environments. ...

The preferred design for homes was an open plan style to enable children to be seen as well as to provide more flexible living arrangements and the possibility of being able to move internal walls in order to be able to adapt the internal layout to changing needs. Flexible indoor space needed to be supplemented with outdoor space in the form of open decks and garage and carport space. Provision of larger kitchens and the appropriate location of cooking areas, and eating, washing, sleeping spaces and toilets were emphasised as being important for hosting guests. This meant that at least two toilets were needed in a house (Waldegrave et al., 2006:104-105).

In response to the question about what would increase respondent happiness and satisfaction with their housing, the authors identified home ownership as the most significant challenge for those who were interviewed:

Meeting this challenge would require implementation of a range of measures and initiatives, with suggestions including: capitalisation of Family Support; rent to buy schemes; suspensory loans; low interest loans; community housing; alternative building methods and materials. Mechanism to enable people to use their interest in multiply owned land as leverage for raising finance were called for, although none were specified (Waldegrave et al., 2006:112).

In summarising the interview findings (not specific to Tāmaki Makaurau) Waldegrave et al. (2006:114-116) included the following key points:

- The primary sources of unhappiness were associated with:
 - High housing cost;
 - Unfavourable location;
 - Unfavourable socio-economic circumstances;
 - Difficulty assessing home loans and meeting lending criteria.
- Standard house design was not well suited to extended whānau living and could be associated with overcrowding. Open plan flexible house layout and design with appropriate cooking facilities for accommodating visiting whānau were advocated.
- Moving from substandard housing to available rental housing was not a favoured option for many whānau because it would necessitate moving from a locality in which their communities and networks are located.
- Home ownership was identified as a strong desire of most, if not all, Māori and inability to surmount barriers to achieving it was a common source of dissatisfaction.
- Working collectively to achieve home ownership was advanced as a potentially powerful strategy for Māori to employ.
- Home ownership was identified as a source of economic wellbeing for those who achieved it and a point of distinction between home owners and renters.
- Current demand for State Housing did not closely match housing supply in terms of size and numbers of bedrooms as more single people sought HNZN rental properties as a result of partnership break-ups.

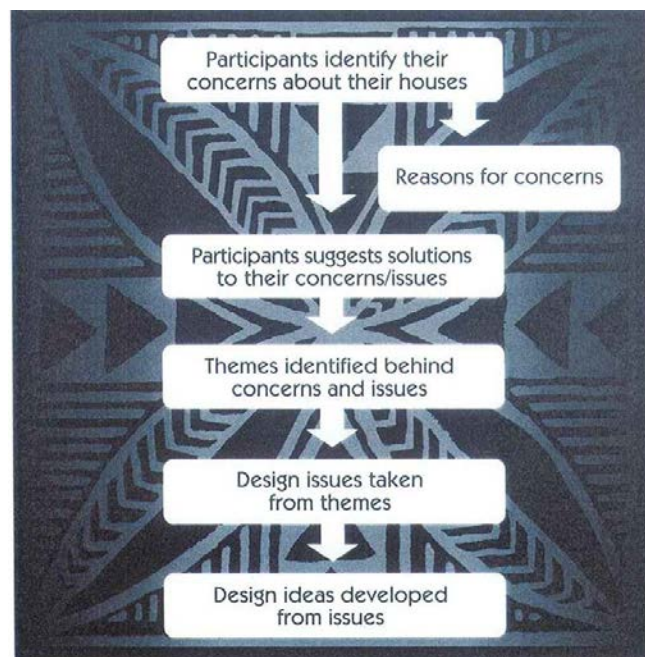
- While older Māori were well housed in urban areas, they often seemed isolated and lacking whānau support.
- The various programmes aiming to improve the healthiness of housing (e.g. Healthy Housing Programme) were widely acknowledged for its contribution to improving housing conditions in the places it operated.
- An improved level of education, thereby increasing likelihood of employment and a sufficient salary, was viewed as crucial to move into home ownership.
- Respectful partnerships between communities and agencies (Māori, non-governmental, and governmental departments) were necessary for changes to occur. The domination by government, and the loss of Māori control over housing initiatives, was a fear enunciated by respondents.

3.6 Our Home, Our Place

The findings regarding housing design reported by Waldegrave et al. mirror many of the findings from a hui held in Ōtara in 2001. Over 15 years later, the design issues and requirements highlighted at the hui are as pertinent as ever.

The hui was organised by Otara Health Incorporated (Otara Health Inc.) and a Housing Reference Group which emerged from the Otara Community Network. It was promoted as an opportunity to consider how their housing might be changed to better cater for their physical and cultural needs. The aim was to develop ideas on how new housing may be radically rethought to move away from the conventional ideas of house designs that cater for middle class Pākehā households (Otara Health Inc., 2001). Approximately 50 people attended the hui, most of whom were Māori and Pacific people. Figure 10 below illustrates the interactive nature of the hui process.

Figure 10: The hui process

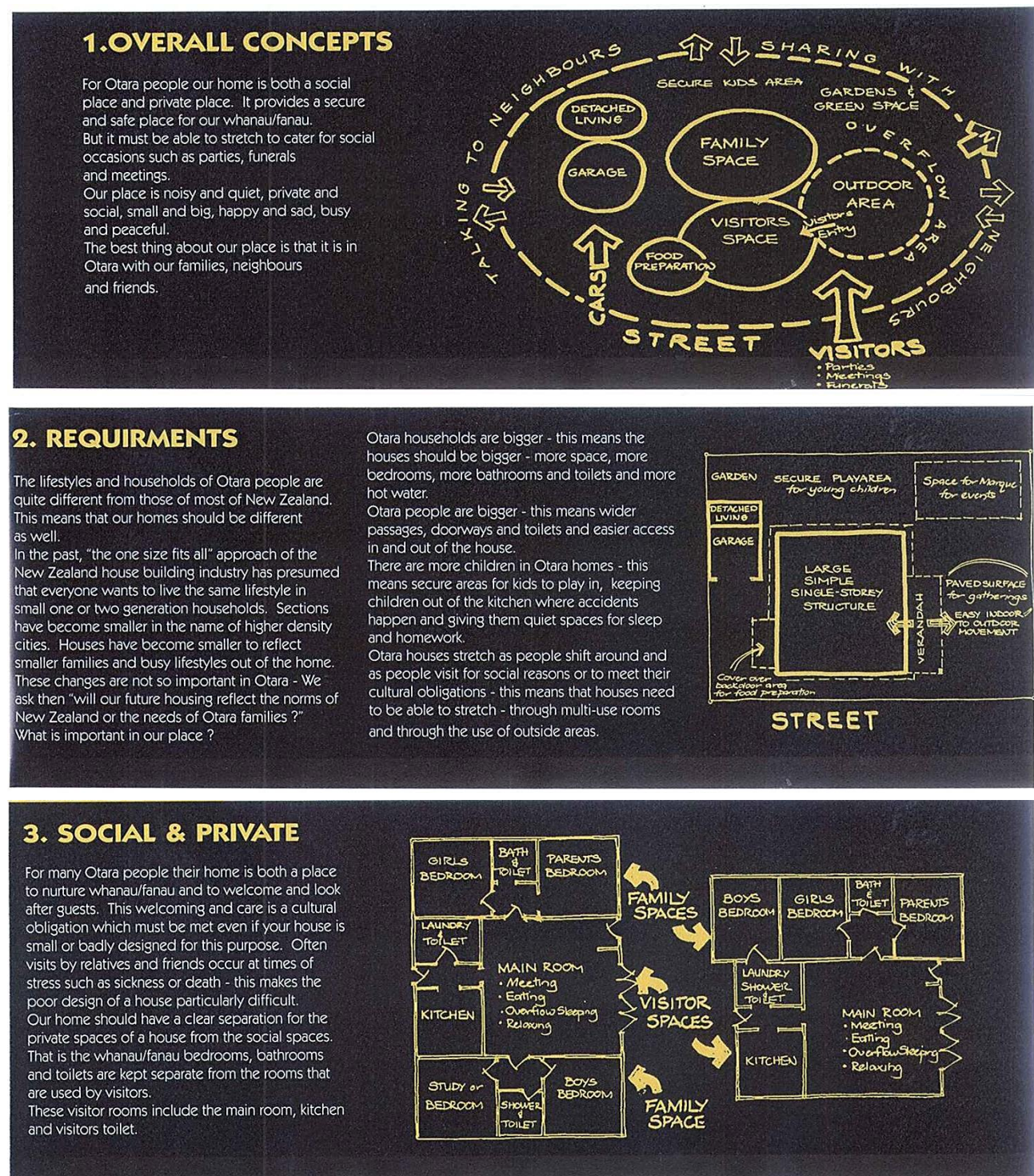


Source: 'Our Home, Our Place' report on Otara Housing Hui, Otara Health Incorporated (2001).

Appendix B contains an outline of the concerns, reasons, solutions and themes that emerged from the hui, as summarised by Hall (2008) in her literature review of 'Māori and Pacific Peoples' Housing Needs in the Auckland region'. As mentioned above, these findings reflect the same issues presented by Waldegrave et al. (2006). The findings are also supported by the 2015 BRANZ project on 'Meeting the housing needs of multi-generational households in New Zealand', although only a small number of Māori participants were interviewed for that project.

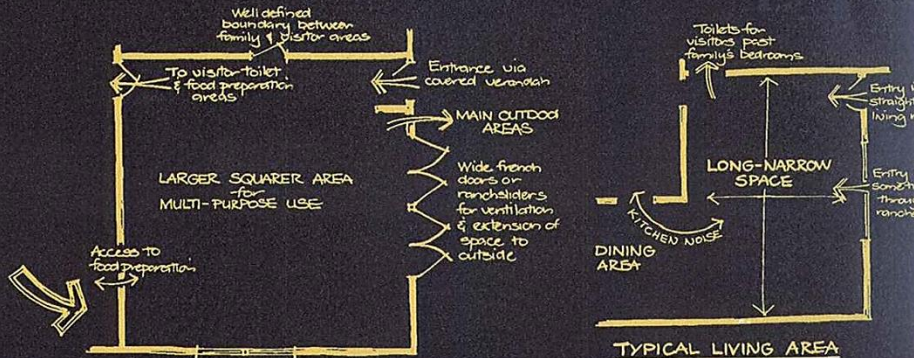
Figure 11 below provides further diagrams and key points from the *Our Home, Our Place* report (Otago Health Inc., 2001).

Figure 11: Suggested living and design requirements for Māori and Pacific families



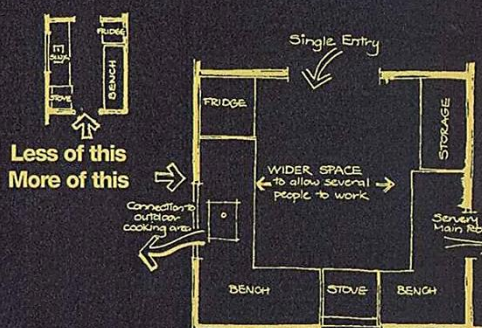
4. ONE BIG SPACE

The main space for visitors and for much of the whanau/fanau's activities can occur in one big room - the MAIN ROOM. The Main Room can serve as a living room, meeting room, dining room, sleeping room and relaxing room at different times. It should be square in shape and much larger than the average living room in existing Otara houses. The Main Room should be separate from the kitchen but have easy access to it. The Main Room should have wide access to outdoor living areas and easy access to the visitors' toilet.



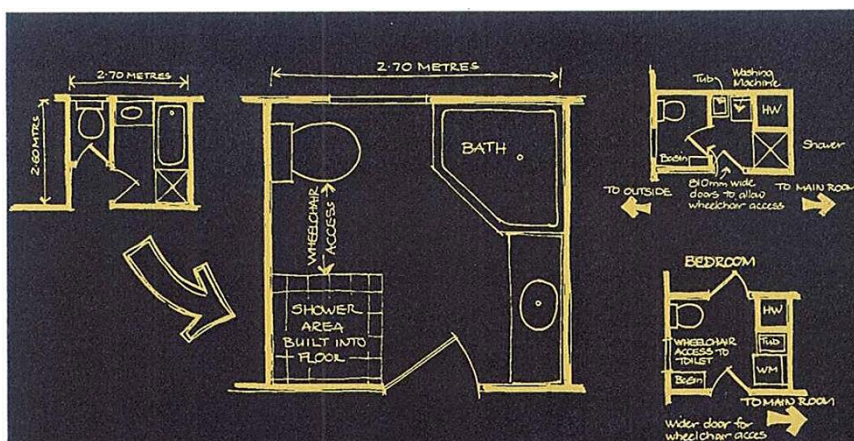
5. PREPARING FOOD

Preparing and eating food is an important part of the culture of most of Otara's people. Otara's existing houses often have tiny kitchens which make it difficult to cook for large numbers of people and to even prepare healthy food. The ideal kitchen in an Otara home should be closed off from access by young children. It should have wide spaces to allow several people to work in it at once. It should have lots of storage - up high. It should have access both to the main room and to an outdoor food preparation area. This outdoor food preparation area can be used to cater for large numbers of people and for the preparation of vegetables and sea food for cooking in the kitchen.



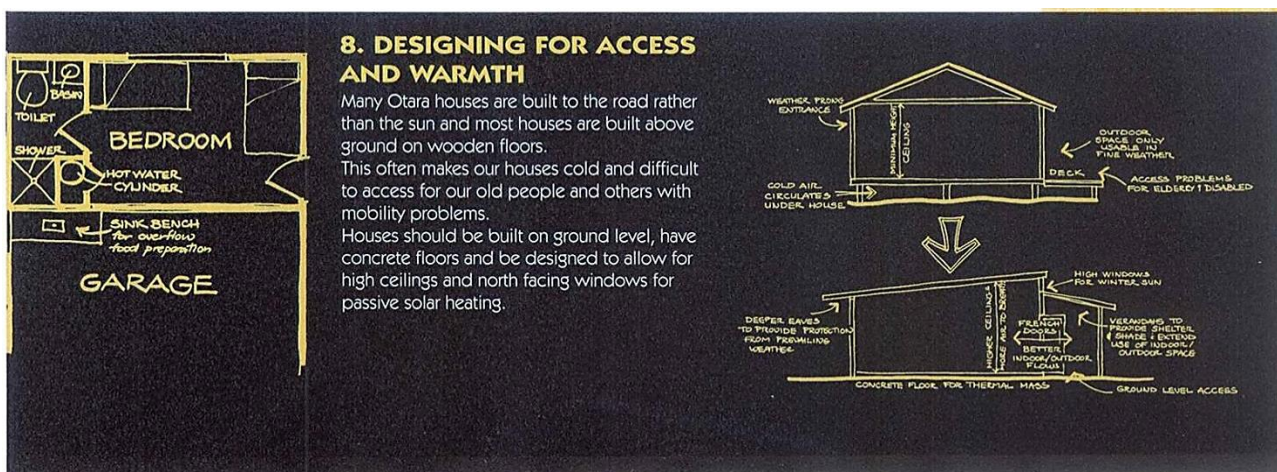
6. TOILETS & BATHROOMS

Because more people on average live in your typical Otara home there need to be more toilets, showers and hot water to cater for them. Toilets and bathrooms need to be able to be used easily by people with disabilities - For several reasons Otara houses are more likely to have people with physical disabilities living in them. It may be possible to have a shower and visitors' toilet located with the laundry. This would allow two people to use the bathroom at once and would allow people to clean up before coming inside the house.



7. DETACHED LIVING

Some Otara cultures make a big point of separating the boys and girls sleeping areas. Some people prefer to have the girls' sleeping area close to the parents' bedroom. There is also seen to be a need for space for teenagers - to allow quiet study or noisy music separate from other activities in the house. Some of these needs can be achieved through detached living - a room at the back of the garage at least with a shower and toilet.



Source: 'Our Home, Our Place' report on Otara Housing Hui, Otara Health Incorporated (2001).

3.7 Summary

This section has summarised research that highlights the experiences and interrelated issues that foodbank recipients are faced with (Section 3.2), the particular issues for renters on low incomes (Section 3.3), the lifepaths and experiences of rough sleepers (Section 3.4), factors such as location, design, and home ownership aspirations (Section 3.5), the ways in which housing can better cater for the physical and cultural needs of Māori.

Refer to Section 6 for a list of recently released and upcoming research that will add to this knowledge.

Despite the different research areas, and the different groups of people interviewed for these projects, a number of common aspects emerged. This includes the importance of support from others, whether that be close proximity to whānau or respectful assistance from agencies; the way in which day to day concerns or crises can create rapid spirals of debt for those living in poverty (e.g. overcrowded and poor quality housing leading to health problems, which result in unexpected doctors' visits and fees, resulting in time off work, resulting in lack of money for rent and food, resulting in placing children with others etc) and also how the daily effort required to manage on a low or no income, can override wider considerations such as long term budgeting and planning.

In the following section we move from contemporary issues and experiences of those living in poverty and/or on low incomes, to the historical issue of colonisation that can be seen to underpin the negative experiences of many Māori.

4.0 Broader Context

4.1 Overview

Wider societal structures, whether historical or contemporary, provide a central way of understanding why some groups in society experience better socio-economic outcomes than others. This section outlines how overarching nation-state, economic and organisational structures are capable of disadvantaging certain groups. This is not to say that such groups or individuals within those groups remain powerless within such situations. In this regard it must be acknowledged that Māori have done much to address and combat past and present inequities, and continue to do so.

Section 2.0 noted some of the structural factors that account for or contribute to poorer housing outcomes for Māori and the wider population. This includes both global and nationwide factors such as interest rates, the lack of supply of affordable housing in popular cities such as Tāmaki Makaurau, central government legislation and regulations including the Residential Tenancies Act 1986 and Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993. Local government planning rules also influence land and house prices, as do central and local government decisions around the resourcing of infrastructure including public transport, motorways, water, power and sewage.

Banking institutions (many of them overseas owned) and their lending criteria (influenced by the Reserve Bank of New Zealand which sets the likes of the official cash rate and loan to value ratios) also have a critical and eventual bearing on the individual Māori person, couple or family who wish to buy or rent a home in Tāmaki Makaurau.

With regard to Māori in particular, Section 2.0 noted that the difference in home ownership rates between Māori and European/Pākehā can be attributed to a variety of factors including the shift from rural to urban areas for Māori in the 1950s and 1960s, the loss of manufacturing jobs in the 1990s, high living costs in areas such as Tāmaki Makaurau, the loss of intergenerational experiences of owning a home, the younger age structure of the Māori population, larger household sizes, lower levels of educational achievement, employment and income, and the desire to reside near whānau (Flynn et al., 2010:53; Statistics New Zealand, 2007; and Waldegrave, King, Walker and Fitzgerald, 2006). Other research highlights the intergenerational repercussions of not owning a home and the lack of transfer of wealth between generations (Murphy & Rehm, 2016; Ma & Kang, 2015). Flynn et al. (2013) also note that having more children means that individual children receive a smaller share of wealth.

The narratives and quotes of those who experience housing poverty and long term hardship were provided in Section 3.0, and highlighted the complex and often chaotic system people are required to navigate (Auckland City Mission, 2014:6). This section also revealed how key issues such as health, housing, debt and education work in concert to shape lives of deprived and impoverished people, and hold families in a repeating cycle of poverty (ibid:14).

In turn, Section 5.0 lists the various central and local government policies and programmes, and also non-government programmes that have been created to address the issue of housing affordability, supply and quality for Māori and non-Māori. This section (4.0) addresses the predominantly structural issue of colonisation (and resulting estrangement) that contributes to our understanding of why many Māori face poorer housing (and other social and economic) outcomes than other ethnic groups in Aotearoa. Indeed the focus of this section is not to explain how colonisation has contributed to poor housing outcomes for Māori per se, but how colonisation has contributed to poor outcomes for Māori in general.

4.2 Colonisation

While the process of colonisation in Aotearoa has been associated with a decline in Māori population size and the transferring of Māori resources to Pākehā, the demographer Ian Pool argues that the effects have been much more profound than this simple statement suggests (2015:47). This is exemplified by the statement made by Sir Mason Durie (Rangitāne, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Raukawa) who notes that Māori identity is secured by land:

...land binds human relationships, and in turn people learn to bond with the land. Loss of land is loss of life, or at least loss of that part of life which depends on the connections between the past and the present and present with the future (Durie, 1998:115).

Durie also notes that land is necessary for both spiritual and economic growth:

It contributes to sustenance, wealth, resource development, tradition; land strengthens whānau and hapū solidarity, and adds value to personal and tribal identity as well as the well-being of future generations (Durie, 1998:115).

In this regard, while the issue of land or whenua is much greater than the issue of housing, it is tied closely to Māori notions of home. Cherryl Smith (Ngāti Whātua, Ngāi Tūhoe) refers to the way in which colonisation has worked to weaken the connections between Māori and their home area:

Land confiscation, individualisation of land titles, breaches of land guarantees and the appropriation of land through legislative changes has resulted in the massive relocation of Māori off their homelands into towns and cities. Mass urbanisation from the 1950s has seen a steady stream of Māori relocate away from home in search of work and education (Smith, 2015:97).

Pool (2015) discusses the wide range of ways in which alienation of resources occurred, usually via varying legal instruments and without consultation with Māori. This includes the purchase of Māori land by the Crown (1840–1865), land confiscation (Rauputu) mainly during the 1860s and via the Native Land Court (1860s–early 1900s).

The assets that were transferred underpinned the entire Māori economy, including cultivated areas; uncultivated areas used for hunting and birding, and nutritional plants; swamps for eeling and fishing; lakes for catching native fish and fresh-water species, and the sea for *kai moana* – fish, shellfish and seabird food. It is not surprising the consequent loss of these resources became the key determinant of the lack of Māori development (Pool, 2015:46).

As well as acknowledging the demographic, economic and social impact that resource loss has had (and continues to have) on Māori, Pool also notes the ‘immensely important intangible as well as tangible dimensions’ (2015:40) including the loss of mana. He acknowledges the importance of previous historico-legal frameworks that have focussed on the large number of hectares that were lost along with its associated physical capital. However, for Pool this focus on hectares rather than humans, has led to an underestimation of the impacts of such losses.

Take the one case of the *mana*, and its loss, which has far more profound meaning than a simple translation (‘prestige of a person or people’) might suggest ... for Māori many hills, rivers and other geographical features, to say nothing of burial sites, had spiritual significance ... their loss has had a doubly negative impact – it was like losing a relative, but as a geographic feature it still will be in evidence often in the hands of a new owner who does not recognize its iconic significance (Pool, 2015:40).

Likewise, Smith (2015) reports that the dispersal of iwi members from their marae and hapū makes it a challenge for whānau to maintain their sense of connectedness. She notes that for some iwi, more than 80 per cent of their members now live outside their iwi area (Ngāpuhi, for instance), and increasingly outside of the country. Drawing from studies on historical and intergenerational trauma (Walters, Beltran, Huh & Evans-Campbell, 2011; Danieli, 1998; Duran 2006; Duran & Duran, 1995) she describes trauma as an event or set of events perpetrated on a group of people in a way which annihilates or disrupts traditional lifeways, culture and identity.

Intergenerational and historical trauma theory provides a historical context and framework for understanding traumatic experiences and is a starting place for identifying the contributors, inhibitors and pathways that lead to recovery, resilience and healing across and between generations (Danieli, 1998 in Smith, 2015:99).

She also highlights the growing number of studies that strengthen the argument that there is a direct link between trauma and poorer health outcomes. Evidence provided by epigenetic and neurobiological researchers illustrate that neuro-endocrine responses to stress in one generation can have an impact on future generations (Smith, 2015:99). Furthermore, overseas researchers (Walter et al., 2011) have found that even after controlling for contemporary trauma, historical and traumatic land-based events continue to have a significant effect on mental and physical health.

In relation to the trauma derived from the disconnection of whakapapa knowledge, Smith writes of the loss of genealogical connectedness that can compromise a person's identity and leave them open to insecurities about relatedness and belonging. This can lead to feelings of exclusion and significant dislocation. Here, Smith draws on the concept of *tūrangawaewae*: a place to stand tall in the knowledge of belonging to people, but especially to a place and landscape both inhabited and inherited from generations past (2015:101).

In a further paper titled 'Pani me te Rawakore: Home-making and Māori Homelessness with Hope or a Home' the authors draw from interviews with Māori homeless people, as well local and international literature (Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, Rua & Groot, 2015). They propose that Māori cultural practices shape a person's efforts to retain a positive sense of self and place. They also consider that colonialism and societal developments have impacted whānau in economic, cultural and social terms, and have contributed to high rates of homelessness among Māori in contemporary society. Having experienced over 150 years of being rendered out of place from their hau kāinga/tribal homelands, they view homelessness as endemic to experiences of colonialism at both the personal and iwi level (Groot et al., 2015:55). While focusing on homelessness in particular, Groot et al. would likely agree that their argument applies to Māori who experience housing deprivation in general.

Acknowledging that the homeless population in Aotearoa is made up of diverse groups of transgender people, men and women of various ages, ethnic backgrounds and sexualities, Groot et al. point out that Māori are statistically over-represented amongst the wider homeless population. Likewise, Māori (and Pacifica people) are over-represented in other housing related areas including overcrowding, substandard accommodation, boarding houses and rough sleeping on the streets (Groot et al., 2015; Gravitass Research & Strategy, 2015; Ministry of Health, 2014; Statistics New Zealand, 2015; Simpson, Oben, Adams & Reddington, 2014; Baker, Goodyear, Telfar-Barnard, Howden-Chapman, 2012; Ellis & McLuckie, 2008; Flynn et al., 2010; Rankine, 2005).

Groot et al. (2015:59) also emphasises the history of human movement for Māori. This includes the shift from rural to urban areas that began in the 1930s (Wanhalla, 2007; King, 2003; Durie, 1998; Pool, 1991; Walker, 1990; Schwimmer, 1968, Metge, 1964). Though only 13 per cent of the Māori population were recorded as living in urban areas in 1936, by 1951 this rose to 23 per cent, to 80 per cent by 1981 and 84.4 per cent by 2006 (Groot et al., 2015, Metge, 1995). In this regard the

authors highlight the way in which Māori cultural practices can shape a person's efforts to retain a positive sense of self and place, regardless of their current living situation. As such, Māori are not passive in the face of upheavals; they continually negotiate what home means, their relationships within such spaces, and their sense of security, belonging and connection.

Melissa Matutina Williams (Te Rarawa, Ngāti Maru) (2015) continues this theme in her book *Panguru and the City/ Kāinga tahi, Kāinga rua* about the (back and forth) migration of her whānau and iwi from Panguru in the Hokianga to Tāmaki Makaurau from the 1950s onwards. She reports that while back-home (Panguru) ways of living were practised or adapted to city life, it was an organic process that sometimes left much unsaid about cultural values, and the origins, purposes, underlying meanings and importance of back-home tikanga and Māori community engagement.

Indeed, although Māori homes [in Tāmaki Makaurau] were essentially the engines of Māori community-building, the lack of explicit discussion within the home about the nature, function and ongoing relevance of Māori ways and networks sometimes led to inter-generational gaps of knowledge between parents and their children about Māori and tribal identity (Williams, 2015:151).

Highlighting the argument that the concepts of detribalisation and cultural breakdown fail to take into account cultural adaptation as an ongoing life-process, Williams notes that home-life in urban Tāmaki Makaurau for those who migrated from Panguru was as much a culturally stifling and financially challenging reality as it was a place of cultural liberation and celebration.

The authors referred to above have drawn from a range of disciplinary backgrounds to describe the ways in which colonisation has impacted on the lives of contemporary Māori. It provides an understanding of the intergenerational loss of iwi equity that has occurred over a long time period and the wide ranging and ongoing effects. In contrast, the western-based constitutional framework has assisted in providing equity, intergenerational wealth and home ownership for many non-Māori.

The issue of estrangement, discussed below, can be understood as a lasting effect of colonisation, for Māori and other disadvantaged groups. In their article 'Urban Poverty, Structural Violence and Welfare Provision for 100 Families in Auckland' the authors argue that just as socio-economic inequalities are increasing in many OECD countries, so are punitive welfare reforms that pathologise 'the poor'.

4.3 Estrangement

Hodgett et al. argue that low income families, including Māori, that receive welfare are subject to intensified scrutiny over their lifestyles in a way that treats poverty as a personal deficit (2013:2). This, along with other requirements from government agencies (as outlined in the quotes of the Family 100 participants provided in Section 3.0) exacerbate the dilemmas already faced by families living stressful and inadequately resourced lives.

Drawing from international research (Duck, 2012; Boon & Farnsworth, 2011; Green, 2012; Landvogt, 2006; Dowler & O'Connor, 2012; Ballie, 2011; Barnett et al., 2007; Jeepeson, 2009) Hodgett et al. note the increasingly dire conditions and dilemmas faced by low-income families experiencing income insecurity, debt, food insecurity, social exclusion and interpersonal and media stigma. For instance the report *Life on a Low Income* by Green (2012) refers to how increased housing, electricity and food costs intensify families' experiences of hardship and trap them in inadequately resourced lives of debt. Furthermore:

To cope, families go hungry, turn off electricity and prevent children from participating in sports and other social activities that would otherwise promote social inclusion (Boon & Farnsworth, 2011, cited in Hodgetts et al., 2013a:3).

Those in power also often fail to see how their actions can wreak havoc in the lives of the poor, since these actions are often imposed at arms-length (Galtung, 1969). Austerity measures and substantial cuts to social programmes and services designed to 'balance the books' are generally not named as violent acts, despite their disproportionate and negative impacts on the bottom 10 per cent of income earners (Horton & Reed, 2011). Yet, as we will show, such acts epitomise an abusive relationship between the state and families in need, intensify the hardships families face and wound and degrade people (Hodgetts et al., 2013a:3).

Hodgetts et al. describe how negative depictions of the poor contribute to social distance between groups and result in 'the poor' being regarded as 'defective' and 'different' from 'productive members' of society. Beneficiaries are portrayed as transgressors of social convention, fraudulent and wasteful of 'hardworking' taxpayers' dollars (Bauman, 2005; Jeppesen, 2009, cited in Hodgetts et al., 2013a:5).

Single mothers are subject to particular moral scrutiny, considered as promiscuous and a burden on the state and, by proxy, on the rest of 'us' (Ballie, 2011; Barnett et al., 2007; Boyer, 2006). Thus, processes of estrangement manifest prominently in the questioning of the competencies and morality of 'the poor' in terms of how their meagre funds are spent (Hodgetts et al., 2013a:5).

Individuals and families living in poverty are subsequently portrayed as needing to be 'managed, re-educated and subjected to intense budgetary scrutiny and control' (ibid). By highlighting this notion of estrangement, the authors seek to highlight how families experiencing hardship in local situations are viewed by the wider society, and also what is required of these individuals and families in order for them to get by.

Hodgetts et al. also draw on the concept of 'structural violence' as a means of understanding the struggles faced by families living in urban poverty and what they view as the increasingly discriminatory, punitive and stigmatising approaches to welfare provision.

Structural violence denotes methodical and often subtle processes through which social structures disadvantage and harm certain groups of people (Galtung, 1969). It is a form of violence that is applied 'as a matter of course', through the design and imposition of socioeconomic structures and associated institutional practices (Farmer, 1996). [It is] ... often enacted through technocratic systems and procedures for 'managing' the poor, which have become normalised and taken-for-granted as simply 'how things are done around here' (Arendt, 1963/1969; Springer, 2012) (Hodgetts et al., 2013a:3).

Contrasting intimate violence with structural violence, Hodgetts et al. state that while the former involves a specific perpetrator and victim, the latter is not necessarily the action of the specific perpetrator, but occurs through institutionalised racism, sexism and via inequities in access to resources and life chances (2013a:4). They also refer to the policy and media discourses that rely on problematic dualisms between the deserving and undeserving poor, welfare-dependent and active citizens, pride and shame, and dignity and stigmatisation in relation to the provision or withholding of welfare support.

4.4 Conclusion

The matters referred to above provide explanations for the housing deprivation that many Māori experience in Tāmaki Makaurau and elsewhere. As the Social Development Cabinet Committee stated in 2004, most people want a society where everyone has the same opportunity to participate and succeed, and where factors such as ethnicity and family background do not impact on one's future opportunities (Cabinet Social Development Committee, 2004). As shown by the indicators of inequality provided earlier in this report, there have been some successes in reducing inequality in Aotearoa, but gaps remain between Māori and European/Pākehā in key areas, including education, employment and income. The following section provides a summary of housing-related initiatives and programmes that have been created to help address some of these issues.

5.0 Initiatives

5.1 Overview

This section provides an outline of the housing initiatives and programmes administered by central government, Auckland Council, iwi, community or non-government organisations. It should be acknowledged that there is considerable overlap between the initiatives and programmes both within organisational groups (e.g. the work of Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK) and the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) within central government) and across organisational groups (e.g. TPK, Auckland Council and iwi).

5.2 Central government

A range of departments and agencies maintain a focus on housing related issues and housing portfolios are held by the Minister of Building and Housing, Minister for Social Housing, and Minister responsible for Housing New Zealand. The Ministry for Social Development (MSD), Housing New Zealand Corporation (HNZC), MBIE, TPK, and Treasury are the primary agencies that currently hold housing responsibilities or provide housing programmes, as follows in Table 9.

Table 9: Government agencies with key housing responsibilities or programmes including housing for Māori

Government department or agency	Housing responsibilities or programmes
Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment	Housing policy He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata/ Māori Housing Strategy Residential Tenancies Act 1986 Special Housing Areas (with Local Councils) Crown development of vacant land Tāmaki Redevelopment Company (TRC) with Treasury and Auckland Council Community Housing Regulation Authority (CHRA)
Te Puni Kōkiri	Māori Housing Network Special Housing Action Zone programme Kāinga Whenua infrastructure grant Manages Crown funding for Māori housing
Ministry for Social Development	Social Housing Reform Programme (SHRP) Income Related Rents Subsidy (IRRS) Accommodation Supplement (AS) Emergency housing
Housing New Zealand Corporation	Welcome Home Loan Kiwi Saver Home Start Kāinga Whenua Loan Scheme Tenant Home Ownership
Treasury	Tāmaki Redevelopment Company (TRC) with Treasury and Auckland Council Social Housing Transactions
Ministry of Health	Healthy Homes initiative

Although the Reserve Bank of New Zealand (RBNZ) is not a government department and maintains statutory independence, as the central bank for Aotearoa it has instigated loan to value ratios, minimum equity requirements, and the bright-line test in an attempt to influence the housing market.

5.2.1 Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993

A further key central government initiative, Te Ture Whenua Māori Bill, was introduced to Parliament in early 2016. Information hui were held in February and March 2016 where Māori land owners were provided with further opportunity to comment on the draft legislation. It is hoped a new Act that reforms Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 (TTWA) will be passed in late 2016.

Changes in the current Bill include:

- Creation of stronger legal structures for governance bodies; allowing for alternative security options (such as leases, or mortgages over fixtures) that safeguard retention of land.
- Giving existing Māori trusts and incorporations the option to continue operating as the same entity so they don't have to go through the cost of establishing a new one.
- Ensuring greater safeguards are in place to retain the status of Māori freehold land.
- Whānau will have the option for individuals to obtain succession to land instead of having to form a whānau trust when an owner dies without leaving a will.
- Actions such as registering a governance structure or a constitution will be facilitated by a new Māori Land Service, rather than needing the approval of the Māori Land Court.
- The Māori Land Court will be given greater discretion when considering applications to remove the status of Māori freehold land.
- Clearer decision-making processes allowing owners to choose whether or not they want to participate in decisions being made about land they have interests in.
- Minimum thresholds for agreement among owners for major land dealings will be set.
- In instances where there is no governance body such as a trust, residential leases can be issued without Court approval if at least 75 per cent of the ownership interests of participating owners agree. (Te Ture Whenua Māori Reform: Te Puni Kōkiri (2016))

5.2.2 He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata/The Māori Housing Investment Strategy (2015–2018)

Figure 12 outlines the activities within He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata/The Māori Housing Investment Strategy. The diagram illustrates the way in which the challenges of housing deprivation, social and affordable rental housing, assisted home ownership and independent home ownership are being taken up by central and local government agencies, Māori organisations and collectives, and individual Māori households.

Released in July 2014 by MBIE, six key directions have been set for He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata/The Māori Housing Strategy, as follows:

1. Ensure the most vulnerable Māori have secure tenure, and access to safe, quality housing with integrated support services.
2. Improve the quality of housing for Māori communities.
3. Support Māori and their whānau to transition to preferred housing choices.
4. Increase the amount of social housing provided by Māori organisations.
5. Increase housing on Māori-owned land.

6. Increase large-scale housing developments involving Māori organisations.

The Māori Housing Network, set up under Te Puni Kōkiri, will work with MBIE to monitor and evaluate the outcomes of the investment. The overall aim of the Māori Housing Network is to support Māori-led housing initiatives. The Network also manages funds to support smaller scale projects that:

- Improve the quality of housing.
- Build capability and capacity in the sector.
- Increase the supply of affordable housing (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2015).

5.2.3 Treaty settlements

As noted by Rootham (2016), several major Treaty of Waitangi-related claims have been settled in the past two decades, with a number of iwi and hapū in Tāmaki Makaurau having settled their claims, and others in various stages of negotiations. According to Auckland Council's evaluation report for the Proposed Unitary Plan (Auckland Council, 2013), it is anticipated that up to 16 claims will be settled by 2016. The following settlements have already taken place in Tāmaki Makaurau:

- Orakei Act 1991 (Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei)
- Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei – Railways lands deed 1993
- Waikato Raupatu Settlement Act 1995
- Te Uri o Hau Claims Settlement Act 2002
- Ngāti Manuhiri Claims Settlement Act 2012
- Ngāti Whātua o Kaipara Claims Settlement Act 2013
- Ngā Mana Whenua o Tāmaki Makaurau Collective Redress Act 2014
- Te Kawerau ā Maki Claims Settlement Act 2015
- Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Deed of Settlement 2015.

Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei will soon complete the first stage of their \$15 million house-building project with 30 homes expected to be completed by the end of 2016. Descendants of the iwi began moving in to the Kainga Tuatahi (first place) communal housing in February and March of 2016, and it is envisaged that 3000 people will eventually live within the 16 hectare block of land (Gibson, 2016).

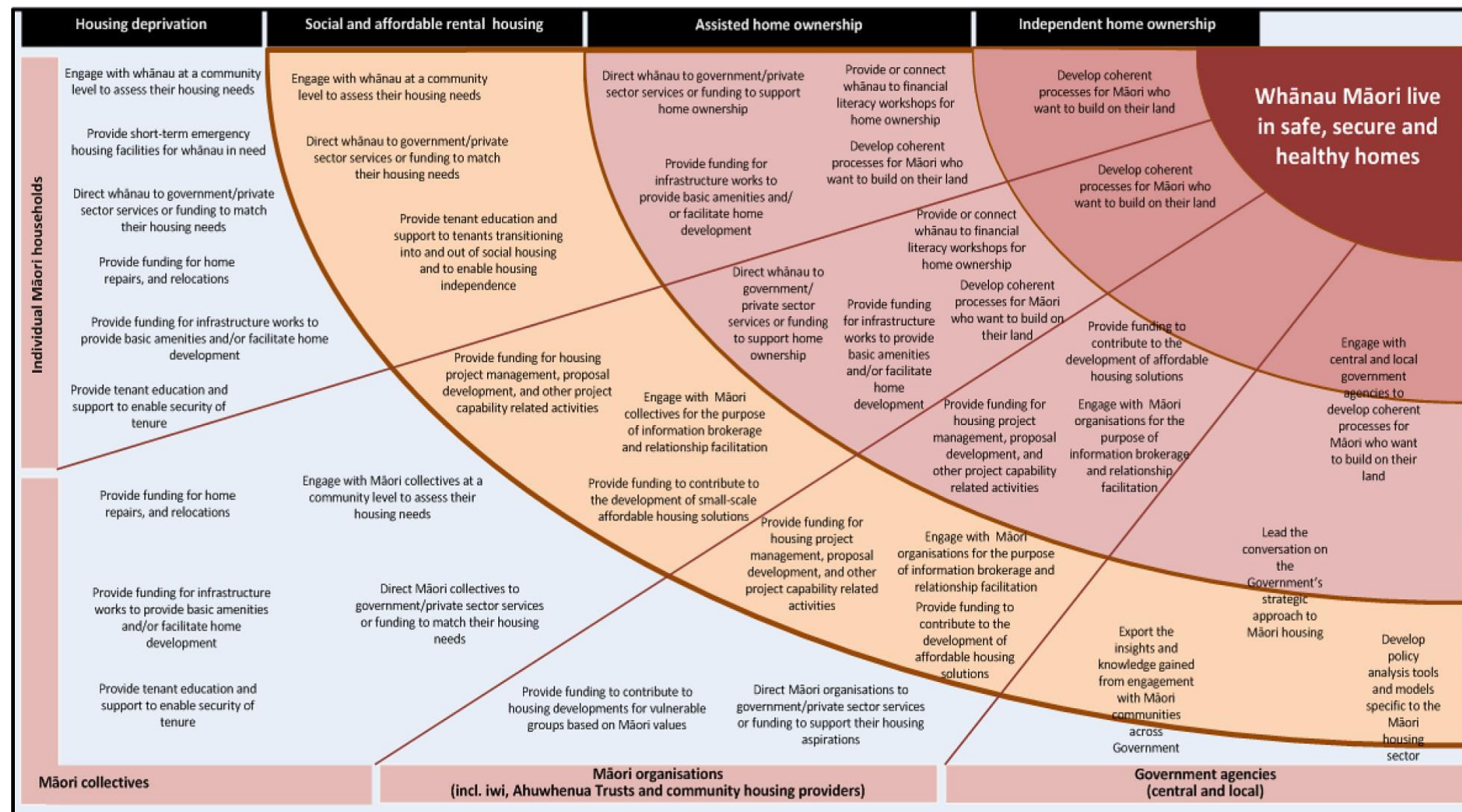
While it is hoped that other treaty settlements will result in the creation of further housing and papakāinga for Māori, it has been noted that the expected gains in economic prosperity may not eventuate for all Māori (Rootham, 2016). This is particularly the case for Māori who do not maintain ties with their historic and iwi groups (Rootham, 2016; Ryks et al, 2016) and for those whose needs lie outside of the parameters of their iwi's economic priorities (Durie, 2005).

Nevertheless, the following collective and individual claims, noted by Hutton (2015), are of relevance in terms of supporting the need for supporting Māori and their housing needs in Tāmaki Makaurau:

- Tāmaki Collective/Maunga Authority
- Ngā Mana Whenua o Tāmaki Makaurau Collective Redress Act 2014
- 13 iwi/hapū participate (Ngāti Whātua, Marutūāhu, Waiohua / Tāmaki groupings)

- Vesting of 14 Maunga to be held in trust for the iwi and people of Tāmaki Makaurau
- Co-governance regime (Maunga Authority) with council
- Vesting and vest-back of 4 motu (islands)
- Right of first refusal (RFR) for Crown land.

Figure 12: Spectrum of activities outlined in He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata/The Māori Investment Strategy (2015–2018)



Source: Te Puni Kōkiri (2015)

5.3 Auckland Council initiatives and programmes

5.3.1 The Māori Plan

The Māori Plan was created by the Independent Māori Statutory Board (IMSB) to identify the priorities and aspirations of mana whenua and mātāwaka within Tāmaki Makaurau in order to promote issues that are important to Māori. The Māori Plan also contributes to achieving the vision set out in The Auckland Plan, discussed below.

Four Māori Advancement Action plans underpin The Māori Plan, and provide direction, guidance and information to the Auckland Council for developing the likes of investment and budget bids. The four Action Plans cover the cultural, social, economic and environmental areas, and papakāinga and housing are included within the social component, along with education, and health and wellness (IMSB, 2012). The Plan lists three specific actions for papakāinga and housing, as follows:

1. Auckland Council to establish a papakāinga development committee in conjunction with mana whenua.
2. Auckland Council, in partnership with mana whenua and mātāwaka, to advocate for programmes and activities that promote home ownership and financial literacy.
3. Auckland Council to support home insulation programmes to Māori homes. (ibid.)

These actions are reflected in the Auckland Plan and Housing Action Plan as discussed below.

5.3.2 The Auckland Plan and Housing Action Plan

The Auckland Plan sets out a 30 year vision for Auckland (Auckland Council, 2012a). It sets out a number of housing-related targets for Māori and the wider population. The targets have been aligned to a number of ‘transformational shifts’ in the Plan and are designed to:

- Accelerate the prospects of Auckland’s children and young people through a focus on secure, healthy homes.
- Raise living standards, focussing on those most in need.
- Significantly lift Māori social and economic well-being.

Further areas in the Auckland Plan that focus on housing needs of Māori include:

- A policy to ‘support Māori to achieve affordable, healthy and sustainable housing which meets their specific needs’.
- A target to ‘support Māori to achieve the number of papakāinga in the Auckland region from 3 to 18 by 2040’.
- Strategic Direction 11: to ‘house all Aucklanders in secure, healthy homes that they can afford’ and the supporting target to reduce the disparity in home ownership rates between Māori and Pacific People and the overall rate to less than 10 per cent by 2030 (Auckland Council, 2012a).

The key goals of the Auckland Plan are underpinned by the actions in the Auckland Council’s Housing Action Plan (HAP), developed in 2012 (Auckland Council, 2012b). Priority Area 9 in the HAP refers to ‘Papakāinga and Housing for Māori’ and includes these related actions:

- Action 27: continue to support the development of the Māori Land Programme which identifies papakāinga as a priority.
- Action 28: support enhancing the capacity of Māori housing providers through opportunities for development partnerships on Māori-owned and other land.

Table 10 lists each of the departments or units and summarises their housing programmes and responsibilities. Further on, Figure 13, created by the Council's Strategic Advice Unit, provides a comprehensive overview of the wider housing initiatives and programmes that Auckland Council leads or partners with. These initiatives and programmes have been grouped according to the Auckland Plan priority areas of:

1. Supply: work to increase the amount of housing in the market (including existing provision).
2. Choice: diversity of typologies and tenure types.
3. Quality: warm, dry and well-designed homes.
4. Affordability: a maximum of 30 per cent of household income spent on housing costs.

A further stream, Inform/Align, outlines the work that is being done to increase information and alignment on housing issues.

Table 10: Auckland Council departments/ units with housing initiatives or programmes including a focus on housing for Māori ²⁴

Council department or agency	Housing frameworks or programmes
Pānuku Development Agency (PDA)	Land sales portfolio Housing for older persons project Development and redevelopment projects including Council land at: Manukau Metropolitan Centre (with central govt) Tāmaki Regeneration (with central govt) Wynyard Quarter Avondale SHA Hobsonville Point (with central govt) Onehunga centre (with central govt) Takapuna Centre Whangaparaoa Pukekohe Ormiston Centre Henderson Centre Northcote Centre and surrounds
Community and Social Policy	Māori housing policy review Update housing needs assessment Making renting more attractive: submission to govt on RTA Fast ideas for affordable housing forum
Strategic Advice Unit	'5 by 2030': exploration of goal to bring down the ratio of median home purchase price to median household income to 5:1 by 2030
Chief Economist Unit	Research and advice on Auckland urban economics Housing affordability metrics and insights Funding and financing infrastructure to increase land supply Impact of RMA activity status on the economy

²⁴ Relevant as at time of writing this report.

Council department or agency	Housing frameworks or programmes
	Using price signals to inform RMA and infrastructure plans Housing affordability decomposition by income group in Auckland Residential construction materials: market power Impact of regulation on land prices ²⁵
Development Project Office	Ten Spatial Priority Areas to support delivery of housing and integrated infrastructure Infrastructure for housing delivery programmes Forward Land Infrastructure Programme (FLIP) Development, oversight and integration of BAU with developers Special Housing Areas (with central govt) Supporting new social housing (with central govt)
Processing and Building Control	Consenting Made Easy project Working with the development community Online consenting to streamline consenting process
Research and Evaluation Unit (RIMU)	Research and advice on Auckland urban economics Housing metrics and insights Provision of data on housing and households, including census SHA data monitoring programme (with Building Control) Renting in Auckland (in collaboration with SHORE Research at Massey University) ²⁶
Unitary Plan Team	Quality standards for housing Proposed Auckland Unitary Plan development
Chief Planning Office	Future Urban Land Supply Strategy (FULSS)
Auckland Investment Office	Collaborative Development at Scale (CDAS) with central government agencies
Asset Management, Stormwater Strategy and Resilience	Stormwater Asset Management Plans required for major growth
Te Waka Angamua	Supporting Papakāinga and Māori housing projects
Empowered Communities	Emergency housing Ending homelessness and rough sleeping (with CSP)
Auckland Design Office	Providing best practice guidance on urban planning through the Auckland Design Manual, Auckland Design Panel and Resource Consent design statement review process
Finance	Housing Bond guarantee Alternative financing project
Community Facilities	Trial of rental and WOF Submission to Select Committee on rental legislation (with CSP)
The Southern Initiative (TSI)	Housing for Pacific peoples

²⁵ Contact: Harshal.Chitale@aucklandcouncil.govt.nz (Senior Economist).

²⁶ Refer to Knowledge Auckland website for Auckland housing-related research. www.knowledgeauckland.org.nz.

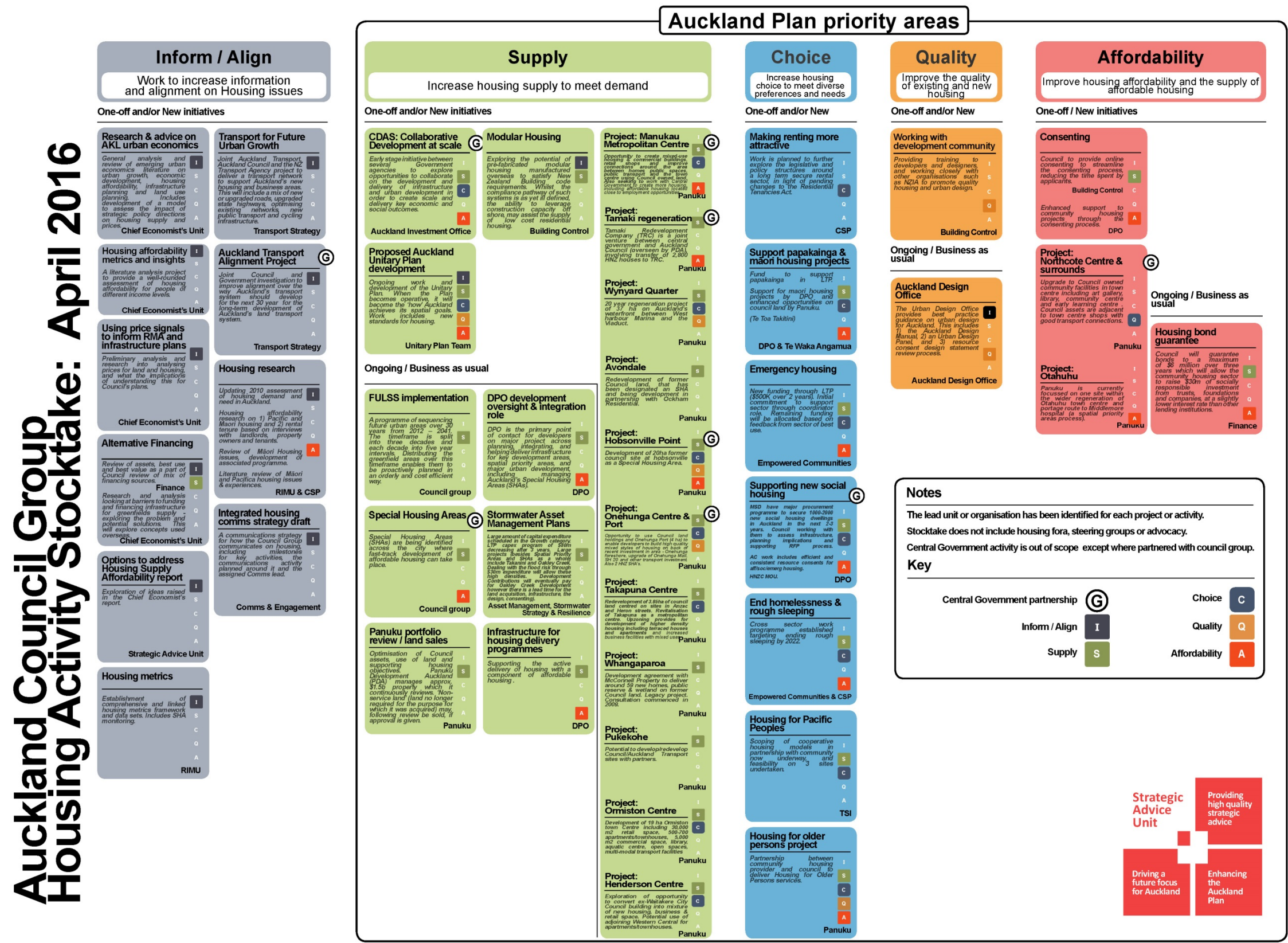
5.3.3 Auckland Council initiatives and programmes with a Māori focus

Current initiatives, policies, financial resources and technical expertise within Auckland Council which include a Māori focus include:

1. Te Toa Takitini initiative: a council wide programme designed to significantly lift Māori economic, social and cultural well-being, strengthen the council's Māori effectiveness, and maximise post-Treaty of Waitangi settlement opportunities.
2. Funding for papakāinga in the Long Term Plan (LTP): in the short term funding will principally be available to meet or offset regulatory cost such as consenting fees and development contributions. There is also potential for a dedicated capex fund with Watercare and Auckland Transport for roading and water infrastructure for marae and papakāinga development.
3. The Freehold Māori Land Rates Remission Policy; a 2014 amendment to Auckland Council's rating policy, this policy provides for Māori land (or land with similar legal and economic characteristics) to be eligible for rates remission.
4. Design Assistance: the Design Office provides dedicated Māori design expertise through Kaihautū Tākina Ngā Tohu Ao Māori – a Principal Specialist Mana Whenua Urban Design (a new role with an appointment by early 2016). Council also provides eco-design advice through its Eco Design Advisors in the Office of CSO; the advisors consult on a range of projects from new builds to home renovations and retrofits and have access to specialists, design tools, assessment methods and building material information.
5. Technical assistance: approval is underway for Council to provide pre-application and planning advice for papakāinga projects. This will provide a single point of contact for Māori seeking assistance with project feasibility, securing funding and obtaining consents/approvals for papakāinga. This service will be provided through the DPO and will involve the PPR Team in Resource Consents. The DPO will continue to assist with papakāinga in Special Housing Areas.

Further to Figure 13 below, Figure 14 provides a sketch of Council initiatives and programmes that have been mapped against the six directions of outcomes of He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata/The Māori Housing Strategy.

Figure 13: Auckland Council Housing Activity Stocktake, June 2016



Source: Strategic Advice Unit, Auckland Council (2016)

Figure 14: Māori-focussed initiatives and programmes in Auckland Council

	Improving Housing			New Housing		
<i>Māori Housing Strategy Key</i> <i>Priorities →</i> (g) – programmes that target the general/wider population rather than being specific to Māori	Supporting the vulnerable	Improving housing quality	Support Māori to transition to preferred housing choices	Establishing Māori community housing providers	Supporting papakainga	Large-scale developments
<i>Principal Intervention Options ↓</i>	Includes: • Homelessness • Emergency housing • Social housing • Security of tenure	Includes: • Overcrowding • Rental quality • Insulation • Health impacts	Includes: • Providing more housing choices for Māori, particularly home ownership • Improved financial literacy • Uptake of financial packages to assist Māori • Affordable equity • Affordable rentals	Includes • Social housing provision by Māori • Integrated housing developments	Includes: • tools and models to support Māori organisations to set up housing projects on their land. • funding assistance to support housing on Māori land. • access to private sector funding for building on Māori land	Includes: • mixed tenure projects on Māori and general land. • Increase the private sector role in supporting scale housing projects • Increase the number of qualified Māori involved in the construction of housing. • reducing housing costs and using innovative approaches
Monitoring	Auckland Plan monitoring (g)	Auckland Plan monitoring Building consent data (g)			Auckland Plan SHA monitoring	SHA monitoring
Advocacy	Mayoral and Ministerial programme for emergency housing (g) 5 by 2030 (g)	Rental housing quality programme (g) 5 by 2030 (g)	COMET (re literacy) TSI ? 5 by 2030 (g)		Housing Action Plan 5 by 2030 (g)	5 by 2030 (g)
Coordination	Homeless Action Plan (g)		COMET (re literacy) TSI ?		Te Waka Angamua programme Te Matapihi TPK TRC	FLIP (g) DPO- facilitation
Collaboration	With MSD on new social and emergency housing (g) MOU with HCNZ (g) Fast ideas for Affordable Housing Forum	AWHI? (g)	COMET (re literacy) TSI ? Panuku and NZHF on some sites? (g)	Working with iwi – e.g. DPO and Manukau Urban Māori Authority (MUMA)	Te Waka Angamua programme	Fast ideas forum for housing (g) DPO- facilitation (g)
Strategy and Policy Development	Auckland Plan	Auckland Plan (g) Housing Action Plan Quality standards in PAUP (g)	Housing Action Plan Māori Plan (IMSB)	Housing Action Plan Māori Plan (IMSB)?	Auckland Plan Māori Plan (IMSB) PAUP	Auckland Plan (g) Housing Action Plan PAUP- spatial priority areas (g) Forward Land Infrastructure Programme (g) FULSS (g)
Regulation	Consenting made easy (g) Public nuisance bylaws (g)	Trial of rental WoF (g) Consenting made easy (g)	Consenting made easy (g) SHAs PAUP Affordable housing requirements	Consenting made easy (g) PAUP (g) Inclusionary zoning (g) Māori land	Consenting made easy (g) PAUP SHAs - refer tracking schedule	SHAs (g)
Funding	Emergency housing fund (g) Housing bond guarantee (g)	Retrofit your home programme (g)			Papakāinga programme	Major Council Development Sites (g) • Manukau Metro Centre • Project Tamaki • Wynyard Quarter • Avondale • Hobsonville Point • Onewhanga centre and port • Takapuna • Whangaparaoa • Pukekohe • Ormiston Centre • Henderson centre Panuku portfolio review/land sales Collaborative Development at Scale (g)
Provision of Services					DPO Facilitation	
Asset Ownership	Council housing for older persons (g) Panuku Affordable Housing Developments • Project Otahuhu • Project Northcote				Council land leases – options to expand into housing	

Source: Community and Social Policy Department, Auckland Council (2016)

Figure 15: The six Māori Housing Strategy priorities aligned with principal intervention options

Māori Housing Strategy Key Priorities →	Supporting the vulnerable	Improving housing quality	Support Māori to transition to preferred housing choices	Establishing Māori community housing providers	Supporting papakainga	Large-scale developments
Monitoring	Census data (Statistics NZ) Māori Housing Strategy Monitoring and Review (MBIE) Auckland Plan Monitoring and Review (Auckland Council) State of the Region Report (6 yrs) (Auckland Council)					
Advocacy Coordination Collaboration	Auckland Māori Housing Network (TPK)					
Strategy and Policy Development					Papakainga Plan (Auckland Council)	Panuku Auckland Statement of Intent
	Māori Housing Strategy (government- MBIE) Māori Housing Network (government- TPK) Auckland Plan (Auckland Council) Housing Action Plan (Auckland Council) Māori Plan (IMSB) Auckland Unitary Plan (Auckland Council) Social Housing Reform Programme (government- MSD) HCNZ Asset Management Strategy Tamaki Strategic Framework					
Regulation	Social Housing Reform (Housing Restructuring and Tenancy Matters Amendment) Act				Housing Accords and Special Housing Act	
		Te Ture Whenua Act				
	Resource Management Act Building Act/Building Code Auckland Unitary Plan (Auckland Council)					
Funding						
	Income Related Rental Subsidy (government)				Long Term Plan (Auckland Council)	Long Term Plan (Auckland Council)
	Accommodation Supplement (government)					
	Homeless Funding (government and Auckland Council)					
Provision of Services	Iwi and Urban Māori Authorities HNZC CHPs	Iwi Māori and Urban Māori Authorities HNZC Habitat for Humanity Accessible Properties Lifewise Bays Community Housing Trust Monte Cecelia Housing Trust New Zealand Housing Foundation Auckland and Onehunga Hostels Endowment Trust CORT Community Housing VisionWest.			Iwi Māori and Urban Māori Authorities	HNZC Panuku Auckland Tamaki Redevelopment Company
Asset Ownership	Auckland City Mission Salvation Army					

Source: Community and Social Policy Department, Auckland Council (2016)

5.4 Iwi and community-led initiatives

A number of existing documents report on recent initiatives or programmes that are currently being led by iwi, community or non-government organisations. These include The Papakāinga Technical Report for Auckland Council (Design Tribe, 2012), six case studies in He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata/The Māori Investment Strategy (MBIE, 2014), and the working paper on Māori Housing in Auckland for Auckland Council (The Kingfish Group, 2015). These programmes are summarised in Table 11 below.

As mentioned in Section 1.2, part of the brief for this report was to include an assessment of current initiatives or programmes associated with Māori housing. However, as discussed, the recent establishment of these programmes means that any evaluation would be limited in its ability to provide a meaningful discussion of their success in the medium to long term. Nevertheless, a further investigation of programmes that have been operating for at least several years could be warranted as a further step to this report.

Table 11: Iwi or community-led programmes

Programme	Iwi/organisation	Purpose	Location and current status
Kāinga Tuatahi papakāinga development	Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei	Affordable homes for Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei whānau	Kupe Street, Ōrākei, approx. 14 ha 9 homes currently built, 18 more in next 12 months, approx. 3000 long term
Pūkaki Papakāinga	Pūkaki Ahuwhenua Trust	Redressing alienation of whānau from tupuna whenua at Pūkaki	Pūkaki Road, Mangere, 2.17 ha 18 kaumātua flats and self-contained homes
Whare Ora Project	He Korowai Trust	Supporting whānau into affordable home ownership, delivery of wrap-around social support services.	Kaitiāia Relocation of 18 houses from Auckland to Kaitiāia
Enderley Affordable Housing Project	Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa Charitable Trust	Social and affordable housing with wrap around services	Enderley, Hamilton. 2012: eight kaumātua rental homes, 2013: six homes, underway: 62 affordable housing development
Ngā Pōtiki a Tamapahore	Ngā Pōtiki a Tamapahore Trust	Māori land and papakāinga development, general land development using settlement land, also a Community Housing Provider (CHP).	Ngā Pōtiki rohe including Tauranga and Papamoa Also a Community Housing Provider
Whai Rawa iwi savings programme	Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu	A hybrid superannuation/unit trust scheme to build wealth generations by providing a flexible savings vehicle for	Also exploring: housing partnerships with economies of scale for affordable housing outcomes; multi-generational housing; and organisations which specialise in tenancy support and pastoral care.

Programme	Iwi/organisation	Purpose	Location and current status
		retirement, home ownership or tertiary education; also delivers financial literacy education.	
Te Tumu Kāinga Trust (formerly the Auckland and Onehunga Hostels Endowment Trust)	Administered by Te Tumu Paeroa	Community Housing Provider	Waimahia Inlet, South Auckland Up to 50 homes available on shared equity or affordable rental programme. Nationwide focus including large-scale urban developments and smaller rural Māori-land based housing projects.

The work of Te Tumu Kāinga is included in an upcoming report on the experiences of tenants and homeowners in the Waimahia Special Housing Area, mentioned in the following section.

6.0 Forthcoming Research

A number of research projects are currently underway and promise to enable a further understanding of the housing needs of Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau and beyond. These are listed below and have been ordered according to their completion dates. It is understood that the field work and reviews of literature for the first three reports are now complete and the written reports will be available within the next two to three months. Fieldwork is still being undertaken for the remaining projects and results are likely to be released in stages over the next 12 months and onwards.

- Older Māori: Downsizing experiences, outcomes and needs (Fiona Cram, Katoa Ltd), interviews in Wairoa, Hastings and Christchurch.
- A study of the experiences of tenants and homeowners in the Waimahia Special Housing Area in South Auckland (Emma Fergusson, Karen Witten and Penelope Carroll, SHORE, Massey University).
- A Policy of Cynical Neglect: The demise of the accommodation supplement (Alan Johnson, The Salvation Army).
- New Zealand's Private Rental Sector: Investigating landlords and tenants characteristics, viewpoints and practices (Karen Witten, Penelope Carroll and Martin Wall, SHORE Research and Whāriki, Massey University). Completion expected December 2016.
- Auckland's Private Rental Sector: Investigating landlords, tenants and property managers characteristics, viewpoints and practices (Alison Reid and Jennifer Joynt (Auckland Council), Karen Witten, Penelope Carroll and Martin Wall (SHORE Research and Whāriki, Massey University) Completion expected December 2016.
- Cultural Empowerment/Cultural Resilience through Papakāinga (Penny Allan, Huhana Smith and Martin Byrant, Victoria University of Wellington and Massey University).
- Exploring Papakāinga Housing Typology Diversity: A collaborative research project with Ngai Tāmanuhiri (Robert Paulin, Noah Orr, Derek Kawiti, Jody Toroa and Richard Brooking, Victoria University of Wellington and Ngai Tāmanuhiri – Tutu Poroporo Trust).
- Pehiāweri Marae Papakāinga: Culturally appropriate housing for Te Tai Tokerau (Jade Kake, UNITEC Institute of Technology).
- Hybrid Whareuku and Container Home (UkuTeina) feasibility evaluation (Robyn Manuel and Kepa Morgan, Maui Oho Mauri Ora Ltd and University of Auckland).
- Tane Whakapiripiri: Indigenous housing aspirations in a national science challenge (Simon Lambert, Kepa Morgan, Huhana Smith, Ella Henry, Andrew Waa, Derek Kawiti, Matt Roskrige, Lincoln University, University of Auckland, Massey University, Auckland University of Technology, Victoria University of Wellington, University of Waikato).

7.0 Concluding Comments

This stocktake has drawn on available quantitative and qualitative data to provide an understanding of the complex housing experiences and challenges that many Māori face in Tāmaki Makaurau.

There are multiple global, national and local factors affecting housing outcomes in Tāmaki Makaurau which directly affect Māori. An important aspect of this is globally low interest rates which have contributed to increased investor and home buyer activity, which, in turn, has created greater demand for housing and led to higher house prices. Other structural factors such as legislation add complexity and cost to the supply of housing. The Residential Tenancies Act 1986 is one example of legislation that directly influences the experiences of renters and the quality of rental homes they live in.

At the regional level it is expected that the Auckland Council's much heralded Unitary Plan will have a positive influence in terms of increasing housing supply and affordability, and that infrastructure agreements between central and local government will alleviate issues such as roading and access to public transport, water and power; all of which ultimately impact on housing supply and costs. It is also hoped that the recent Te Ture Whenua Bill will result in new legislation that will further enable the supply of affordable housing by allowing owners of Māori land to more easily create residential leases or tenancies on their land, and therefore better utilise their land for housing.

This report has included the voices and experiences of Māori individuals and whānau on low incomes. Their aspirations for home ownership, and the ways in which housing design can better cater for the physical and cultural needs of Māori has also been outlined. The report highlights the importance of support for these groups such as close proximity to whānau and respectful assistance from agencies. It has also brought to light the way in which day-to-day concerns or crises can create rapid spirals of debt for those living in poverty, and how the daily effort required to manage on a low or no income, can override wider considerations such as long term budgeting and planning.

In conclusion, at the time of writing, there is little evidence to show that the housing crisis in Tāmaki Makaurau is lessening. The effects of this crisis will fall disproportionately upon lower income individuals and families in the rohe, including many Māori and their whānau. The aim of this stocktake has been to provide an overview of the experiences and issues facing this group, along with the various housing initiatives that have been introduced by central government, local government and community organisations. This report and the initiatives outlined in Section 5.0 carry the promise of significantly improved housing outcomes for Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau and throughout Aotearoa.

8.0 References

1986. Residential Tenancies Act 1986. Public Act 1986 No 120. New Zealand: Administered by Ministry of Business, Innovation, and Employment.
1993. Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993/Māori Land Act 1993. New Zealand: Administered by Te Puni Kōkiri.
2004. Building (Forms) Regulations 2004. SR 2004/385. New Zealand: Administered by the Department of Building and Housing.
2004. Building Act 2004. Public Act 2004 No 72. New Zealand. Administered by Ministry of Business, Innovation, and Employment.
2016. Te Ture Whenua Māori Amendment Bill. Sponsor: Hon Te Ururoa Flavell.
- Arendt, H. (1963/1969). *On Violence*. Orlando: Harcourt Brace & Co.
- Auckland City Mission. (2014). *Auckland City Mission Family 100 Research Project*. Foundation Document.
- Auckland Council (2012a). *The Auckland Plan*. Available at <http://theplan.theaucklandplan.govt.nz>.
- Auckland Council (2012b). Housing Action Plan Stage 1
<http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/planspoliciesprojects/plansstrategies/theaucklandplan/Documents/finalhousingactionplanstage1.pdf>.
- Auckland Council. (2013). Section 32 report. 2.14 – Treaty settlements - Section 32 evaluation for the Proposed Auckland Unitary Plan. The Proposed Auckland Unitary Plan. Auckland: Auckland Council. Available at
<http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/planspoliciesprojects/plansstrategies/unitaryplan/Pages/section32report.aspx>
- Auckland Council, Auckland City Mission and ThinkPlace. (2015). *An insight into the experience of rough sleeping in central Auckland*.
- Ballie, R. (2011). An examination of the public discourse on benefit claimants in the media. *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 19(1), 67–70.
- Barnett, A., Hodgetts, D., Nikora, L., Chamberlain, K., & Karapu, R. (2007). Child poverty, news media framing and the symbolic disempowerment of families in need. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 17, 296–312.
- Bernanke, B. (2015). Ben Bernanke's Blog [Blog] *Why are interest rates so low?*. Available at: <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/ben-bernanke/posts/2015/03/30-why-interest-rates-so-low> [Accessed 26 January 2016].
- Boon, B., & Farnsworth, J. (2011). Social exclusion and poverty: translating social capital into accessible resources. *Social Policy & Administrations*, 45, 507–524.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Action of resistance: Against the tyranny of the market*. New York: Free Press.
- Boyer, K. (2006). Reform and resistance: a consideration of space, scale and strategy in legal challenges to welfare reform. *Antipode*, 38, 22–40.
- Buckett, N.R. Jones, M.S. & Marston, N.J. (2010). BRANZ 2010 House Condition Survey.

- Cabinet Social Development Committee. (2004). Reducing Inequalities: Next Steps. Cabinet Social Development Committee paper, Available at <http://www.msd.govt.nz/> Retrieved 16 May 2016
- Cram, F. (2015). Older Māori: Downsizing experiences, outcomes and needs from www.katoa.net.nz
- Danieli, Y. (1998). *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma*. New York and London: Plenum Press.
- Design Tribe. (2012). Papakāinga Technical Report for Auckland Council.
- Dowler, E., & O'Connor, D. (2012). Rights-based approaches to addressing food poverty and food insecurity in Ireland and the UK. *Social Science and Medicine*, 74, 44–51.
- Duck, W. (2012). An ethnographic portrait of a precarious life: getting by on even less. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 642 (July), 124–138.
- Durie, M. (1998). *Te Mana, Te Kāwanatanga: The politics of Māori self-determination*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. (2005). *Māori development trends and indicators*. IAOS Satellite Meeting. Small and Indigenous Populations. Wellington: Massey University. Available at <https://www.massey.ac.nz>
- Eaqub, S., & Eaugh, S. (2015). *Generation Rent: Rethinking New Zealand's Priorities*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Ellis, L., & McLuckie, S. (2008). Auckland Homeless Count - Report 2008. Auckland: The Rough Sleepers Initiative.
- Farmer, P. (2004). An anthropology of structural violence: A view from below. *Social Suffering*, 125, 261-283.
- Flynn, M., Carne, S., & Soa-Lafoa'i, M. (2010). Māori Housing Trends 2010.
- Forster, M E. (2012). *Hei Whenua Papatipu: Kaitiakitanga and the politics of enhancing the mauri of wetlands*. (Doctoral thesis), Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6, 167–191.
- Gibson, A. (2016, January 27). Ngati Whatua builds affordable new homes. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved 16 March 2016 from <http://www.nzherald.co.nz>
- Goodyear, R.K., Fabian, A., & Hay, J. (2011). Finding the crowding index that works best for New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand Working Paper No 11–04). Statistics New Zealand. Wellington: New Zealand.
- Goodyear, R., & Fabian, A. (2014). Housing in Auckland: Trends in housing from the Census of Population and Dwellings 1991 to 2013. Statistics New Zealand. Wellington: New Zealand.
- Gravitas Research & Strategy Ltd. (2005). A plan for homeless and marginalised populations in Auckland's inner city. Auckland: Auckland City Council.
- Green, K. (2012). *Life on a low income*. London: Resolution Foundation.

- Groot, S., Hodgetts, D., Nikora, L., Rua, M., & Groot, D. (2015). Pani me te Rawakore: Home-making and Māori homelessness without hope or a home. In M. Kēpa, M. McPherson & L. Manu'atu (Eds), *Home: Here to stay*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Groot, S., Hodgetts, D., Nikora, L. W., & Rua, M. (2011). Māori and homelessness. In T. McIntosh & M. Mulholland (Eds), *Māori and Social Issues*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Hall, L. (2008). Māori and Pacific Peoples' Housing Needs in the Auckland region: A literature review. Auckland: Auckland Regional Council.
- Hawke, G, Bedford. R., Kukutai, T, McKinnon, M., Olssen, E., & Spoonley, P. (2014). Our Futures Te Pae Tāwhiti: The 2013 Census and New Zealand's changing population. New Zealand: Royal Society of New Zealand.
- Hirini, P., Flett, R., Long, N., & Millar, M. (2005). Frequency of traumatic events, physical and psychological health among Māori. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 34(1), 20–27.
- Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Groot, S., & Tankel, Y. (2013a). Urban Poverty, Structural Violence and Welfare Provision for 100 Families in Auckland. *Urban Studies*, 1–16. doi: 10.1177/0042098013505885
- Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Tankel, Y., & Groot, S. (2013b). Researching poverty to make a difference: The need for reciprocity and advocacy in community research. *The Australian Community Psychologist*, 25(1), 46–58.
- Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Tankel, Y., & Groot, S. (2014). Looking within and beyond the community: Lessons learned by researching, theorising and acting to address urban poverty and health. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 19(1), 97–102.
- Horton, T., & Reed, H. (2011). The distributional consequences of the 2010 spending review. *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 19, 63–66.
- Hutton, J. (2015). Treaty Settlements. Presentation to Chief Planning Office. Auckland: Auckland Council.
- Independent Māori Statutory Board (IMSB) (2014). *The Māori Plan for Tāmaki Makaurau*. Auckland: IMSB. Available at: <http://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/EN/planspoliciesprojects/plansstrategies/unitaryplan/Documents/Section32report/Appendices/Appendix%203.16.4.pdf>
- Jeppesen, S. (2009). From 'war on poverty' to the 'war on the poor': knowledge, power, and subject positions in anti-poverty discourses. *Canadian Journal of Communications*, 34, 487–508.
- Kepa, M., McPherson, M., & Manu'atu, L. (Eds). (2015). *Home: here to stay*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- King, M. (2003). *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin.
- Landvogt, K. (2006). *Critical financial capacity: developing an alternative model*. Melbourne: Victoria: Good Shepherd Youth & Family Service.
- Marriott, L., & Sim, D. (2014). Indicators of Inequality for Māori and Pacific People. In C. I. P. Finance (Ed.), *Working Papers in Public Finance*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.
- Ma, K., & Kang, E. (2015). Intergenerational effects of parental wealth on children's housing wealth. *Environmental and Planning A*, 47, 1756–1775.

- Metge, J. (1964). *A New Māori Migration: Rural and urban relations in Northern New Zealand*. London: University of London & Athlone Press.
- Metge, J. (1995). *New Growth from Old: The whānau in the modern world*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment. (2014). He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata – The Māori Housing Strategy: Directions 2015 to 2025. Wellington: New Zealand Government.
- Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment. (2015). Māori in the Labour Market. Wellington: New Zealand Government.
- Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment, Auckland Council, & Auckland Co-design Lab. (2015). Exploring Security of Tenure through Co-design.
- Ministry of Health. (2014). Analysis of Household Crowding based on Census 2013 data. Wellington.
- Moller, R., Johnson, H., & Dardia, M. (2002). What explains crowding in California? California Research Bureau, United States. Available from www.library.ca.gov
- Murphy, L., & Rehm, M. J. (2016). Homeownership, Asset-based Welfare and the Actuarial Subject: Exploring the Dynamics of Ageing and Homeownership in New Zealand. In N. Cook, A. Davison, & L. Crabtree (Eds), *Housing and Home Unbound: Intersections in economics, environment and politics in Australia*. London. Routledge/Taylor and Francis.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2008). *Growing Unequal? Income distribution and poverty in OECD countries*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2011). *Divided We Stand: Why Inequality Keeps Rising*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2013). *OECD Factbook 2013: Economic, Environment and Social Statistics*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Otara Health Incorporated. (2001). Our Home, Our Place: report on the Otara Housing Hui.
- Pool, I. (1991). *Te Iwi Māori: A New Zealand population past, present & projected*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Pool, I. (2015). *Colonization and Development in New Zealand between 1769 and 1900: The Seeds of Rangiatea*. Demographic Transformation and Socio-Economic Development Series: Volume 3. London: Springer.
- Rootham, E. (2016). *Tamariki Māori ki Tāmaki Makaurau. A study of Auckland Māori children under five and their whānau*. Auckland Council technical report, TR2016/025.
- Ryks, J., Pearson, A.L., & Waa, A. (2016). Mapping urban Māori: A population-based study of Māori heterogeneity. *New Zealand Geographer*, 72, 28-40.
- Roskrige, M., Grimes, A., McCann, P., & Poot, J. (2011). Homeownership and Social Capital in New Zealand Wellington: Motu Economic and Public Policy Research.
- Schwimmer, E. (1968). *The Aspirations of Contemporary Māori*. The Māori people in the Nineteen-sixties, Auckland.

- Schwimmer, E. (Ed) (1968). The Aspiration of Contemporary Māori. In: *The Māori People in the Nineteen-Sixties*. Auckland: Blackwood and Janet Paul, pp. 9-64.
- Smith, C. (2015). When trauma takes you away from home: experiences of Māori Vietnam veterans In M. Kēpa, M. McPherson & L. Manu'atu (Eds), *Home: here to stay*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Smith, T. (2013). He kokogna whare. Whanganui: Unpublished paper for Te Atawhai o te Ao Research Institute.
- Springer, S. (2012). Neoliberalising violence: of the exceptional and the exemplary in coalescing moments. *Area*, 44, 136–143.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2001). New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2006). New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2007). Motivations for Migration.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2012). Ethnicity and crowding: A detailed examination of crowding among ethnic groups in New Zealand 1986–2006.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2013). New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2013a). 2013 Census QuickStats about Māori (pp. 21). Wellington.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2013c). 2013 Census QuickStats about a place: Auckland Region. Retrieved 26 January 2016, from http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-Census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-about-a-place.aspx?request_value=13170&tabname=#
- Statistics New Zealand. (2013d). Rental affordability 1998–2012: Regional distributions.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2015a). How is our Māori population growing? Retrieved 26 January 2016 from http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/Māori/Māori-population-article-2015.aspx
- Statistics New Zealand. (2015b). Subnational Ethnic Population Projections: 2013(base)–2038. Retrieved 26 January 2016, from http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/estimates_and_projections/SubnationalEthnicPopulationProjections_HOTP2013base.aspx
- Statistics New Zealand. (2015c). International Travel and Migration: November 2015.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2015c). Labour Market Statistics: December 2015 quarter.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2015d). Household Economic Survey (Income): Year ended June 2015.
- Te Puni Kōkiri. (2016). Te Ture Whenua Māori Reform. Retrieved January 2016, from <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/a-matou-kaupapa/crown-iwi-hapu-whanau-Māori-relations/consultation/review-of-te-ture-whenua-Māori-act-1993/>
- Te Puni Kōkiri. (2016). Te Kāhui Māngai (Directory of Iwi and Māori Organisations). Retrieved January, 2016, from <http://www.tkm.govt.nz/>
- The Kingfish Group. (2015). Māori Housing in Auckland: Working Paper for Auckland Council.

- ThinkPlace & Auckland City Mission. (2014). The Family 100 Project: Demonstrating the complexities of being poor; an empathy tool.
- Waldegrave, C., King, P., Walker, T., & Fitzgerald, E. (2006). Māori Housing Experiences: Emerging Trends and Issues: The Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit, Research Centre for Māori Health and Development, Massey University.
- Walker, R. (1991). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou: Struggle without end*. Auckland: Penguin.
- Wanhalla, A. (2006). Housing Un/healthy Bodies: Native housing surveys and Māori health in New Zealand 1930-45. *Health and History*, 8(1), 100–120.
- Williams, M.M. (2015). *Panguru and the City Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua: An urban migration history*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Appendix A: Iwi population counts

Iwi⁽¹⁾ total responses and iwi groupings,⁽²⁾ for Tāmaki Makaurau and Aotearoa

For the Māori descent Census usually resident population count

	Iwi population (Auckland)	Iwi population (Auckland) %	Iwi Population (New Zealand)	Percentag e of given iwi's total NZ population living in Auckland
Iwi (total responses)				
Te Tai Tokerau/Tāmaki-Makaurau (Northland/Auckland) Region				
Te Aupōuri	3,828	2.4	8,697	44
Ngāti Kahu	3,747	2.4	8,580	44
Ngāti Kurī	2,781	1.8	6,492	43
Ngāpuhi	50,577	31.9	125,601	40
Ngāpuhi ki Whaingaroa-Ngāti Kahu ki Whaingaroa	732	0.5	2,052	36
Te Rarawa	7,224	4.5	16,512	44
Ngāi Takoto	369	0.2	1,116	33
Ngāti Wai	1,902	1.2	5,667	34
Ngāti Whātua	7,353	4.6	14,784	50
Te Kawerau	93	0.1	150	62
Te Uri-o-Hau	462	0.3	1,257	37
Te Roroa	447	0.3	1,179	38
Te Tai Tokerau/Tāmaki-Makaurau (Northland/Auckland) Region, not further defined	873	0.5	2,343	37
Subtotal, Te Tai Tokerau/Tāmaki-Makaurau (Northland/Auckland) Region	80,388	51	194,430	41
Hauraki (Coromandel) Region				
Ngāti Hako	363	0.2	1,392	26
Ngāti Hei	171	0.1	516	33
Ngāti Maru (Marutuahu)	1,227	0.8	3,768	33
Ngāti Paoa	1,440	0.9	3,456	42
Patukirikiri	9	0.0	45	20
Ngāti Porou ki Harataunga ki Mataora	402	0.3	1,647	24
Ngāti Pūkenga ki Waiau	174	0.1	591	29
Ngāti Rāhiri Tumutumu	99	0.1	249	40
Ngāi Tai (Hauraki)	312	0.2	498	63
Ngāti Tamaterā	618	0.4	2,577	24
Ngāti Tara Tokanui	99	0.1	540	18
Ngāti Whanaunga	294	0.2	624	47
Hauraki (Coromandel) Region, not further defined	33	0.0	135	24
Subtotal, Hauraki (Coromandel) Region	5,241	3.3	16,038	33
Waikato/Te Rohe Pōtae (Waikato/King Country) Region				
Ngāti Haua (Waikato)	1,053	0.7	5,601	19
Ngāti Maniapoto	8,346	5.3	35,358	24
Ngāti Raukawa (Waikato)	1,863	1.2	10,053	19
Waikato	13,011	8.2	40,083	32
Subtotal, Waikato/Te Rohe Pōtae (Waikato/King Country) Region	24,273	15.3	91,095	27

	Iwi population (Auckland)	Iwi population (Auckland) %	Iwi Population (New Zealand)	Percentag e of given iwi's total NZ population living in Auckland
Te Arawa/Taupō (Rotorua/Taupō) Region				
Ngāti Pikiao (Te Arawa)	1,491	0.9	8,001	19
Ngāti Rangiteaorere (Te Arawa)	90	0.1	435	21
Ngāti Rangitihi (Te Arawa)	438	0.3	2,298	19
Ngāti Rangiwehēhi (Te Arawa)	459	0.3	2,835	16
Tapuika (Te Arawa)	279	0.2	2,022	14
Tarāwhai (Te Arawa)	39	0.0	279	14
Tūhourangi (Te Arawa)	390	0.2	2,871	14
Uenuku-Kōpako (Te Arawa)	69	0.0	474	15
Waitaha (Te Arawa)	84	0.1	975	9
Ngāti Whakaue (Te Arawa)	1,323	0.8	8,337	16
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	5,991	3.8	35,874	17
Ngāti Tahu-Ngāti Whaoa (Te Arawa)	213	0.1	1,635	13
Te Arawa/Taupō (Rotorua/Taupō) Region, not further defined	429	0.3	2,055	21
Subtotal, Te Arawa/Taupō (Rotorua/Taupō) Region	11,295	7.1	68,091	17
Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua (Bay of Plenty) Region				
Ngāti Pūkenga	465	0.3	2,175	21
Ngaiterangi	2,616	1.6	12,924	20
Ngāti Ranginui	1,434	0.9	8,967	16
Ngāti Awa	3,801	2.4	16,179	23
Ngāti Manawa	258	0.2	2,253	11
Ngāi Tai (Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua)	513	0.3	2,301	22
Tūhoe	6,231	3.9	34,887	18
Whakatōhea	2,382	1.5	12,177	20
Te Whānau-a-Apanui	2,370	1.5	12,948	18
Ngāti Whare	141	0.1	1,254	11
Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua (Bay of Plenty) Region, not further defined	84	0.1	300	28
Subtotal, Tauranga Moana/Mātaatua (Bay of Plenty) Region	20,295	12.8	106,365	19
Te Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) Region				
Ngāti Porou	13,161	8.3	71,049	19
Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki	660	0.4	6,258	11
Rongowhakaata	594	0.4	4,920	12
Ngāi Tāmanuhiri	171	0.1	1,719	10
Te Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) Region, not further defined	129	0.1	795	16
Subtotal, Te Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) Region	14,715	9.3	84,741	17
Te Matau-a-Māui/Wairarapa (Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa) Region				
Rongomaiwahine (Te Māhia)	426	0.3	4,473	10
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Wairoa	2,907	1.8	21,060	14
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga	1,137	0.7	10,905	10
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa	918	0.6	8,379	11

	Iwi population (Auckland)	Iwi population (Auckland) %	Iwi Population (New Zealand)	Percentage of given iwi's total NZ population living in Auckland
Ngāti Kahungunu, region unspecified	2,499	1.6	18,288	14
Rangitāne (Te Matau-a-Māui/Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa)	171	0.1	2,217	8
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Te Whanganui-a-Orotu	186	0.1	1,905	10
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamatea	84	0.1	744	11
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Tamakinui a Rua	33	0.0	528	6
Ngāti Pāhauwera	186	0.1	2,331	8
Ngāti Rākaipaaka	180	0.1	1,317	14
Te Matau-a-Māui/Wairarapa (Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa) Region, not further defined	54	0.0	372	15
Subtotal, Te Matau-a-Māui/Wairarapa (Hawke's Bay/Wairarapa) Region	8,781	5.5	72,519	12
Taranaki (Taranaki) Region				
Te Atiawa (Taranaki)	2,331	1.5	15,270	15
Ngāti Maru (Taranaki)	123	0.1	855	14
Ngāti Mutunga (Taranaki)	312	0.2	2,514	12
Ngā Rauru	507	0.3	4,176	12
Ngā Ruahine	609	0.4	4,803	13
Ngāti Ruanui	1,152	0.7	7,260	16
Ngāti Tama (Taranaki)	159	0.1	1,338	12
Taranaki	1,008	0.6	6,087	17
Tangāhoe	36	0.0	246	15
Pakakohi	36	0.0	351	10
Taranaki (Taranaki) Region, not further defined	18	0.0	123	15
Subtotal, Taranaki (Taranaki) Region	6,291	4.0	43,023	15
Whanganui/Rangitīkei (Wanganui/Rangitīkei) Region				
Ngāti Apa (Rangitīkei)	249	0.2	2,970	8
Te Ati Haunui-a-Pāpārangi	1,143	0.7	11,691	10
Ngāti Haua (Taumarunui)	168	0.1	867	19
Ngāti Hauiti	132	0.1	1,029	13
Whanganui/Rangitīkei (Wanganui/Rangitīkei) Region, not further defined	3	0.0	15	20
Subtotal, Whanganui/Rangitīkei (Wanganui/Rangitīkei) Region	1,695	1.1	16,572	10
Manawatū/Horowhenua/Te Whanganui-a-Tara(Manawatū/Horowhenua/Wellington) Region				
Te Atiawa (Te Whanganui-a-Tara/Wellington)	270	0.2	2,556	11
Muaūpoko	258	0.2	2,694	10
Rangitāne (Manawatū)	126	0.1	1,488	8
Ngāti Raukawa (Horowhenua/Manawatū)	1,764	1.1	15,135	12
Ngāti Toarangatira (Te Whanganui-a-Tara/Wellington)	372	0.2	4,458	8
Te Atiawa ki Whakarongotai	54	0.0	723	7
Ngāti Tama ki Te Upoko o Te Ika (Te Whanganui-a-Tara/Wellington)	27	0.0	219	12
Ngāti Kauwhata	111	0.1	1,401	8
Manawatū/Horowhenua/Te Whanganui-a-Tara(Manawatū/Horowhenua/Wellington) Region,	60	0.0	435	14

	Iwi population (Auckland)	Iwi population (Auckland) %	Iwi Population (New Zealand)	Percentag e of given iwi's total NZ population living in Auckland
not further defined				
Subtotal, Manawatū/Horowhenua/Te Whanganui-a-Tara Region	3,042	1.9	29,109	10
Te Waipounamu/Wharekauri (South Island/Chatham Islands) Region				
Te Atiawa (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	255	0.2	2,298	11
Ngāti Koata	159	0.1	1,341	12
Ngāti Kuia	147	0.1	1,794	8
Kāti Māmoe	279	0.2	3,111	9
Mōriōri	81	0.1	738	11
Ngāti Mutunga (Wharekauri/Chatham Islands)	144	0.1	1,641	9
Rangitāne (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	129	0.1	1,215	11
Ngāti Rārua	93	0.1	984	9
Ngāi Tahu / Kāi Tahu	6,600	4.2	54,819	12
Ngāti Tama (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	36	0.0	378	10
Ngāti Toarangatira (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	33	0.0	321	10
Waitaha (Te Waipounamu/South Island)	75	0.0	1,041	7
Ngāti Apa ki Te Rā Tō	78	0.0	846	9
Te Waipounamu/Wharekauri (South Island/Chatham Islands) Region, nfd	63	0.0	618	10
Subtotal, Te Waipounamu/Wharekauri (South Island/Chatham Islands) Region	8,172	5.1	71,145	11
Other Iwi not named, but waka or Iwi confederation known				
Tainui (iwi not named)	4,431	2.8	11,700	38
Te Arawa Iwi not named)	4,677	2.9	19,722	24
Tākitimu	18	0.0	45	40
Aotea	9	0.0	36	25
Mātaatua	45	0.0	243	19
Mahuru	0	0.0	0	
Māmari	0	0.0	0	
Ngātokimatawhaorua	3	0.0	0	
Nukutere	0	0.0	0	
Tokomaru	0	0.0	12	0
Kurahaupō	3	0.0	12	25
Muriwhenua	30	0.0	63	48
Hauraki / Pare Hauraki	102	0.1	357	29
Tūranganui a Kiwa	0	0.0	9	0
Te Taihū o Te Waka a Māui	9	0.0	36	25
Tauranga Moana	84	0.1	384	22
Horouta	0	0.0	0	
Subtotal, Other Iwi not named, but waka or Iwi confederation known	9,411	5.9	32,619	29
Iwi Named but Region Unspecified				
Te Atiawa, region unspecified	588	0.4	3,063	19
Ngāti Haua, region unspecified	213	0.1	987	22
Ngāti Maru, region unspecified	324	0.2	915	35

	Iwi population (Auckland)	Iwi population (Auckland) %	Iwi Population (New Zealand)	Percentag e of given iwi's total NZ population living in Auckland
Ngāti Mutunga, region unspecified	78	0.0	471	17
Rangitāne, region unspecified	93	0.1	948	10
Ngāti Raukawa, region unspecified	1,008	0.6	4,785	21
Ngāti Tama, region unspecified	42	0.0	252	17
Ngāti Toa, region unspecified	141	0.1	849	17
Waitaha, region unspecified	45	0.0	564	8
Ngāti Apa, area unspecified	168	0.1	597	28
Hapū affiliated to more than one iwi	1,653	1.0	5,172	32
Subtotal, Iwi Named but Region Unspecified	4,353	2.7	18,603	23
Total people affiliated with at least one iwi	129,552		535,941	24
Total people stated⁽³⁾	158,778	124.7	646,872	25
Not elsewhere included ⁽⁴⁾	5,139		21,852	
Total people	163,920		668,721	25

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings (2013)

Note: The 'don't know' responses have been removed from this table by Auckland Council

1. In 2013 approximately 14,000 people gave their iwi but did not respond to the Māori descent question, compared with approximately 20,000 people in 2006.

2. Includes all people who stated each iwi, whether as their only iwi or as one of several. Where a person reported more than one iwi, they were counted in each applicable iwi.

3. Excludes residual categories (not elsewhere included)

4. Consists of refused to answer, response outside scope, response unidentifiable, and not stated.

Appendix B: Ōtara hui on housing needs

Findings from 'Our Home, Our Place' report (2001), summarised by Hall (2008) in Māori and Pacific Peoples' Housing Needs in the Auckland region: A literature review.

Concerns	Reasons	Solutions	Emerging Themes
Size of dining rooms	Larger people larger whanau/fanau/aiga	Larger dining rooms	Food as a social dimension
Lack of space for teenagers	Teenagers leave home later than in Pākehā families	Multi use spaces or breakout space	Inter-generational occupancy
Not enough rooms for whanau meetings/gatherings	Whānau are based on collective decision making	Larger rooms	The home is part of the whanau
Cold during winter	Don't make use of heaters because of cost	Passive solar heating	Total occupancy costs
Toilet near public spaces	Odour problems and privacy issues	Toilets in more discrete parts of the house	Public v private parts of the house
Limited use of bedrooms – living room preferred for sleeping	Warmer (fireplace) and Sky TV	Larger living rooms	Public v private parts of the house. Living room is wharenui
House up North or somewhere else	Suburban house is not our Turangawaewae	Is there a solution?	The question of having two homes – one in Otara and the other where I was born or where my people are from.
Use of house during a death in the family	Deceased are mourned at home – rooms are too small to handle large number of guests	Large living room	Peak demands on the house – only every few years not often
Doors and passageways too narrow for coffins	Deceased whanau/fanau/aiga normally come home for a period. Coffins are often large.	Use of French doors or ranch-sliders into living rooms and/or bedrooms	The role of the house at time of death and mourning
Houses designed for people of medium not heavy build	Pacific people are often of a bigger build – greater wear and tear on house	Consider bigger circulation/work spaces and higher specs on materials	Different physiology different house design
Easy access in and out of house	Raised floors less accessible. Wooden floors noisy. Underfloor spaces create a problem with pests	Concrete at ground level floors	At ground level floors – similarity to traditional houses
Additional bedrooms	Extended family living can mean two adults and	More bedrooms in houses	Some preference for living communally as an

Concerns	Reasons	Solutions	Emerging Themes
Outside spaces too small to cater for needs	Space required for outside cooking	More useable outside space – not necessarily more space	Outdoor cooking as a cultural practice and as a response to peak demand from visitors/ non household members
Visitors for people when they are terminally ill.	Cultural practice	Question location of person – living room or bedroom – response not know.	Custom of visits at times of stress for support etc. Question of manaakitanga.
Care for grandchildren	Extended Obligations	More space more bedrooms.	Extended obligations – the permanent presence of children in houses.
Use of veranda	For overflow space especially for children and during wet weather	Include verandas	Inside/outside usage
Children having quiet spaces to sleep and to do homework	Social/Cultural events in the house often make it difficult to for children to sleep or study	Quiet bedrooms or breakout spaces.	Public v private spaces Quiet v noisy spaces
Separate bath and shower	Shower over the bath can be dangerous (slipping) and do not allow for maximum use of washing facilities	Separate shower and bath, preferably in different rooms	Flexible use of spaces to provide multi-purpose rooms
Teenagers	Inter-generational tension made worse by small living spaces.	Use garages and sleepouts	Noisy v quite spaces
Location of house	Generally happy with location – close to family friends shops, (cheap food), good neighbours	Otara is a great place to live	Value of location and location factors to make a house a good home
Safety	Road safety for children and security from burglaries are a general	Greater emphasis by Council on safe driving and safe streets – all	Safety is a universal concern
Shared facilities	Some value seen in sharing facilities especially outdoor spaces and open cooking areas	Fewer fences and unusable side yards	Need for ample outdoor space. Make outdoor spaces more usable
Ownership	Owning your own home gives your whānau greater security	Encourage more widespread home ownership	Tenure is an important determinant of housing satisfaction

► Find out more: phone 09 301 0101
email rimu@aucklandcouncil.govt.nz or
visit www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz