

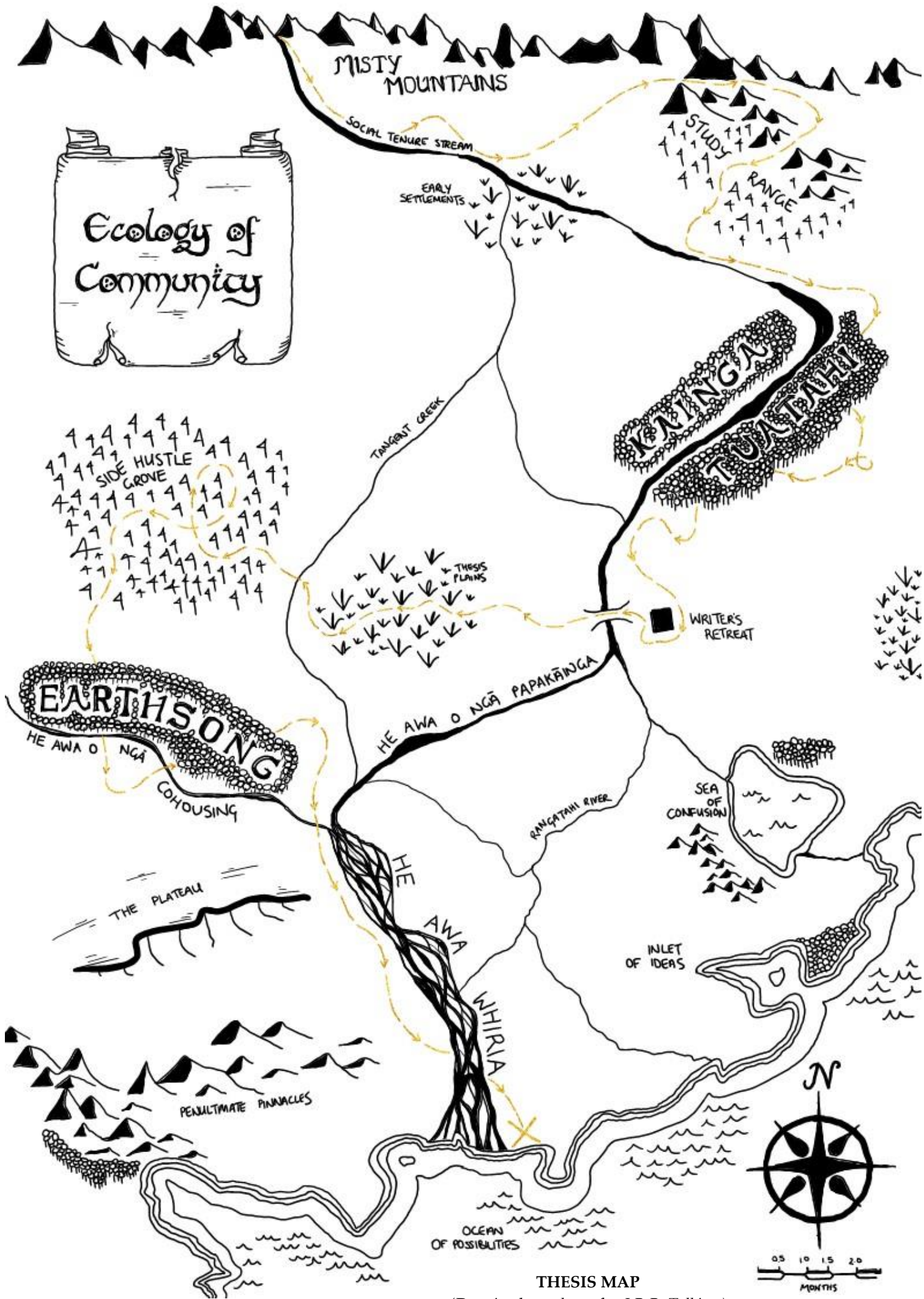
Ecology of community

Exploring principles of socially-based tenure
in urban papakāinga and cohousing communities

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THESIS MAP

(Drawing by author, after J.R.R. Tolkien.)

Abstract

Social (or communal) tenure refers to systems of rights which are based on social norms, processes and relationships. Social tenures are a feature of many Indigenous cultures, where land and resources are managed from a collectivist, rather than an individualist, standpoint. For instance, in New Zealand, Māori society was traditionally based around territorial tribal living, with hapū (sub-tribes) controlling and defending particular territories. Western governance ushered in by Te Tiriti o Waitangi eroded this form of living by favouring individualised land tenure, and individualised tenure, private ownership and commodification have since tended to dominate the literature on housing and property. A danger of individualised systems is that they often separate land rights from social connections, responsibilities and relationships – you can be an unpleasant neighbour without compromising individual property rights. This begs the question of whether there are ways in which elements of socially-based tenure can be reintroduced within a contemporary context.

Based on a series of in-depth interviews, spatial analyses and field observations, this thesis investigates elements of socially-based tenure and how they are embodied in urban papakāinga (Māori housing) and cohousing communities. Despite differing origins, papakāinga and cohousing models share goals of enacting social facilitation, cohesion and whanaungatanga (relationships). Thus, a dialogue between the two models has merit in uncovering common lessons, as well as for identifying areas of tension and uniqueness. This thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge as the first in-depth study exploring the similarities and differences of urban papakāinga and cohousing models, and highlights the diversity of residents' lived experiences. This diversity suggests a regionality or specificity of community outcomes, beset by a few core, potentially universal, principles.

Findings from this thesis have the potential to inform the wider New Zealand planning and housing debate, and to inform future housing development in our cities, both by Māori and non-Māori, in more socially-connected ways.

Keywords: papakāinga; Māori housing; cohousing; housing; social tenure; community.

Preface

He kūaka marangaranga, kōtahi i tau ki te tahuna, tau atu, tau atu, tau atu.
Godwits rise and flock together in the air; one bird comes down to land on the sandbank, then another, another and another (Māori proverb).

This whakatauki (proverb) is part of a longer saying attributed to Tūmatahina, a rangatira (chief) of Te Aupōuri (tribe from the Far North of New Zealand). The kūaka or godwit is a respected and even revered bird in the Far North. Once a year, the birds fly the long journey from Siberia to New Zealand (considered to be the world's longest non-stop bird flight) to feed from our beaches and estuaries over summer. The birds do not nest here, only feeding before making the return journey home. Legend has it that the kūaka may have contributed to our Polynesian ancestors seeking out Aotearoa New Zealand on seeing the birds' purposeful flight, raising the idea that they were flying somewhere worth travelling to.

This particular whakatauki speaks to the feeding habits of the kūaka. If the birds are startled while feeding, they will fly off together in one flock. Then slowly, individual birds will peel away from the flock and return to land to continue feeding, until they are all back on land and feeding together again. This speaks to the notion of kotahitanga (unity, togetherness) and the importance of solidarity and working together.

The study of ecology is not so concerned with individual species in isolation; rather, ecologists are concerned with the relationships between living things and their environments. In the same vein, '*Ecology of community*' draws on the holistic and interconnected nature of our urban environments to explore the notion of a community as an ecological system. It is based on the premise that even with the best planning, design, and construction, developments may fail as communities. Humans (and their behaviour) are not separable social constructs in housing and land development processes. By considering human elements in isolation, we limit our ability to understand the dynamic ways in which they function in reality. Instead, elements of social, physical, environmental, spiritual, cultural, economic, legal and other systems are inherently intertwined and interactive. An holistic approach, I believe, is critical to challenge 'wicked problems' such as housing, which are often cross-disciplinary in nature and require cross-agency solutions.

Like the kūaka, this research has taught me the value of kotahitanga and shown me what can be achieved when residents and communities come together to define their own futures, rather than flying alone. I hope this thesis shines a light, however small, on the success of these inspiring communities I have been privileged to work with.

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Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini taku toa.

My strength does not come from my individuality, my strength comes from many.

While this thesis bears my name, it was by no means an individual feat. I could not have reached this point without the incredible support and guidance of a number of individuals and institutions.

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Second, I owe a great deal to my supervisors, Dr. David Goodwin and Dr. Lynette Carter. Thank you both for your incredible tolerance and patience, especially when I stubbornly wandered off course on a tangent or to pursue a ‘side hustle’ that I was convinced would somehow be beneficial in the long run. In particular, thank you to David for your enthusiasm, your considered and swift feedback, and for always having an open door. A special thank you also to Dr. Crystal Filep for her invaluable feedback on my first draft chapter, helping me to fix at least some of my early bad habits! While my supervisors have graciously provided feedback on draft chapters, I take responsibility for the writing and drafting of my PhD and any errors or oversights are my own.

Third, this research has been supported by an amazing group of wahine toa (strong women), whether that has been through the research process itself, mentorship, funding, as well as professional advice and guidance:

- In particular, I owe grateful thanks to Anahera and Robin, two of the most inspiring women who continue to do amazing work for their communities. Thank you for allowing me into your homes and for sharing this research journey with me.
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* * * * *

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Nō reira, tēnei te mihi atu ki a koutou katoa.

Conventions

For consistency, I have applied the following language conventions or protocols in this thesis:

- Words in Te Reo Māori have generally not been italicised in this thesis. Te Reo Māori is the language of the people of this land, and to italicise only Te Reo Māori draws attention and signifies that it is different or 'other'. This approach is consistent with that of other Māori scholars (e.g. Phillips, 2019; Williams, 2004a).
- Where Māori words have been italicised, I note this with 'emphasis added'. Similarly, in cited words, italics are used if shown in original works. This is noted with 'italics in original'.
- Some phrases such as *he awa whiria* and *te waka kuaka* have been italicised to draw attention to the programs or concepts that they represent, in a similar manner to italicising a book title or journal name within the body of text. These do not appear with additional notes (as noted for Māori words above).
- On their first appearance, Māori words and phrases are supplemented with a basic English translation in brackets. For instance, kaupapa (purpose) or awa (river). A glossary of Māori terms is provided in this preliminary section.
- Long vowels are depicted by macrons (e.g. ā). This signifies an elongated vowel sound within a particular word. In cited works, macrons have only been included when the original works uses macrons. Consequently, there may be some inconsistency between cited work and general writing in this thesis.
- In addition, different organisations and collectives often vary in their use of macrons and so my use may differ from other published sources.
- The word 'Indigenous' is capitalised in the same way that other races, nationalities, tribes or place-based communities are typically afforded capitals.

Glossary of Māori terms

āe	yes
ahi kā	burning fires of occupation, continuous occupation
atua	god
auahi kore	smokefree, non-smoking
awa	river, stream
hakuturi	guardians, mythical forest guardians
haponi	community, section of a kinship group
hapū	subtribe (also: to be pregnant)
harakeke	New Zealand flax, <i>Phormium tenax</i>
hauora	health, vigour
he awa whiria	the braided rivers
he kanohi kitea	the seen face
hui	gathering, meeting, assembly
iwi	tribe, extended kinship group
kai	food, meal
Kāinga Tuatahi	first place
kāinga	home, residence, village, settlement
kaitiakitanga	guardianship, stewardship
kākahu	cloak
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
karakia	incantation, prayer
kaumātua	elder, a person of status within the whānau
kaupapa Māori	Māori approach, a philosophical doctrine incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society
kaupapa	topic, purpose
kete	basket, kit
koha	gift, present, offering
kōrero	speech, discussion, conversation
koru	spiral motif
kotahitanga	unity, togetherness, solidarity
kūaka	bar-tailed godwit, <i>Limosa lapponica</i>

mahi	work
mahinga kai	garden, cultivation, food-gathering place
mana whenua	territorial rights, authority over land or territory
mana	power and authority
Māori	Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand
Māoritanga	Māori culture, 'Māoriness'
māra kai	communal gardens, cultivation
marae	courtyard, the open area in front of the wharenuī where formal greetings and discussions take place
matariki	the Māori new year
Matatini	Te Matatini, a biennial māori performing arts festival
mātauranga	knowledge, wisdom, understanding
mātāwaka	all Māori living in urban areas who do not hold traditional links to that area
mokopuna	grandchildren, grandchild, descendant
ngahere	bush, forest
Ngāi Tahu	tribal group of much of the South Island
Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei	a central Auckland hapū
noa	ordinary, unrestricted
ohu	working bee, working party, cooperative
pā	fortified village
pā-kāinga	village
pākehā	English, foreign, European, exotic
papa	bed, earth
papakāinga	original home, home base, village
Papa-tūā-nuku	earth, earth mother and wife of Ranginui, all living things originate from them
pātaka	storehouse raised upon posts
pou	post, pole
pūrākau	myth, ancient legend, story
rangatahi	younger generation, youth
rangatira	chief, chieftain
Ranginui	atua of the sky and husband of Papa-tūā-nuku, from which union originate all living things

raupatu	conquest, confiscation
rito	new shoot, young centre leaf of the harakeke
rūnanga	council, assembly, authority
Tai Tokerau	Northland
Takaparawhau	Bastion Point
Tāmaki	Auckland (short for Tāmaki Makaurau)
tangata	person, human being, individual
tāngata	people, human beings, persons
tangihanga	funeral, weeping, crying
tapu	sacred, prohibited, restricted
tauwi	foreigner, non-Māori
taura here	domestic migrants
te aka	the vine or hair roots (of a plant)
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te ao mārama	the world of light
te korekore	the void, the realm of potential being
te more	taproot (of a plant)
te pō	the dark, the night
te pū	the shoot (of a plant)
te reo me ona tikanga	the language and its cultural practices
te reo	the language
te tipuranga	growth (of a plant)
te weu	rootlet (of a plant)
teina	younger brother (of a male), younger sister (of a female), cousin (of the same gender of a junior line, junior relative)
tiaki	to guard, keep
tiakitanga	guardianship, protection
tikanga	custom, correct procedure
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, autonomy
tuakana	elder brother (of a male), elder sister (of a female), cousin (of the same gender from a more senior branch of the family)
tuatahi	first

tūpuna	ancestors, grandparents (dialect variation of tīpuna)
tūrangawaewae	standing, place where one has the right to stand, where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa
urupā	burial ground, cemetery
utu	retribution, payback, reciprocity
wā kāinga	distant home, true home, home base
wāhi tapu	sacred place, sacred site
waiata	song, chant
wānanga	seminar, conference, forum
Whai Rawa	the commercial entity of Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei
whaiawa	riverbed
whakamahau	porch, veranda
whakapapa	genealogy, lineage, descent
whakatauki	proverb, tribal aphorism
whakawhanaungatanga	relationship building
whānau	extended family, family group
whanaunga	relatives
whanaungatanga	relationship, sense of family connection
whāngai	foster, adopt, raise
whare	house, building
wharenuī	meeting house, large house
wharepuni	sleeping house
whata	garage, prefabricated unit
whenua	land (also: placenta, afterbirth)
whiria	braiding, weaving

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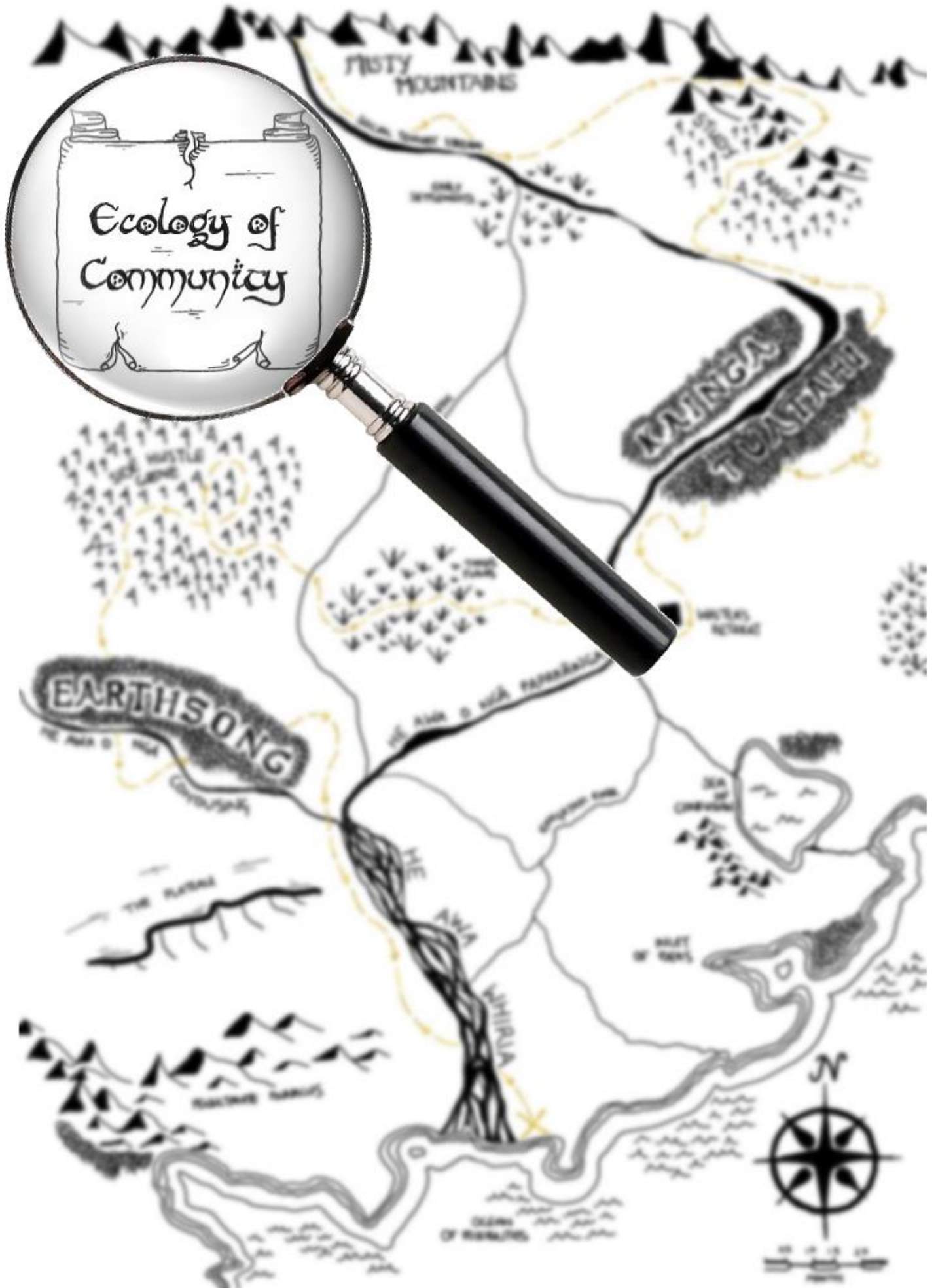
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CHAPTER ONE



Chapter 1 - Introduction

How best do humans co-exist? How do we live in relation to one another, en masse? What does it mean to meaningfully co-exist? What is the meaning of home? These are arguably some of the biggest questions that have been asked consistently throughout history, with history suggesting that the answers continue to change with passing trends. What, then, can Aotearoa New Zealand contribute to this broad and ongoing narrative? And why is this contribution worth listening to?

This thesis explores the workings of a diverse group of communities. In *'Death and life of great American cities'*, Jane Jacobs talks about cities as though they are living organisms. Ecologists study how organisms behave, adapt and interact with one another in their environments, as well as their interactions with the environment itself. It is on this basis that this study gains its name: *Ecology of community*. While the following chapters may, at times, appear independent of one another, my intention is for the respective communities to be seen not as constructions of individual factors, but as holistic ecological systems of interrelated parts. Drawing on Indigenous perspectives, as well as national and international working models of papakāinga (villages) and cohousing communities, this thesis contributes to our understanding of how contemporary communities can be modelled with a view to enhancing their social, cultural, environmental and economic sustainability.

This chapter introduces the focus of this research, namely, principles of socially-based tenure. I introduce the primary research topic and objectives, before ending with a brief synopsis of the following six chapters.

1.1 Māori and socially-based tenure

Māori are still relatively close to their Indigenous roots and, it could be argued, more sensible to the importance of communal values in harmonious survival.¹ Māori probably

¹ Parts of this section (1.1 Orientation) are reproduced from a prior publication: Berghan, J., Goodwin, D., & Carter, L. (2018). Remaking community: Building principles of communal tenure into contemporary housing developments. In L. Porter (Chair), *Remaking Cities: Urban*

arrived in New Zealand around 1300 AD (Wilmshurst, Anderson, Higham, & Worthy, 2008), only about 22 generations before the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. They are the tangata whenua – the original occupants of the land. In the intervening years, survival has never been straightforward. Māori were a bellicose people who, as numbers grew and competition for resources became more intense, could only survive by cooperating in offence and defence. Cooperation was important to success in hunting and agriculture, especially at higher latitudes and before Pākehā (Europeans) introduced potatoes, which grew easily in New Zealand's climate compared with earlier crops Māori brought from Polynesia (Williams, 2004a, p. 2). Precarious survival engendered a holistic attitude towards the environment, a recognition of the importance of extended family, sub-tribe and tribe, and a respect verging on reverence for the land. Even today, and where family members are no longer living on their original family lands, it is often still regarded as tūrangawaewae – a standing place for the feet:

Māori land has several connotations for us. It provides us with a sense of identity, belonging and continuity. It is proof of our continued existence not only as people, but as the tangata whenua of this country. It is proof of our tribal and kin ties. Māori land represents tūrangawaewae (Asher & Naulls, 1987, p. 81).

Māori managed and governed land and resources communally; in other words, survival was only perceived as possible by virtue of belonging to a social group. When Pākehā came, they brought with them a perspective of land as a commodity, with a value governed by its market potential (Durie, 1998; Greer & Patel, 2000; Mead, 2003; Patterson, 1992; Williams, 2004b). From the Treaty of Waitangi until the end of the 19th century the two value systems were brought together, not always smoothly or equitably. In particular, the Native Land Acts altered the way that Māori could own and use land. Land loss, urban migration, and the imposition of the British system of individual ownership on the communal nature of Māori use rights (explored in more detail in chapter two) undermined the structure and cohesion of Māori society (Durie, 1998), and

History Planning History 2018 Biennial Conference. Conference conducted at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Melbourne, Australia, 31 Jan – 02 Feb 2018. The reproduced portions were first drafted by J. Berghan, and reviewed and edited by D. Goodwin and L. Carter (as well as being peer-reviewed by two anonymous reviewers).

at least some of the principles of a communal or socially-based tenure system were lost or diluted in this transition (Goodwin, 2011).

While individualised tenure offers some advantages for systematic and orderly development, it is no panacea. Even carefully planned housing developments may be beset with maladies, including disconnection from the environment, between neighbours, and a propensity to harness greed and polarise rich and poor. There has been a backlash, manifested in a variety of attempts to reintroduce communal values into mainstream planning processes and developments. For instance, in New Zealand, some Māori planning initiatives are characterised by a recognition that communal values are important and attempt to reintroduce them to the planning equation. At a policy level, Awatere and others (2008) offer nine Māori urban design principles as a means of incorporating Māori cultural aspirations and character into the planning and design of papakāinga.² Similarly, Auckland Council have adopted the Te Aranga Māori design principles which offer practical guidance for incorporating Māori values in urban design (Auckland Council, 2019). These and other innovations point to a growing movement for Māori-focused frameworks to inform and provide for development of Māori land in a way that Western frameworks have not been able to achieve.

However, while planning and urban design may recognise the importance of isolated communal principles, such as the provision of shared walkways, or enabling passive surveillance, what is unclear from the literature, and what this research sets out to investigate, is whether a more holistic application of socially-based tenure principles could inform decision-making processes in land development and housing. Specifically, a socially-based tenure perspective is sought that extends beyond the realm of planning and design to include physical, legal, social, organisational and economic elements of land development, all of which play a part in the development of strong and sustainable communities. There is much however, that we do not yet understand. Does the principle

² Papakāinga, literally meaning 'a nurturing place to return to', refers to "a community based on Māori ways of living" (*Ki te hau kainga: New perspectives on Māori housing solutions (August 2014 edition)*, 2014, p. 2). A longer discussion on the intricacies of the term is provided in section 4.1.1 below.

of mahi (work, perhaps in the form of sweat equity where would-be owners are prepared to contribute labour) trump the principle of non-marketable housing (in other words, a recognition that housing is in a class of its own and arguably should not be bought and sold on an open market)? Are some principles symbiotic, needing to operate simultaneously? And are others mutually exclusive? Through the lens of Māori housing, namely papakāinga, this research sheds light on some of these questions.

1.2 Narrowing the scope to papakāinga

There is a growing body of literature supporting the importance of mātauranga Māori and its adaptation to contemporary situations, and at varying spatial scales:

There is an increasing awareness among Māori that traditional environmental knowledge, values, and concepts may be critical to more fully resolving the contemporary sustainable development dilemmas being faced in New Zealand...Key to this realisation and reassertion is the persistence of underlying Māori beliefs, concepts and customs (i.e. values) used in modern Māori society despite rapid changes and continual challenges to traditional worldviews and lifestyles (Awatere et al., 2008, p. 2).

In the housing context, papakāinga is an area of research that is gaining traction among researchers and practitioners alike. Among others, scholars have explored trends and contemporary barriers to Māori achieving their housing aspirations (e.g. Flynn, Carne, & Soa-Lafoa'i, 2010; Palmer, 2016), devised papakāinga design principles incorporating mātauranga Māori (e.g. Awatere et al., 2008; Badham, 2011; Kake, 2015), established toolkits to guide the development of papakāinga (e.g. *Ki te hau kainga: New perspectives on Māori housing solutions (August 2014 edition)*, 2014; Reddy, Simpson, Wilson, & Nock, 2019; Te Kanawa, 2015), and considered the nuances of depopulation on rural papakāinga (Tane, 2018). These studies each help to advance the state of knowledge around papakāinga and its application in a contemporary context, particularly from a visioning perspective. However, the literature is less clear on working papakāinga models. Reddy et al. (2019) offers perhaps one of the first post-occupancy evaluation studies of an urban papakāinga, and this thesis contributes to that emerging scholarship.

Similarly, the urban context is important in this study. Some scholars may argue that papakāinga have existed for hundreds of years and therefore consider inquiries such as this one to be unnecessary. I do not disagree that papakāinga have existed for a long time; rather, I posit that they have done so in more rural-type settings. As a model, I argue that papakāinga remain relatively untested in the urban context where cultural, social and economic dislocation has played a critical role.

This study draws in elements of mātauranga Māori as well as principles of socially-based tenures more generally:

...social tenures is the term used to refer to tenures that are created by social processes and norms (whether they are subsequently recognized by legal norms or not). They include native tenures. Throughout the world social tenures are used by people who live in traditional ways, from rice growing villages in Indonesia through to nomadic Aboriginal people in Australia. They also include arrangements for living in slums where no formal legal norms apply, and where people distribute access to housing and amenities on an ad hoc basis (Wallace, 2010, p. 25).

Social tenures are the norm for millions of people; for instance, less than 30% of land in developing countries is titled (Wallace, 2010, p. 38). This thesis argues that principles of socially-based tenure return an important responsibility set to the housing equation. As well as potentially offering new insights to the Māori approach by considering socially-based tenure principles, this study could have wider implications for communities elsewhere operating in socially-based models that could transition to individualised tenure models at some point in the future.

Further, this study recognises that elements of socially-based tenures resemble approaches in other alternative development models such as cohousing. As such, lessons could also be gleaned from successful cohousing models to shed light on papakāinga aspirations. Given papakāinga and cohousing communities often share goals of social, environmental and economic sustainability, a dialogue between the two has merit to explore lessons and outcomes that both models could use to achieve their goals, as well as to identify perhaps culturally bound issues, or areas of tension. Moreover, a detailed comparative study across the two models could “tease out latent

factors which might otherwise go unnoticed” (Goodwin, 2007, p. 2). Consequently, this thesis offers the first in-depth comparative study of residents’ lived experiences in papakāinga and cohousing communities, with the hope that this may shed light on ways that housing could be developed in more socially and culturally sustainable ways.

1.3 Focus

This thesis seeks to understand tradition-based principles of social tenure, and the extent to which they are applied within a contemporary context, with a possible view to an alternate housing paradigm that is better for community and less susceptible to profiteering.

This leads to the primary research topic of this thesis:

Box 1.1: Research topic

The contribution of socially-based tenure principles to the success of contemporary, urban papakāinga and cohousing communities.

From this overarching question stem the following research objectives:

Box 1.2: Research objectives

1. Identify principles of socially-based tenure.
2. Examine how (and to what extent) socially-based tenure principles are realised in urban papakāinga and cohousing developments nationally and internationally.
3. Identify and assess existing mechanisms used to facilitate socially-based tenure principles in contemporary developments.
4. Consider the implications of socially-based tenure principles on the wider urban housing spectrum in New Zealand.

By combining semi-structured interviews with residents, spatial analyses, participant observation, guided site visits, memoing, concept mapping and content analysis of secondary data, this thesis specifically explores lived realities, conceptions and

perspectives of residents within two communities in Auckland, New Zealand: one papakāinga development and one cohousing community.

This study justifiably takes an urban focus. As noted above, while papakāinga are perhaps more traditionally associated with rural settings, high rates of urbanisation of the Māori population suggest an increasing importance of the potential for papakāinga in the urban context. Further, Blomley (2004, p. 138) argues that urban areas such as cities typically comprise a multitude of colonial enactments when it comes to ownership and property. At the same time, it is for these reasons that it is important to understand how papakāinga can flourish in these environments.

This research also tends towards an extensive, rather than intensive, approach. The notion of communities as ecological systems demands a broad and holistic approach. As such, the cases are necessarily broad. While this may produce a more superficial view than if just one case was studied in isolation and with isolated factors, a cross-case approach typically allows patterns to be discerned more easily. For instance, latent or covert findings in one case may be more apparent in another case; which then makes them searchable in the original case. As a result, a comparative study was considered appropriate for balancing the risks and benefits of both broad and narrow approaches.

1.4 Thesis structure

Research can be thought of like a map. We are always in need of new maps that show new information, or perhaps existing information viewed from a different perspective. In this thesis, I am trying to create a new map that captures the cartography of socially-based tenure through the lens of papakāinga and cohousing. To that end, each chapter begins with my map of this thesis, modelled after the maps of J. R. R. Tolkien. The thesis journeys across a range of terrain, crossing and incorporating Indigenous and Western streams of knowledge through papakāinga and cohousing case studies (as forests), to a braided river where the different knowledge streams forming this research meet and interrelate. Finally, the thesis ends where the streams meet the ocean, depicting the expanse of possibilities beyond the end of this project.

More specifically, the thesis is structured as follows:

1. Introduction;
2. Evolution of Māori housing;
3. He awa whiria: A braided river approach;
4. He awa o ngā 'Papakāinga';
5. He awa o ngā 'Cohousing';
6. Whiria: Comparisons and discussion; and
7. Whiria: Beyond the braiding.

This *Introduction* asks some of the 'big questions' and sets the scene for this thesis. In it, I suggest that despite a growing body of literature on papakāinga and Māori housing development, as well as alternative housing models such as cohousing, there is a lack of comparative studies between the two (and in particular, in the realm of post-occupancy evaluation). This introductory chapter argues for a dialogue between papakāinga and cohousing as important for examining cross-cultural similarities as well as deviations.

Chapter two, *Evolution of Māori housing*, expands on the historical context of Māori housing and settlement. It explains how traditional Māori settlement catered for and reflected a communal way of life, with social responsibilities bound up with resource use rights. The chapter argues that the arrival of Europeans and the imposition of an individualised system of property rights progressively eroded the fabric of social tenure binding Māori societies, with these effects perpetuating to modern-day life. Using Goodwin's (2011) conceptualisation of socially-based tenure as a two-stranded cord of land rights and interpersonal rights, and his argument that individualisation may have caused a separation of the two strands, this raises the question of whether a significant value set has been lost in this transition from socially-based tenure to a more individualised model.

To provide a different lens for consideration, the chapter then introduces a review of the rise in non-Māori housing models that share aspirations for socially connected communities, for whom our dominant development models don't necessarily align. I

highlight cohousing as a possible comparative model and argue for a deeper dialogue between papakāinga and cohousing which might illuminate common lessons and differences.

Chapter three, *He awa whiria: A braided river approach*, explores different ways of knowing the world and places my interpretation of the world at the interface of Indigenous and Western science. Using the conceptual framework of *he awa whiria* (the braided river), I reinforce the value of a comparative study exploring the lived realities of residents in papakāinga and cohousing communities, rather than a one-sided, defensive stance. Arguing that these experiences are complex and interrelated, a case-based approach is considered appropriate. The primary methods of analysis include semi-structured interviews, but complemented with guided site visits, participant observation, memoing and concept mapping, and spatial analysis of site plans. The chapter concludes with some of the difficulties encountered in the field, along with potential limitations of the design and therefore the resulting dataset.

Chapter four, *He awa o ngā 'Papakāinga'*, represents the journey down the first stream of knowledge. The chapter begins by revisiting the concept of papakāinga with a specific focus on the proliferation of the model within urban contexts. Here, I introduce Kāinga Tuatahi as the primary case study site. Beginning with an historical background to provide context, I then describe the motives and development of the community, including a profile of some current residents. The chapter then shifts to focus on the post-occupancy evaluation interviews and initial findings from this process, alluding to more abstract, developed analyses to come later in chapter seven.

Chapter five, *He awa o ngā 'Cohousing'*, mirrors the previous chapter but with a cohousing lens. This chapter represents a journey down a second stream of knowledge, concerning cohousing and other alternative development models. I begin at Christiania in Denmark, where the notions of anti-establishmentarianism laid the foundations for the cohousing movement. Following a cursory review of Danish cohousing, the scope is narrowed to New Zealand's Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood as the second primary

case study. Again, the chapter offers an historical background before shifting to focus on the post-occupancy evaluation interviews and initial findings.

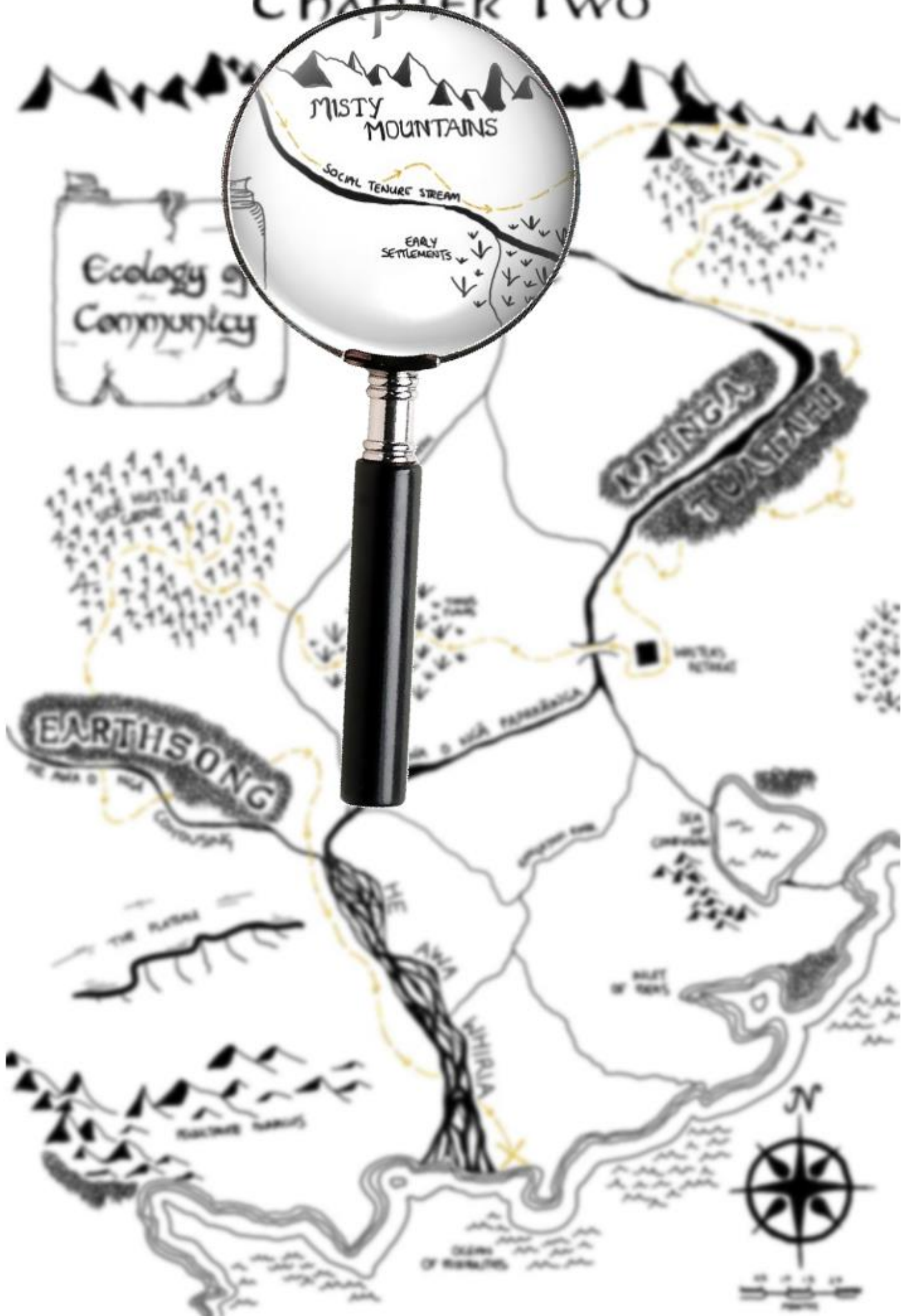
Chapter six, *Whiria: Comparisons and discussion*, compares the applications of socially-based tenure principles introduced in the two preceding chapters, and represents the braiding of the different knowledge streams. The first part of chapter six compares papakāinga and cohousing to understand similarities as well as differences between the two models. The commonalities speak to potential features or aspects which could influence housing more generally, while the differences alert us to possible culturally-based nuances. Building from these comparisons, the second part of the chapter seeks to synthesise these thoughts into a conceptual model for housing and development with an emphasis on community-building and sociality.

Chapter seven, *Whiria: Beyond the braiding*, concludes the journey of this thesis and signifies the knowledge streams meeting an ocean of possibilities. The chapter provides an overall summary of the research and considers the implications of the findings in relation to the wider New Zealand housing debate, for both Māori and non-Māori housing development. I argue for the role of research within the housing space to provide evidence-based knowledge to inform policy development, as well as identifying some limitations and delimitations of the thesis. Finally, directions for future research within this field are sketched out.

1.5 Summary

This chapter introduced the focus of the thesis including the research topic and specific objectives. The following chapter explores the evolution of Māori housing from a pre-colonial setting through to the contemporary situation, to contextualise the case studies that follow.

CHAPTER TWO



Chapter 2 – Evolution of Māori housing

A house which stands alone is food for the fire (Best, 1974, p. 95).

This chapter introduces the historical and cultural context of Māori housing in Aotearoa New Zealand and explores the specific influences of this context on the provision of housing and neighbourhoods in our cities. With a focus on the experience of Māori as the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand, this chapter examines how communal or socially-based tenure was swiftly and systematically obliterated, and replaced with a system of individualisation that perhaps triggered the onset of a variety of social ills (e.g. Brown, 2009; Durie, 2004; Goodwin, 2013; Lee-Morgan et al., 2018; New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1997). As well as providing a contextual background, this chapter addresses the first research objective; namely, identifying traditional principles of socially-based tenure to lay a foundation for a discussion about whether such principles might contribute to restoring cohesive, socially-based societies.

This chapter begins by reviewing the nature of housing and papakāinga in pre-colonial Māori society. Following the arrival of British settlers, and the imposition of a British-colonial system of individualised land tenure, this chapter explores the implications of British-colonial systems on Māori settlement. Here, I introduce Goodwin's (2011) metaphor of a two stranded cord of social tenure and conceptualise how those strands began to unravel for Māori. Urbanisation and extensive land loss had a damaging effect on Māori community constructs, advancing the separation of the two strands of social tenure. This chapter then considers the implications of the historical context on the contemporary state of Māori housing, culminating in a backlash of Māori housing initiatives seeking to reclaim elements of papakāinga within a modern setting. Given that cohousing shares similar socially-based values to traditional papakāinga, the chapter considers cohousing as a comparative housing model. The field is well-represented with successful approaches to cohousing development and the benefits that such socially-based models can offer over individualised living, while only cursory glimpses have been given to the comparative opportunities between cohousing and papakāinga. This in-depth, comparative exploration provides the premise for this thesis.

2.1 Early settlements

There is some contention around the validity and accuracy of some historic accounts of early Māori society (e.g. Kawharu, 1977). Māori predominantly recorded and transmitted histories through oral means such as *kōrero* (stories, narratives), *waiata* (song), *karakia* (prayer), *whakatauki* (proverb), and *pūrākau* (stories) (Walter & Reilly, 2018). By contrast, early written records tend to be colonial observations about Māori, catalogued for a Pākehā (English, European) audience, such as the following excerpt from Elsdon Best, one of many colonial self-appointed experts who documented their early observations of Māori:

The communal habits and lack of privacy so marked in Māori life would have considerable effect in retarding advancement, inasmuch as they would impede the development of personality, and prevent introspective thought to a serious extent (Best, 1976, p. 37).

Best's recount speaks to a perception of communal Māori life as being uncivilised and detrimental to development. It is important to recognise that this was a European perception. In a contemporary context, these and other written accounts are under increasing scrutiny for their colonising perspectives and attitudes, lest those perspectives and attitudes be perpetuated by tacit acceptance (e.g. Kawharu, 1977). As a result, a reliance on and reference to such written records needs a critical eye.

Part of the purpose of this thesis is to contribute to rebalancing the narrative and instead, speak to the benefits of socially-based living and how elements of social tenures might alleviate some of the inequalities observed in Māori society today. Kawharu (1977) argues that although some early accounts may not be entirely accurate and are influenced by a colonial perspective (given that those accounts occur after European contact, consequently making it difficult to assess pre-colonial attitudes), many early accounts speak of ideologies that potentially sit well with contemporary Māori society. Similarly, aspects of these colonial accounts can be corroborated by oral tradition (e.g. Anderson, 2014b). From this, I posit that those early European accounts merit some consideration albeit with a level of caution, rather than discarding them entirely.

2.1.1 Settlements and physical architecture

Early Polynesian migrants to New Zealand probably arrived around 1300 AD and had to adjust to a colder, more seasonal climate here (Anderson, 2014a, p. 35; Wilmschurst et al., 2008, p. 7676). Food and materials in the Northern Pacific were less common here, or sometimes, non-existent. Māori brought tropical plants in an attempt to establish them but only had limited success, mainly with kumara (Davidson, 1987). As a result, early settlements usually consisted of temporary, crude shelters to enable Māori to move around easily and take advantage of different resources for hunting, fishing and gathering (Anderson, 1982; Brown, 2009; Buck, 1952; Davidson, 1987).

Eventually settlements became more established and permanent. Tribes tended to settle in locations where they were best protected from enemies, while maintaining access to important food and resource sources (Best, 1975; Davidson, 1987; Knight, 2009; McFadgen, 1991). This often meant that settlements were coastal, utilising the proximity to both land and sea (Awatere et al., 2008). That is not to say Māori became immobile – quite the opposite. European observers may have perceived settlements as abandoned when in fact, they were still in use, albeit seasonally.

As resources dwindled, the predominant hunting and gathering culture gradually gave way to horticulture. This led to fortification as competition for fertile land and gardens grew. As a result, most early Māori settlements generally took one of two forms: pā (fortified settlements), and kāinga (unfortified settlements) (Groube, 1965; McFadgen, 1991; Vayda, 1970). Day-to-day life tended to take place within the kāinga and outside of the pā, the latter being more for defence in times of conflict (Ballara, 1979; Best, 1974, 1975; Buck, 1952; Knight, 2009; McFadgen, 1991; Vayda, 1970).

With the increasing permanence of dwellings, a distinct Māori architecture began to emerge. Although similar to Polynesian architecture at the time, there was a uniqueness in Māori dwellings that gave rise to a new and distinctive form specific to New Zealand. In particular, more substantial houses incorporated a sheltered but open porch, which are still a characteristic of contemporary marae (Beattie, 1994; Brown, 2009; Davidson, 1987; Prickett, 1974; Williams, 1896). While similar in concept to a European style porch

or veranda, the Māori whakamahau (porch) traditionally seemed to function as an area “for sheltered relaxation, eating, industry and possibly sleep” (Brown, 2009, p. 30).

There were a variety of buildings within kāinga, with communal spaces in between: typically, wharepuni (sleeping houses), pātaka (storehouses), and later, wharenuī (meeting houses). The different buildings served different purposes but Māori were clear in differentiating tapu (sacred) and noa (profane) by keeping sleeping and habitation areas separate from food preparation and storage, and from waste areas (e.g. Davidson, 1987). Whare (buildings) were often rectangular with the pronounced porch, as well as a small door at the front, though archaeological evidence of other typologies such as round houses and sunken houses has also been discovered (Beattie, 1994; Davidson, 1987; Martin, 1996). Building materials tended to be selected for pragmatic reasons: raw, locally-sourced building materials were typically used, being whatever was available and accessible at the time (typically plant material) (Firth, 1959; Williams, 1896).

Villages were often positioned and oriented relative to iconic landscapes and features, such as important mountains and water bodies, in order to retain connections with particular cultural elements and places (Mead, 2016). Not only did landscapes provide physical reference points, but their inclusion in oral narratives also provided a sort of social and ‘cultural positioning system’ as well (Cram, Kennedy, Paipa, Pipi, & Wehipeihana, 2015, p. 297).

2.1.2 Social architecture

Early Māori society tended to be organised around two main units. The whānau-level operated as the principal social unit, typically consisting of extended family over three or four generations (Kawharu, 1977). Each whānau might have one or more wharepuni within the papakāinga depending on the size. Children were raised by the adults in the village, not just by their own parents, and grandparents often took on a childminding and childrearing role while parents worked. Elders in the village were revered for their leadership, support and transmission of knowledge (Kawharu & Newman, 2018).

The second level of organisation was the hapū, or subtribe. The hapū acted as the main political societal unit and tended to coordinate larger, more complex tasks necessary for survival such as building fortifications, canoes and meeting houses (Davidson, 1987; Schwimmer, 1966). Wharenui or meeting houses persist today, predominantly as hapū symbols. Depending on the size, the papakāinga or village proper might house just one hapū or many hapū, and although hapū may have resided in or occupied a particular area or territory together, it is ancestry or genealogical descent which define hapū membership (Knight, 2009).

2.1.3 Legal architecture

Although this section is given its own title for clarity, early Māori society saw little distinction between the social and legal architecture, particularly when it came to land and property. Like many Indigenous societies, the Māori worldview is deeply spiritual and finds basis in a range of creation narratives, which has implications for a legal architecture. A common ancestral creation narrative speaks of the embrace between Papa-tūā-nuku (the land mother) and Ranginui (the sky father). Their separation created Te Ao Mārama, the world of light, and saw the creation of all things that are genealogically connected; “[t]he children of Ranginui and Papatuānuku were the parents of all resources” (Mead, 2016, p. 215). The Māori view of the world is relational – it depends on and is influenced by relationships between people, their histories, their futures, past and environments (Durie, 1998; Mead, 2016).

Rights to land were part of a reciprocal duality of rights and responsibilities. Land held a direct whakapapa (genealogy) connection to Papa-tūā-nuku, so Māori saw themselves as users of the resources of land, not as land owners. If anything, people were owned *by* the land (Durie, 1987, p. 78; Mead, 2016, p. 216). Different whānau or hapū groups might hold different use rights to different resources in different areas, in different ways and at different times. Those rights were seen from a collective mind-set: that the resources in and from the natural environment were there for the community to benefit from. An individual’s right to use that resource stemmed from their social membership to that community (Kawharu, 1975, 1977). In this sense, the notion of community was not just limited to the living, and included ancestors as well as generations to come (Mead, 2016).

As part of this, it was expected that individuals would contribute to the collective and communal responsibility in return for the right to use land and resources (e.g. Stephenson, 2002)

This system of right-holding made for significant overlapping rights and hints at the importance of cordial relations not only within right-holding groups but also between right-holding groups to secure, maintain and respect that rights-based system. As seen later, this is in contrast with a more European-inscribed territoriality and spatial bounding of rights (Durie, 1998). Intermarriage, adoption, and alliances are some of the tools Māori used to articulate social contracts that right-holding communities engaged with to secure and maintain rights. For instance, granting use rights to someone outside of the right-holding group might be seen as welcoming that outsider into the community, as opposed to a relinquishing of those rights (Healy, 2009, p. 121; New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1997, pp. 24-25).³ These cultural understandings and nuances were tested with the arrival of European settlers to New Zealand.

2.2 Post-contact changes

Māori society was significantly re-shaped following contact with Europeans, particularly as the two very different worldviews collided. This section explores what happened when European explorers first arrived in New Zealand, and the subsequent changes to the fabric of Māori society following these early interactions with European settlers. This includes a particular focus on Māori land loss and the range of legislative mechanisms used to alienate Māori from their lands, as we progress towards a contemporary view of Māori housing.

³ The Muriwhenua Land Report expands: “[l]and allocations to outside individuals, it seems to us, were not an alienation of the land but the incorporation of the individuals. A rangatira who allocated land to an individual augmented not the recipient but the community the rangatira represented, for it was the recipient who was most obliged. The purpose was not to elevate the individual but to build the community...land allocation was not a permanent alienation of the land. Nothing could alter the reality that it was held from the ancestral community, and that a stranger taking land held it only by becoming part of that community.” (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1997, p. 25)

2.2.1 First contact

Early interactions between Māori and European explorers were marked by hostility. Dutch explorer Abel Tasman is understood to have been the first European explorer to sight New Zealand, in 1642, but it was the British Captain James Cook who was the first European to make landfall in New Zealand, in 1769 (King, 2012, pp. 93, 102-103; Walker, 2004, p. 78). Some initial interactions with Māori at sea and on land were tense, probably since Māori reacted to these foreign intruders, and both European and Māori were killed (King, 2012; Salmond, 1991; Walker, 2004).

After an initial period of unrest, the interactions became less fraught and it seems that Māori dealt with European settlers in much the same way as they would any Māori tribe. On Cook's first visit to New Zealand, he had Tupaia, a Tahitian chief and priest who was able to act as an intermediary between Cook and Māori, as the Tahitian language had similarities with Māori (King, 2012).

After these early voyages, the two cultures began co-opting resources and technology from one another. Sealers and whalers were among the first non-Māori to 'live' in New Zealand, towards the end of the 18th century (King, 2012). As seal and whale numbers decreased, these sealers and whalers eventually set up more permanent trade markets on shore, often marrying Māori women and having children. This saw Māori being introduced to new technologies, literacy and muskets. Missionaries were the next Europeans to settle, and the non-Māori population living in New Zealand gradually began to increase and search for land and permanent settlement (King, 2012).

2.2.2 Settler numbers increase

Following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi⁴ in 1840, European settler numbers increased dramatically. From the perspective of Europeans, the Treaty gave British sovereignty over New Zealand and granted British immigrants citizenship. The New Zealand Company⁵ was central to this influx, marketing New Zealand as a 'Britain of

⁴ Aotearoa New Zealand's founding document, an agreement between the British Crown and over 500 Māori chiefs (Orange, 2011).

⁵ The New Zealand Company was a private company established in Britain, which initially had plans to colonise New Zealand prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Although the

the South' and paving the path for government-led immigration in the years following (King, 2012, p. 172). From a population of about 2,000 prior to the signing of the Treaty, European immigrants numbered one million by the early 1900s (Tapsell, 2018, p. 113). Conversely, the Māori population dropped from around 100,000 to less than 40,000 in the same period (Tapsell, 2018, p. 113). These population changes progressively and exponentially affected Māori settlement life and society.

Initially, changes to the Māori built environment were relatively limited following these early interactions with European settlers. At first, there was a shift from temporary shelters to more permanent villages, and dedicated communal buildings began to emerge (Beattie, 1994; Groube, 1965; Martin, 1996). Māori gradually adopted European building materials such as sawn timber and nails to build whare, as well as European features such as windows and chimneys (Martin, 1996). Overall, though, there was no real large-scale effect on the architecture of Māori settlement within the first 100 years or so (Martin, 1996).

The beginning of the 20th century saw a much more rapid adoption of European-influenced housing and settlement patterns. This was partly motivated by 'health concerns'; from the perspective of government and Pākehā commentators, Māori dwellings were considered to be substandard and unhealthy, and better abandoned in favour of European style dwellings (Brown, 2009, pp. 103, 117-118). Whereas previously, Māori utilised separate dwellings for sleeping, food storage, food preparation and waste, these were replaced and brought together under one roof, with internal walls separating the different use areas. Still, these changes were mostly physical though, and meant that traditional values and meanings could be retained but translocated to these new dwellings. For example, kitchen and dining areas remained central to the homes, and the living room could be utilised for hui (meetings) and discussions.

...by early in the 20th century most Māori lived in houses that were ostensibly European...[though] there is evidence that many aspects of

company only contributed approximately 15,000 colonial settlers to New Zealand, a large proportion of those colonists were the earliest to settle in a number of our modern-day cities such as Dunedin and Christchurch (King, 2012, pp. 155-156, 172-173).

traditional meaning were transferred to the new building, so that symbolically it remained distinctively Māori to its inhabitants (Martin, 1996, p. 2).

Initial changes to Māori housing were mostly physical. However, changes became more widespread as Māori abandoned traditional rural areas and moved to urban centres, driven largely by land loss and a variety of discriminatory legislative mechanisms.

2.2.3 Land loss and land tenure

The loss of Māori land was dramatic over the 19th and 20th centuries. Prior to 1840, most of the land in New Zealand remained in Māori hands. Today, however, only about 5%⁶ of the land area of New Zealand remains as Māori land (see Figure 2.1). This significant land loss is attributed to a variety of reasons, including private purchases, government purchases, land confiscation and discriminatory legal mechanisms used to prevent Māori owning land according to their preferred societal structures.

Both private and government land sales contributed to the significant loss of Māori land. The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 gave the government the right of pre-emption; that is, Māori could only sell land to the Crown. The Crown bought approximately two thirds of the entire New Zealand land area, including almost all of the South Island, for the equivalent of \$2.4 million in today's money⁷ and on-sold it to settlers. Some iwi (tribes) sold to the Crown because they were promised schools, hospitals, and one-tenth of the land being set aside for Māori occupation. However, these promises often never materialised. For example, no hospitals or schools were built for Ngāi Tahu after they sold most of the South Island, and the government only set aside approximately one-thousandth of the land, not one-tenth (e.g. Walker, 2004, pp. 106, 307).⁸

⁶ Calculated from Māori land figures cited in (Māori Land Court, 2017, p. 1).

⁷ As at 2013, according to (Fyers, 2018).

⁸ For further information on the Ngāi Tahu claim, refer to (*Heads of Agreement (between Her Majesty The Queen in right of New Zealand and Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu)*, 1996, pp. 6-7).

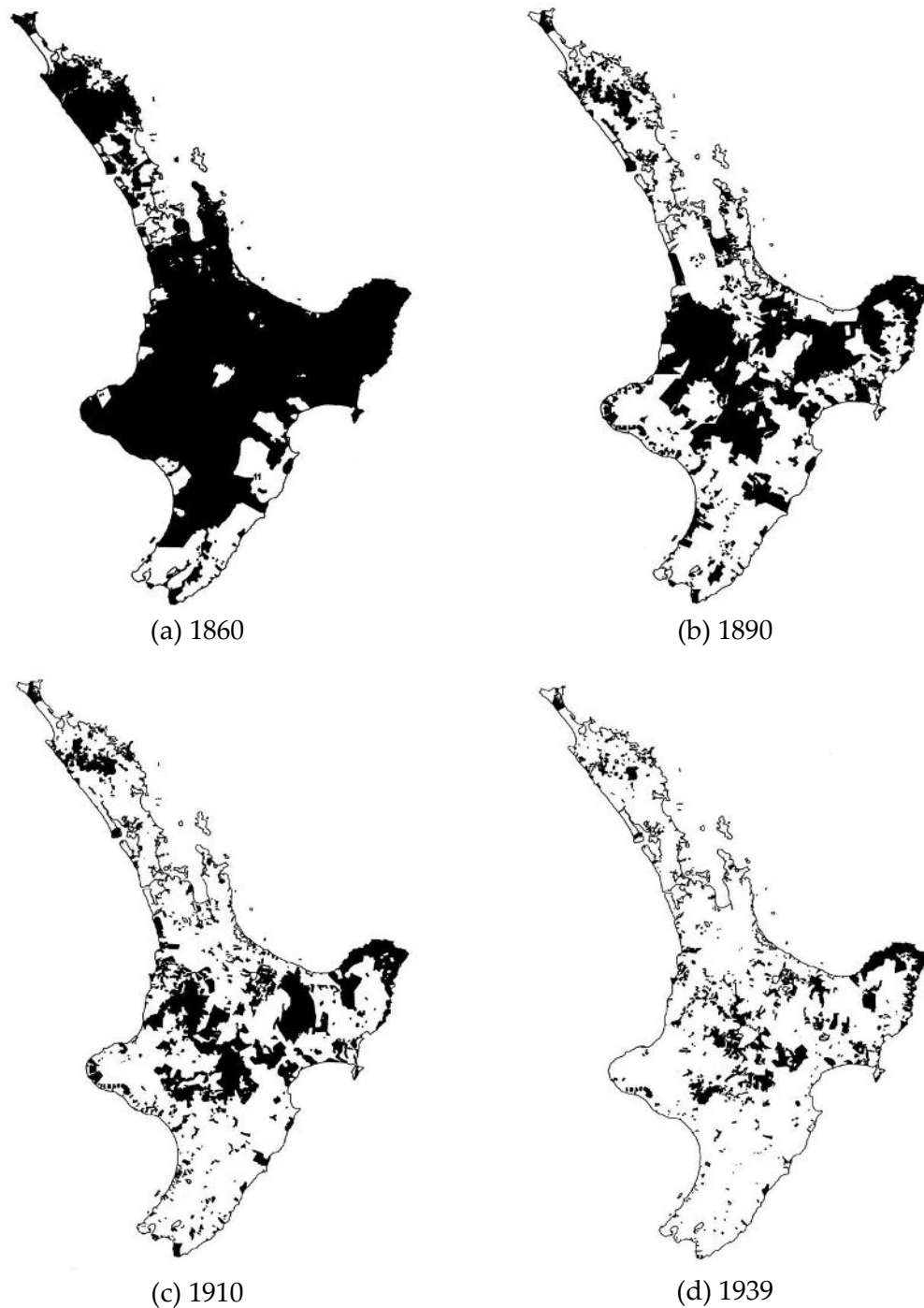


Figure 2.1 (a-d): Loss of Māori land in the North Island, between 1860 and 1939 (Māori land shown in black) (Images sourced from Orange, 2015, pp. 318-319).

Land confiscations were also a main contributor to Māori land loss. After the New Zealand Wars in the 1860s, the government passed the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 expressly allowing the confiscation of Māori land. Initially, this was used as a tool to confiscate land from Māori who had ‘rebelled’ against (i.e. resisted invasion from) the government in the land wars (Boast & Hill, 2009). Waikato lost the majority of their land

through this confiscation, or *raupatu*. Eventually the government also used this legal mechanism to take land from other, neutral tribes (Belgrave, 2018).

The Native Land Acts (and the associated Native Land Court) further alienated Māori from their land. The first, the Native Land Act 1862, removed the Crown's right of pre-emption, and following this, the Native Land Act 1865 established the Native Land Court. Based on English law and English systems of land tenure, the aim of the Native Land Court was to 'assimilate' Māori ownership into British law by converting titles to land from a customary system to an individualised one, as Walker describes below. Māori landowners had little alternative to appearing at the Court; not attending presented the risk of losing the land to any other claimant, or if none, to the government (Mitchell, 2004, pp. 17-18). The 'ten owner rule'⁹ in the 1865 Act meant land could only be held individually, not tribally or as trustees for the tribal group (e.g. Belgrave, 2018; Mitchell, 2004).

The aim of the court...was to identify the owners of tribal land and transform the communally owned land held under customary title into individual title cognisable in English law, so that Māori ownership would become 'assimilated into British law' (Walker, 2004, p. 135).

The actions of the Native Land Court had a number of implications for Māori. Having fewer listed landowners made it easier for non-Māori to negotiate land purchases to buy the land (Kawharu, 1977). But perhaps more problematic were the time, resource and financial costs borne by Māori in order to prove their rights to land. There was a requirement to have the land surveyed, which was expensive, and the courts often sat in locations distant from the land in question. Often, the costs to prove ownership were so high they swallowed the value of the land itself, leaving the owners with little or nothing (Williams, 1999).

⁹ Up to only 10 individuals could be listed on the ownership of land up to 5000 acres in size. The rule was later modified and then repealed but by that stage, lands had either been alienated or those dispossessed were unaware or unwilling to go before the Courts again (see: Mitchell, 2004).

The actions of the Eurocentric Native Land Court was also at odds with the Māori approach to land and resources. Māori custom typically dictated a seasonal use of land, meaning that Māori were migratory, accessing different resources on a seasonal basis. Rights to use particular lands were secured through whakapapa, through occupation, or through agreements and relationships with other hapū (Anderson, 1982; Davidson, 1987). This perspective of land utilisation was in contrast to the British worldview and system of land tenure, which viewed vacant land as 'waste land' and in particular, was unable to easily recognise overlapping and seasonal use rights (e.g. Walker, 2004; Williams, 1999).

The loss of land had wide-reaching implications for Māori, including compromising their ability to grow food:

...the Māori subsistence food economy had depended on a combination of extensive and relatively intensive land utilisation. After land alienation occurred, [Māori] were restricted essentially to smaller tracts of land, and thus found it necessary to develop new strategies to obtain food and other basic needs (Pool, 1991, p. 63).

There were also flow-on effects for Māori economic wellbeing and health:

The loss of land through raupatu also impacted on the physical wellness of Māori. Stripped of their kai and the ability to earn incomes to sustain themselves, Māori communities existed on the margins of the New Zealand economy. Their low standards of living then impacted on their health. In most Māori communities throughout this period, the lack of cash income meant that there was little possibility of using capital for sanitary works, water supplies, or housing improvements (Lange, 1999, p. 28).

What is more, land loss had social and cultural implications for Māori society. As well as losing access to sites and areas of cultural significance such as urupā (burial grounds), pā, forests, waterways and wāhi tapu, Durie notes:

Māori land is important for economic development but, more than that, remains a cornerstone for Māori identity and a sense of continuity with the past (Durie, 1998, p. 145).

These implications were further amplified with Māori migration from traditional areas and communities into urban centres.

2.2.4 Urbanisation

Māori urbanisation has been described as one of the fastest urban migrations of any population, and was particularly evident following World War II (Gibson, 1973; Haami, 2018). Before the war, the Māori population was predominantly rural, with only around 20% of Māori residing in urban areas. By 1986, this figure had jumped to almost 80% (see Figure 2.2). This section explores why Māori urbanisation was so rapid, how it was facilitated and the flow-on effects that live on today.

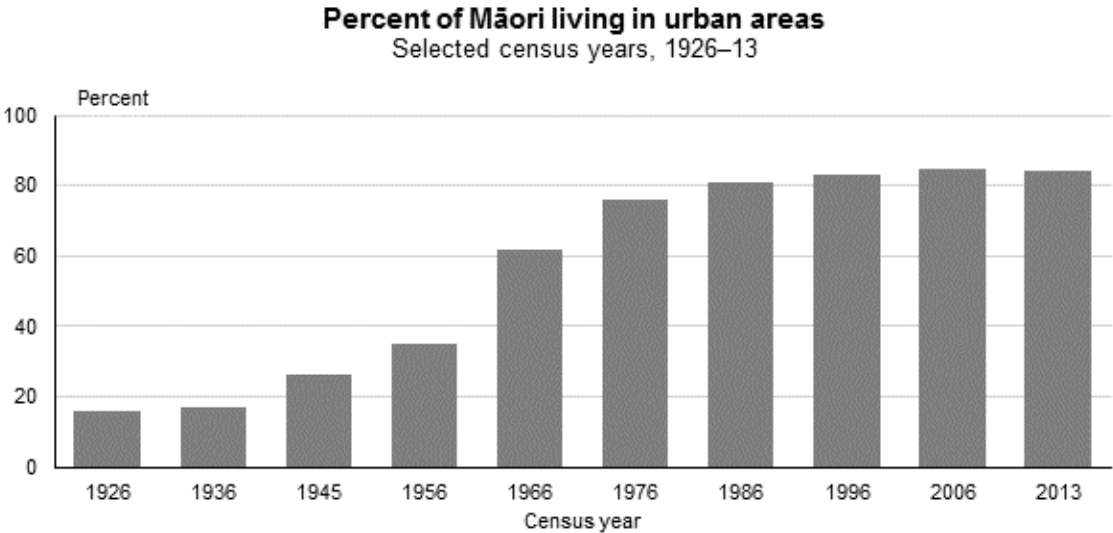


Figure 2.2: Māori urbanisation (1926-2013) (Statistics New Zealand, 2016)

The Second World War was a critical turning point for Māori urbanisation. A main driver of Māori urbanisation at this time was the Emergency Regulations Act 1939, which directed that Māori who were not eligible for military service should move to cities in order to provide essential services and help in short-staffed industries during the war (Metge, 1964; Walker, 2004). Following the War, Māori were also encouraged to move into cities. Demand for labour in urban areas was growing while rural growth was beginning to slow. After the Hunn Report¹⁰ was released in 1961, the relocation of

¹⁰ J.K. Hunn’s report on the Department of Maori Affairs, written in 1960 and released to the public in 1961, is more commonly known as the ‘Hunn Report’.



Māori into cities became official government policy in a move to bring Māori “into the so-called ‘modern world’” and “solve many of their social and economic problems” (“NZ race relations: The Second World War and Māori urbanisation,” 2014).

Various legislative mechanisms facilitated this urban shift. For Māori in the city, many were provided with housing through their jobs, or were supported into homes through Māori Affairs and State Housing schemes, as many Māori were unable to afford houses of their own and were often discriminated against in the private rental market (Brown, 2009, p. 125; Paringatai, 2018, p. 276). Government policy advocated ‘pepper-potting’ of Māori amongst Pākehā neighbours, and in state houses designed for nuclear families, as the most effective way of ‘assimilating’ Māori into urban life (Brown, 2009, p. 126; Paringatai, 2018, p. 273; Walker, 2004). Eventually this gave way to providing Māori with state homes in large estates, many of which still exist today such as Porirua in Wellington (Brown, 2009, p. 126; Paringatai, 2018, p. 273; Walker, 2004). However, in 1990, the government withdrew its support for Māori Affairs housing, as well as the restructuring of Housing New Zealand in the same year, which contributed to Māori home ownership rates dropping further thereafter (Lee-Morgan et al., 2018).

Equally, legislative tools made it difficult for Māori to return to their ancestral lands to live. The Town and Country Planning Act created zoning provisions making it difficult to build houses on multiply owned Māori land, preventing many Māori from returning home after the war (Walker, 2004). Access to finance was also a barrier, as banks would not loan on multiply owned land.

Māori dislocation was not only spatial, but social, cultural and economic as well. With urbanisation, rural settings suffered from depopulation and many papakāinga fell into a state of disuse and disrepair.¹¹ Urban settings were also very Pākehā-centred environments with notions of private property, individualism and racism towards

¹¹ Although outside the scope of this thesis, which maintains a specific focus on papakāinga within an urban context, for further reading on the effects of depopulation on rural papakāinga (and strategies to revitalise the cultural and economic realities of papakāinga within a rural setting), the reader is referred to Tane (2018). See also: (Tapsell, 2018).

Māori (Brown, 2009). English was the language spoken in cities, meaning that second-generation Māori growing up in the city were not taught Māori in schools. Coupled with this, separation from rural marae meant a loss of traditional Māori support structures (Lee-Morgan et al., 2018; Paringatai, 2018). Urban Māori no longer had elders to guide and instruct them on how to 'be Māori'. For a time, Māori used community halls or their individual homes in the cities to continue cultural practices such as tangihanga but eventually it was realised that urban Māori still needed a place to stand (Brown, 2009; Paringatai, 2018; Walker, 2004).

2.3 Māori housing today

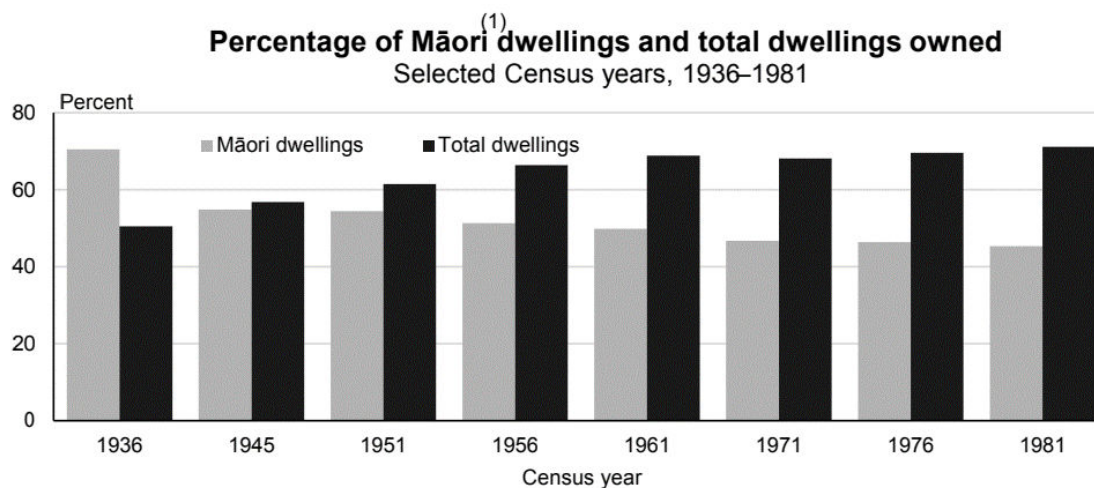
The previous section explored the changes to housing and land experienced by Māori following the arrival of European settlers to Aotearoa New Zealand. The first interactions between Māori and Europeans were hostile. However, over time, relationships softened and Europeans eventually began to live and settle alongside Māori. The European influence on Māori settlement was relatively minor to begin with, but over time, and particularly through a range of legislative mechanisms, European settlers and European-dominated governments began to drive a wedge between Māori and their traditional ways of living and being. All of these factors have contributed to the state of housing experienced by Māori today.

2.3.1 Home ownership in decline

As Māori shifted from rural home ownership to largely renting in cities, Māori home ownership rates dropped significantly (see Figure 2.3). Prior to World War II, Māori home ownership rates were higher since homes were mostly tribal and rural, but when Māori migrated to urban centres over the 1950s and 1960s, home ownership rates dropped as urban Māori were largely renters. Rates continued to drop and as of the 2013 census, home ownership rates for Māori were only 28% while for Europeans, that figure sat at 57% (Johnson, Howden-Chapman, & Eaqub, 2018, p. 5).¹²

¹² Even if rates are adjusted for age (recognising that home ownership rates tend to rise with age, and given that Māori have a younger age structure and profile than the general

Reduced home ownership rates have a number of implications. First, without home ownership, there is less transfer of wealth between generations from the sale or inheritance of homes (Goodyear, 2017; Statistics New Zealand, 2004).¹³ Families that are renting are subject to increased mobility and therefore tend to be less involved or committed to local communities, which has flow-on effects to employment, transport, schooling and more (Eaqub & Eaqub, 2015; Statistics New Zealand, 2016). Added to that, research shows that the type of housing affects the health and life expectancy of the occupants (Hutchings et al., 2016; Johnson et al., 2018; Oliver et al., 2018). Those in home ownership are likely to experience higher levels of security and therefore have a greater sense of agency or sense of control over their circumstances (Howden-Chapman & Wilson, 1999). Less secure tenure forms experience the opposite. Rental housing in New Zealand also tends to be of poorer quality, which can have negative effects on health and occupants are generally more susceptible to illness (Johnson et al., 2018; Keall et al., 2012; Keall et al., 2013; White, Jones, Cowan, & Chun, 2017).



1. The definition of Māori dwellings varies between census years. Home ownership rates remained higher in rural areas into the 1970s and 1980s.

Figure 2.3: Māori home ownership rates (1936 – 1981) (Statistics New Zealand, 2016)

population), there is still a disparity between Māori and European home ownership rates (age-adjusted rates of 35% and 55% respectively) (see: Goodyear, 2017, p. 15).

¹³ Studies suggest that New Zealand families have more wealth amassed in housing than other Western nations, for instance, the United Kingdom (Thorns, 1995). Further, Eaqub and Eaqub (2015) suggest that without intervention, home ownership may potential become something only achieved through inheritance or with financial assistance from parents.

2.3.2 Increasing homelessness

Māori also feature highly in homelessness statistics. Estimates suggest approximately 1% of the New Zealand population are homeless (Johnson et al., 2018, p. 35; Lee-Morgan et al., 2018, p. 10), and of those, approximately one-third are Māori (Lee-Morgan et al., 2018, p. 10). Research suggests that those experiencing homelessness “suffer more from physical and mental illness and early death” than other members of society, “are more likely to commit suicide, and [are] more likely to be assaulted fatally” (Groot, Hodgetts, Nikora, & Rua, 2011, p. 238). Homelessness lies at the extreme lower end of the tenure spectrum and is often conceived as the deprivation of shelter; however, the literature also suggests there is more to homelessness than just a lack of shelter (e.g. Lee-Morgan et al., 2018). For Māori, notions of homelessness can extend to include cultural and social dislocation from te reo (language), whānau (family), whenua (land) or general cultural practices (Groot et al., 2011). In this way, notions of home extend beyond merely shelter, and are more of a relational construct encompassing a much wider set of dimensions beyond the physical dimension.

2.3.3 Kāinga tahi kāinga rua

The notion of housing extending beyond the physical realm recognises a range of influencing factors, which can be conceptualised in the phrase ‘kāinga tahi, kāinga rua’ (literally, first home, second home).¹⁴ Kāinga tahi kāinga rua means that, for many Māori, their current residence (kāinga rua) is often now in the city, while they have an ancestral homeplace elsewhere, usually a rural marae (kāinga tahi). For some Māori who have lived in the city long enough, the roles reverse and they may consider their urban home to be their kāinga tahi, with their ancestral whenua being kāinga rua. The implications then become a question of how to create identity, belonging and a sense of place or a sense of home within the city, whether that is your kāinga tahi or kāinga rua. We have seen that housing is a relational construct, taking on more than just ‘bricks and

¹⁴ See also: M. Williams (2015), whose book *Panguru and the city: Kāinga tahi, kāinga rua* tells the story of families growing up in the city but who return to their ancestral home-place to maintain their cultural connectedness.

mortar'. How, then, does a relational notion of housing both survive and thrive within the urban context? Matunga eloquently posits this predicament as:

The existential challenge of 'being Māori' in an urban context, separated from the socio-cultural elements and familiarity that made home – 'home'... (Matunga, 2018, p. 317)

2.4 A backlash

The previous sections outlined how, for Māori, settlements came to be structured and based around someone else's norm. Typically, settlements were based on Pākehā normative assumptions of how housing should look and the form it should take. Those assumptions are generally inflexible to the perspectives, priorities or worldviews of others. Pākehā assumptions have tended to place emphasis on commodification, largely from the Eurocentric perspective of colonial settlers. From a settler perspective, land and housing were viewed as commodities to be traded and valued predominantly for their economic worth. This perspective of property was at odds with the more relational, holistic Māori worldview (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1997).

There has been an increasing backlash against the dominant paradigms of property and ownership in the form of Māori design principles (e.g. Awatere et al., 2008; Rolleston & Awatere, 2009; Te Aranga Steering Committee, 2008), papakāinga guides and toolkits (e.g. B&A Urban & Environmental, n.d.; Te Kanawa, 2015; *Te keteparaha mo nga papakāinga: Māori housing toolkit*, n.d.; Wixon, 2008), as well as a wider decolonising research agenda around Māori identity and place-making (e.g. Thompson-Fawcett, Kitson, & Barry, 2019; Victoria University of Wellington, n.d.). These approaches seek to rebalance the agenda, and aim to introduce Māori understandings and values into housing, land development and land development processes. Together, they speak to an increasing desire to make built environments more diverse and more reflective of the diverse communities that live in them.

2.4.1 Emergent research programmes

An increasing number of research programmes are emerging, specifically exploring the role of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) in the built environment (e.g. Awatere,

Harmsworth, Rolleston, & Pauling, 2013; Awatere et al., 2008; Thompson-Fawcett et al., 2019; Victoria University of Wellington, n.d.). Many of these projects explore matters such as Māori identity, cultural landscapes and place-making (or colloquially, “our faces in our places” (Te Aranga, 2019)). For example, the Imagining Decolonised Cities project ran an innovative design competition and workshops for rangatahi (young people), to provoke utopian ideas on how to meaningfully incorporate Māori values and mātauranga into urban spaces (Victoria University of Wellington, n.d.). Palmer (2016) similarly used visioning techniques to explore papakāinga aspirations with three communities in the North Island, with a particular focus on the barriers preventing those aspirations from being realised. The Kāinga Tahī Kāinga Rua research programme is contributing to the discourse on Māori housing too, across a broad spectrum including economics, innovative building materials, hauora, kaumātua housing, vertical papakāinga (high-density papakāinga), rangatahi housing aspirations and the role of marae in housing vulnerable whānau (Kāinga tahi kāinga rua, 2018). Together, these programmes and others are contributing to the growing recognition and importance of a Māori housing research agenda.

2.4.2 Māori design principles

The emergence of Māori design principles further contributes to the Māori housing discussion. A range of solutions has emerged over the last 20 years or so to explore ways of incorporating mātauranga Māori into the built environment across a range of scales and contexts, with most scholarship emerging in particular from architecture and design (e.g. Badham, 2011; Hoskins, Te Nana, Rhodes, Guy, & Sage, 2002; Kake, 2015; Palmer, 2016). In 2002, Hoskins et al. (2002) prepared *Ki te hau kāinga: New perspectives on Māori housing solutions* (and a later updated version was completed in 2014), a report which identifies papakāinga as an appropriate housing model aligning with Māori aspirations. The authors provide design guidance at both a site level and a general master planning scale. These ideas were developed further over the following years with the process-oriented Māori urban design principles offered by Awatere and others (2008). Based on the aspirational design principles in two case study communities (including one of the case studies in this thesis), the authors offered nine principles to guide the incorporation of Māori values in development (see Appendix A).

The Māori urban design principles subsequently informed the outcome-oriented Te Aranga Māori design principles (Te Aranga Steering Committee, 2008) (see Appendix B). The Te Aranga Principles recognised that the development of the Urban Design Protocol (Ministry for the Environment, 2005) lacked a Māori voice and Māori perspectives. The principles delve further into the practical application of Māori design priorities to both enhance and encourage engagement with Māori narratives, particularly within the urban landscape. The Te Aranga Principles were developed by a collective of Māori design professionals, predominantly in Tāmaki (Auckland) and have been adapted and endorsed by at least one local government authority (Auckland Council, 2019). Together, these catalogues of design principles recognise an increasing need and desire for mātauranga Māori to be incorporated in the built environment.

2.4.3 Papakāinga guides and toolkits

Māori housing toolkits are perhaps the most grounded example of incorporating mātauranga Māori into the built environment. An increasing number of Māori communities and collectives are developing toolkits with the aim of clarifying the logistical aspects involved with planning, designing and facilitating papakāinga development. Although existing toolkits tend to vary by geographic region (for example, Western Bay of Plenty (*Te keteparaha mo nga papakāinga: Māori housing toolkit*, n.d.), Tai Tokerau (B&A Urban & Environmental, n.d.), and Waikato (Te Kanawa, 2015)), other toolkits are beginning to emerge targeting specific purposes or groups of people such as kaumātua (elder) housing (Reddy et al., 2019), or housing the homeless and vulnerable members of society (Lee-Morgan et al., 2018). This regionality or specificity of toolkits and solutions suggests that perhaps a pan-Māori approach is not appropriate, and that there is a clear need to enable individual whānau and hapū to operationalise their own aspirations.

2.4.4 Summary

Regardless of scale, the innovations summarised above support a growing movement for Māori-centric frameworks to inform and facilitate development for and by Māori in ways that existing Western frameworks have not been able to achieve. Each approach tends to find foundation in a set of Māori values and principles; however, one danger,

particularly of the pan-Māori approaches such as the Te Aranga Principles, is that they do not necessarily accommodate iwi or hapū-centric priorities. As a result, an important consideration for this study (and which features in the discussion later) is enabling regional specificity. Māori are not homogenous, and so any outcome needs to be capable of enabling those differences, rather than confining outcomes to a set of generalisations. The literature also tends to focus on incorporating mātauranga Māori in physical processes or outcomes, with less of a focus on the human element of housing and societies.

Nevertheless, the growing number of Māori housing initiatives provide a helpful foundation for this project and suggest that Māori housing is an area of interest and importance to Māori. However, given that the field is increasingly versed with research, particularly surrounding Māori design and development principles, what is the gap that this thesis seeks to fill? The next section introduces a metaphor of social tenure as a suggestion for widening the scope beyond Māori housing to consider communal and socially-based societies more generally. This has the potential to offer insight to the dependencies and interrelationships of different principles, and therefore how they might apply beyond papakāinga to inform the wider New Zealand housing and planning debate more generally.

2.5 A metaphor

2.5.1 Strands of social tenure

Goodwin (2011) offers a two-stranded cord as a means of conceptualising socially-based and individualised tenure forms. He proposes two strands: one representing interpersonal or 'belonging' links, the other representing people-to-land links (Goodwin, 2011, p. 5). In socially-based tenure systems, the two strands are bound together; that is, people-to-land links are inseparable from interpersonal links (see Figure 2.4(a)). For instance, in traditional Māori society, rights to land were secured through social membership of a hapū or iwi grouping (Kawharu, 1975, 1977).

...individualised property rights are still hedged in by a wide-ranging set of social obligations in which the interests of the group are articulated.

Individual ownership is embedded in a larger ‘communal’ tenure system in which rules governing access to and use of the commons are still important (Cousins, Weiner, & Amin, 1992, p. 17).

Conversely, in individualised tenure systems, the strands of land links and interpersonal links are separate, meaning rights to land generally exist independently of any social groupings or memberships (see Figure 2.4(b)):

In Western tenure there is a strong emphasis on land rights (e.g. rights to cultivate land, reside on land and bequeath land), and these rights are largely separated from interpersonal ties and from responsibilities towards a community (Goodwin, 2011, p. 5).

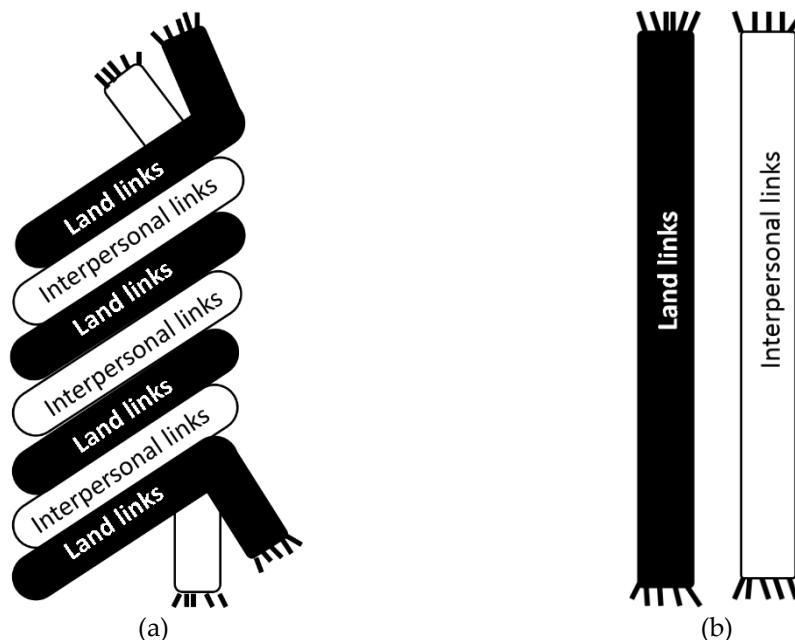


Figure 2.4: Land tenure as a two-stranded cord, where socially-based tenure is conceptualised as an intertwined, two-stranded cord (a), and individualised tenure is conceptualised as two separate strands (b) (adapted from parts of two separate figures in Goodwin, 2011, pp. 5-6).

As socially-based tenure transitions to individualised tenure and the strands are separated (as was the case for Māori with the imposition of British-colonial law), this separation can create adverse effects on communally-based communities akin to ‘splitting the atom’ (Goodwin, 2011). Tribal organisation is undermined as the individualised structure weakens the ability of collective communities to manage and deal with their land and resources collectively. Arguably, the Native Land Acts

specifically sought to achieve this, as noted by Former Prime Minister and Minister of Justice Henry Sewell in Parliament in 1870:

[One of the purposes of the Native Lands Act] was the detribalization of the Natives, - to destroy, if it were possible, the principles of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which their social system was based, and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the Native race into our own social and political system. It was hoped that by the individualisation of titles to land, giving the same individual ownership which we ourselves possessed, they would lose their communistic character, and that their social status would become assimilated to our own (Sewell, 1870, p. 361).

For Māori, an important value set has been lost with this separating of the strands and attempting to reconfigure a communal Māori society to individualised norms. Given that more than 150 years have passed since the first Native Lands Acts were enacted, and Māori have adapted to these changes forced upon them, a complete return to a socially-based system is unlikely. This does raise the question, though, as to whether there are elements or principles of traditional, socially-based systems which could be reintroduced in a contemporary context to strengthen the Western model? What might that look like? And what kind of principles might that involve?

2.5.2 Socially-based tenure principles

Drawing on literature on Māori society as well as communal tenures more generally, as well as the Māori urban design principles and others introduced above, I offer the following list of key tradition-based land tenure principles (see Box 2.1). Building on the provisional list offered by Goodwin (2014, pp. 9-10), these principles could act as a starting point for considering elements of communal societies that could be reintroduced within a contemporary context. Specifically, they seek to go beyond the Māori-specific principles in the literature to cast a wider net on socially-based tenures more generally, and perhaps unveil nuances that can otherwise be missed when exploring Māori principles in isolation.

Box 2.1 Key socially-based tenure principles

1. Rights are embedded in social relationships
2. Individual rights are subordinated to group rights
3. Work gives rise to belonging and creates effective rights
4. Communities are self-determining
5. Humans form links with places
6. Land is not negotiable wealth
7. The very long-term is recognised

Principle 1: Rights are embedded in social relationships

This is perhaps the foundation principle of socially-based tenure and is the premise of the two-stranded cord metaphor; that rights to land and property are granted by virtue of belonging to a social group (i.e. the strands are intertwined). Those social groups can vary but importantly, have a strong cohesion factor which binds the social group together. For Māori, the social group was typically the iwi or hapū. Here, the factor binding the community together is a shared ancestry, or shared genealogical connections (whakapapa). Groups would manage and govern land and resources communally, with specific use rights granted to individuals from within the hapū or iwi group (Kawharu, 1975, 1977).

Social relationships *between* tribes could also be used to secure rights. For example, as introduced above, intermarriage was a common mechanism used to build relationships and secure rights between different tribes or groups of people (Binney, O'Malley, & Ward, 2014). In a similar vein, this was reflected in how Māori viewed land sales. For Māori, the trading and rearranging of land rights was just as much of a social contract as it was related to resources:

The view persisted that the underlying right to the land, and the authority over it, remained with the ancestral community. People did not buy land so much as buy into the community (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1997, p. 106).

Conversely, the Eurocentric position saw land rights and social relationships as existing independent of each other:

The basic distinctions were that Māori saw a social compact where Europeans saw a property conveyance. Europeans considered persons could hold land without social obligations and responsibilities to the local community, while to Māori, that was unthinkable; the use of a resource was a privilege passed down from the ancestors. Europeans saw a land transaction as simply a deal, a transaction where the parties need barely have known each other beforehand and need not know each other thereafter. To Māori it was a confirmation of a relationship which was intended to produce ongoing benefits for both sides (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1997, p. 108).

Principle 2: Individual rights are subordinated to group rights

The first principle outlined that individual use rights derived from social membership. The second principle posits that those individual rights were subordinate to the wider group rights; that is, individual use rights were nested within the wider land administration system of communal rights, or in other words, the group comes first. There is a strong notion of the collective, and of the duality of rights and responsibilities (responsibilities given to the collective in return for rights from within that). Historically, this principle is bound up with survival. There was an expectation that communities would cooperate in fighting and defence for collective strength (Davidson, 1987; Schwimmer, 1966).

The duality of rights and responsibilities had the effect of providing community collateral or social capital. Individual security within the group was strong, as long as those reciprocal responsibilities were carried out. Similarly, the collective could help to support weaker members in the interests of the survival of the whole group. On the other hand, the collective group could censure or reprimand individuals who threatened the collective well-being (Cousins, 2007, p. 294; Goodwin, 2014, p. 9).

Principle 3: Work gives rise to belonging and creates effective rights

The duality of rights and responsibilities has the added benefit of establishing a sense of belonging. Beyond contributing to the collective for the well-being of the collective, personal investment in place has the potential to produce a sense of self-worth and

belonging in individuals as well. Contributing encourages self-determination and a greater sense of ownership or attachment to the community if that personal contribution can be seen and recognised:

In communal societies, everyone is expected to work and a clear link exists between work and survival. Work ranges from food gathering – mahinga kai for Māori – through to going into battle, and to retire from active physical work is only to commence work in a less active but no less important capacity...By contributing, every individual is aware how much they are needed and valued, which leads to opportunities for affirmation and self esteem (Goodwin, 2014, p. 9).

Those rights were reinforced through ahi kā, or continued occupation. Historically, if a family was absent from the whenua or community for more than three generations, their 'home fires' were considered to have gone cold and any related rights would have lapsed (Metge, 1967).

Principle 4: Communities are self-determining

The fourth principle is an extension of a work principle and posits that socially-based communities embody rangatiratanga, or self-determination. Communities are flexible and can react to changes, both internally and externally. That flexibility extends to community members too, in having a sense of agency and being able to adapt and shape their own futures.

Consistently behind Maori claims is the Maori expectation, legitimate in Treaty terms, that they should control their own affairs, transact with others on their own terms, and have their own cultural expectations respected (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1997, p. 179).

Principle 5: Humans form links with places

A common feature of many Indigenous cultures is a strong emotional attachment to land and the environment. For Māori, this tends to be the production of a relational worldview of the universe where everything within the universe is alive and is descended from primordial beings. This whakapapa or ancestral connection means that

the family or community¹⁵ takes on a role as being part of the wider cultural landscape. Conversely, a European or anthropocentric worldview tends to position humans as having dominium over other aspects of the universe.

Many non-Indigenous people share a similar emotional attachment to land that Indigenous people do. Typically, this comes from a relationship that has been garnered with that place over time (Manzo & Perkins, 2016; Tuan, 1974). Taylor (1996), for instance, links place-based attachments specifically with length of residence (see also: Ahlbrandt, 1984; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974). However, for socially-based societies, the inherent place-based relationships stem from more than long occupation and includes 'continuing community' so that that relationship is personalised as well (Deloria Jr, 1991, p. 32). As well as the personification of the cultural landscape through ancestry, it includes being personally part and parcel of the land. For example, are your ancestors buried in those places? Are you walking the same paths as your great-great-grandfather? This personalised connection is perhaps what differentiates it from a mere aesthetic attachment.

Principle 6: Land is not negotiable wealth

Drawing from an inherent connection to land and the environment, it follows that land is not negotiable wealth. An Indigenous relational worldview and personification of the natural environment means that, from an Indigenous perspective, land has personhood and is not a commodity that can be owned (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1997). If anything, people are owned *by* the land, and are merely users of the resources of land:

Land is a space to earn wealth by food gathering, planting or hunting but is not in itself wealth. Wealth applies to communities not individuals, and as a rule wealth does not in itself earn more wealth. Land is held in trust by the living, on behalf of those who have died, for the yet unborn (Goodwin, 2014, p. 9).

¹⁵ Including the living, those gone before and future generations to come.

Principle 7: The very long-term is recognised

Lastly, and as foreshadowed in the quote above, socially-based tenures show a clear recognition of the very long-term. The notion of ‘community’ extended well beyond the present time, to include ancestors as well as future generations to come. Land was merely held in trust in the present for all those connected to that land. This meant there was a clear environmental ethic – *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) – with the expectation of living in a state of balance with the land and resources in order to pass it on to future generations in the same or better condition.

Among Indigenous communities, the life experience of getting to know someone in every generation is not unusual. Rather, it is a given. As lives play out, these intergenerational relationships give credence to the collective notion that those yet unborn will inherit that which has already been gained and valued. This right of inheritance is invested in land and culture (Jojola, 2013, p. 457).

A long-term mindset does not engender a static approach though. *Tikanga* (customs, traditional Māori values) is evolutionary and adaptable to change over time, making use of advances in knowledge and innovation. As such, communities can plan and think ahead for the future, while being flexible and adaptable to future change.

2.5.3 Summary

The seven preliminary principles offered above provide a starting point for considering the fundamental tenets of socially-based tenures, earlier conceptualised as a cord of two intertwined strands. Like an holistic Indigenous worldview, the principles are not disparate or independent; they overlap with, and are closely linked to, one another. Given the separation of the two strands in an individualised tenure system and how that separation has negatively affected Māori society in particular, this begs the question of whether (and how) socially-based principles could have value in enhancing community in contemporary Māori housing developments. However, it is not just Māori for whom those normative assumptions of development do not necessarily align and perhaps individualisation is not the panacea that it is purported to be for non-Māori as well.

2.6 Other collective housing models

Urban housing and land development in New Zealand has typically given preference to standalone (i.e. detached) dwellings (Dixon & Dupuis, 2003). This is perhaps a product of early colonial settlement at which time surveyors were instructed to inscribe rectangular, quarter acre sections when establishing new urban areas (Strack, 2009). Regular rectangular sections made for 'neat' settlement for colonists arriving from Europe (Byrnes, 2001). The image of New Zealand as a panacea with large sections and big backyards was reinforced through pop culture even as recently as 'The half-gallon quarter-acre pavlova paradise' in the 1970s (Mitchell, 1972). These normative assumptions of housing and settlement premised on individualisation did not align with the relational nature of traditional Māori society. However, it is not just Māori for whom those normative assumptions are misaligned. While papakāinga play a significant cultural role for Māori in New Zealand, a range of alternative housing models exist and are emerging in response to this misalignment for non-Māori as well.

2.6.1 Cohousing

One alternative housing model which does not align with dominant development paradigms is cohousing. Cohousing originates from a Danish model of housing called *bofælleskaber* (translated literally to 'living community') (Sargisson, 2004, p. 93). The model first emerged in Denmark in the early 1970s, although the term 'cohousing' was not popularised until about the 1990s when it was allegedly coined by a pair of American architects (Sargisson, 2012). The original Danish model arose as a response to, and backlash against, the prevailing individualist attitudes to housing in Denmark at the time. Frustrated with the isolation and workload of raising young families in individual homes, an idea was raised which utilised economies of scale to provide shared resources and facilities between households that did not necessarily need to own their own. It was based on the notion that 'it takes a village to raise a child' (African proverb), and that collective childminding would be beneficial to children's upbringing, as well as relieving pressure off new parents struggling in isolation (Sargisson, 2004). One of the early proponents of the cohousing model, Jan Gudmand-Hoyer, posted an

advertisement in a local newspaper¹⁶, and organised a public meeting for anyone interested in exploring this idea of co-living and thus, the concept was born. Today, it is estimated that up to 1% of the Danish population live in cohousing communities, and various iterations of the model have been constructed around the world including in New Zealand, Australia, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States (Nelson, 2018, p. 109).

2.7 Conceptual framing

The evolution of Māori and papakāinga housing, along with cohousing (and other alternative housing models not canvassed here), alludes to some important conceptual themes, including that of place-based ontologies, the relational nature of home, settler-development patterns, and belonging and identity. Before narrowing the scope of this research, this section more explicitly consolidates these conceptual themes to provide a foundation or framework to underpin the thesis moving forward.

2.7.1 Place-based ontologies

As introduced in section 2.5.2 above, ontological relationships to land and place can differ between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups. For Māori (and other Indigenous communities), those relationships are bound up within a range of collective and interconnected identities (e.g. Chernobrov, 2016, p. 583; Deloria, 1988; Tomlins Jahnke, 2002; Trask, 1999). Māori worldviews tend to be holistic and non-linear, and there are strong connections between humans and all other elements within the universe (e.g. Kwaymullina, 2016; Ormiston, 2010). In the context of Māori relationships with land, that ontological relationship is often expressed through whakapapa.

Tomlins Jahnke (2002) describes whakapapa (including the transmission of whakapapa knowledge) as an expression of metaphysical connection to home place. That is, someone might be separated from their home place through time and space but can

¹⁶ Entitled 'The Missing Link Between Utopia and the Dated One-Family House' (Sargisson, 2004, p. 93).

continue to claim right to that place through whakapapa. Keenan similarly reflects this notion, describing how whakapapa links people to place:

The function of whakapapa was to anchor claimants into known landscapes, and to establish the ongoing basis from which tribal and hapu mana, identity, and activity in the present could be validated by the past (Keenan, 2002, p. 260).

Similarly, Kawharu (2009, p. 326) describes the importance of cultural features and landmarks in their ability to act as reminders of identity, like a sort of ‘cultural compass’.

The Indigenous perspective contrasts with a typical Western ontology, or what Moreton-Robinson (2003, p. 17) describes as the body “theorized as being separate from the earth”. This anthropocentric perspective considers humans to have dominium over the environment and other species within that environment. From this perspective, attachment to place derives more from ownership and achievement, and is founded on the assumption that humans (particularly Europeans) ‘brought’ civilisation and democracy into being (Moreton-Robinson, 2003). This links to Locke’s (2010) ideas about property, where humans are considered capable of turning nature into property through the application of civility.

These two contrasting systems have not always smoothly or equitably co-existed. While our property system tends to be based on dominant Western ontologies,¹⁷ it remains to be seen how alternative worldviews can be facilitated within (or perhaps even subvert) these dominant ideologies, particularly as they relate to housing.

2.7.2 Relational nature of home

The different place-based ontologies described above are manifested further in relation to the concept of ‘home’ and notions of home-building. Several scholars agree that a sense of home means more than physical shelter itself; home is a ‘safe haven’ (Cram, 2020:2), a place where people are free to be themselves and can exercise autonomy over

¹⁷ Moreton-Robinson (2003) argues that postcolonial theory is usually positioned in favour of the dominant culture.

their own lives, free from surveillance (e.g. Dupuis, 2012; Dupuis & Thorns, 1998; Hewitt, 2010; Hulse & Milligan, 2014). British sociologist Anthony Giddens relates the concept of ontological security to the discussion on 'home', being "[t]he confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of their social and material environments" (Giddens, 1991, in Hiscock, Kearns, MacIntyre, & Ellaway, 2001, p. 51). This stable, secure nature of home extends and encourages housing discourse to look beyond materiality and the need for shelter. To date, though, discussions on ontological security and housing tend to say little about the importance of place and relationships to land.

Based on Indigenous place-based ontologies described above, it follows that Indigenous concepts of home go beyond housing as a secure base. For Māori, the concept of home is relational, and takes on additional dimensions of wider cultural landscapes to consider the interconnections between whānau, whenua and whakapapa (Cram, Te Huia, Te Huia, Williams, & Williams, 2019). Earlier, this section described some of the impacts of urbanisation and land loss on Māori, including (but not limited to) a disproportionate decrease in home ownership rates among Māori. While many of the statistics feature negatively, disconnection from places (ancestral homelands and other cultural landmarks) could have arguably had wider, less-visible impacts on Māori notions of home and ontological security. As Cram (2020) suggests (and which will also be discussed later), this extended notion of home offers some important considerations for Māori who are not mana whenua in the area they are living (i.e. taura here, or domestic migrants) (Moorfield, 2020).

2.7.3 Commodification and settler-development patterns

Colonial norms of urban planning and surveying worked to impose European place-based ontologies onto the physical (and cultural) landscape. Western ontologies considered that society functions on a temporal scale; the colonial agenda was deemed necessary to help urbanise and modernise 'primitive' or 'backward' societies (Fabian, 1983, p. 17). Consequently, many contemporary towns and cities in Aotearoa New Zealand were established (or re-established) during colonisation to reflect the superior British design ideals (Byrnes, 2001). A key tool of implementing this colonial agenda

was the cadastral map, with its power to remake and impose new boundaries and patterns of enclosure.

Prior to the colonial encounter, boundaries were conceptualised as places – a mountain, or a ridge, for instance – instilled with tribal significance and meaning:

[Māori-named features] form a cultural grid over the land which provides meaning, order and stability to human existence. Without the fixed grid of named features we would be total strangers on the land – lost souls with nowhere to attach ourselves (Mead, as quoted in Pitts, 1992, p. 92).

Cadastral survey maps, however, changed the way that those places were viewed, divided, and enclosed (Kidman et al., 2020). The straight lines and grid patterns of surveyors were used to create a new framework of boundaries over the land, ripe for individualised and private ownership (e.g. Strack, 2009, p. 17). As well as providing for order and efficiency, this cadastral pattern exercised the colonial dominance over land, making it commodifiable and exchangeable:

The grid was one of the ‘civilising’ influences of capitalist colonisation. It was the most straightforward way of delineating private property rights in land, of commodifying nature for those asserting a stake in it...The desire for order was part of it, but more commonly explanations have been focused on its simplicity for the surveyor, and that it was evidence of mastery over nature, or at least the need for it (Pawson, 2002, p. 203).

That is, the cadastral map helped to facilitate one (Western) reality or set of ideals of what constitutes appropriate relationships between people and place, asserting the anthropocentric or human-centric perspective of land and the environment. In doing so, though, the cadastral framework often erased both the physical and cultural landscapes underneath (Byrnes, 2001, p. 122; Pitts, 1992, p. 92; Scott, 1998).

2.7.4 Belonging and identity

These themes of place-based relationships, sense of home and settler-development patterns impact on belonging and identity. For instance, Sarup (1996) explicitly links the notion of identity to sense of place. Similarly, Dupuis and Thorns (1998) describe how home acts as a place where people can construct their identity. However, given the

sections above outlined how the nature of home and place-based relationships for Māori (and other Indigenous communities) are bound up in a set of wider networked relations across place and time, it follows that so too is belonging and identity.

Whakapapa and cultural practices are key factors of identity for Māori. To know and recite whakapapa – the names of an ancestral mountain, river, marae, tribe and more – is to understand the interconnections between those symbols of individual and collective identity (e.g. Mead, 2003; Tomlins Jahnke, 2002).¹⁸ Whakapapa could be used to guide individuals on their role, position, and status within a group (Mead, 2003). Similarly, cultural practices such as use of te reo Māori, or participation in iwi and marae structures are markers of a secure identity (Dewes, 1977; Kāretu, 1993; Tomlins Jahnke, 2002). When these practices are disrupted (for example, from land loss or land confiscation), those feelings of belonging and identity are also disrupted (Tomlins Jahnke, 2002). The challenge lies in making visible the ontological connections and interrelationships between place, home, and identity, and once they are made visible, ensuring there are institutions and value-systems available to validate them.

With this conceptual framework or foundation in place, the chapter now turns to justify a comparative approach to shed light on these important themes.

2.8 Justification for a comparative study

Given that papakāinga and cohousing models share aspirations for socially-connected communities, an in-depth dialogue between the two could be valuable. The existing literature comparing the two models is sparse (e.g. Kake, 2015; *Ki te hau kainga: New perspectives on Māori housing solutions (August 2014 edition)*, 2014; Paul, 2017), and to date, no in-depth comparative analysis has been carried out beyond cursory commentary or spatial analysis. A dialogue exploring the perceptions and lived realities of residents in working models of both communities could offer value for a variety of reasons.

¹⁸ Trask (1999) similarly reflects on the important role of genealogy from a Hawaiian perspective.

First, although papakāinga is not a new concept, it is new within an urban context and particularly at higher densities more frequently associated with urban living. With more than 80% of Māori now living in urban centres, realising Indigenous housing aspirations within the urban context is increasingly important. There can often be a tendency to look to the past and simply overlay those learnings on the present. Opening up possibilities to other models within the urban context has the potential to accelerate those learnings, or offer new ones. Given that cohousing communities have existed predominantly within urban contexts for almost 50 years (meanwhile the first urban, medium-density papakāinga was only completed in 2016 (see Chapter 4)), perhaps cohousing communities can offer lessons to fledgling papakāinga. In doing so, a comparative study has the potential to highlight nuances that might otherwise go unnoticed when studying only one case (such as the papakāinga model) in isolation (Hayward, 2010, p. 150).

Second, perhaps papakāinga and cohousing models combined can offer lessons to the wider New Zealand housing and planning debate. Given that papakāinga and cohousing do differ philosophically and perhaps ontologically, a comparative study could highlight components or principles which may be universal, as well as others which may be culturally bound. For Māori, this could shed light on how papakāinga principles can be approached for both mana whenua and mātāwaka in urban centres, as well as the universality of principles that could apply to non-Māori beyond papakāinga to development more generally as well.

2.9 Summary

This chapter canvassed the history of Māori settlements from pre-colonial early settlements, to the changes following contact with European settlers, and through to the state of Māori housing today. In particular, land loss, urbanisation and the imposition of a British system of individualised land tenure were highlighted as particularly crucial elements which have contributed to the contemporary state of Māori housing. This historical context and disintegration of Māori social tenure is conceptualised through Goodwin's metaphor of a two-stranded cord being separated, and this context culminated in a backlash of Māori housing initiatives and attempts to restore the fabric

of Māori society. For example, a wide range of papakāinga guides, toolkits, design principles and research programmes highlighted how a collective Māori housing revolution is being actualised. The chapter then turned to introduce cohousing as having potential as a comparative housing model. The field is well-versed with successful approaches to cohousing development and the benefits that social models can offer over individualised living, while only cursory glimpses have been given to the comparative opportunities between cohousing and papakāinga. This provides the premise for this thesis: the in-depth exploration of socially-based tenure principles in contemporary, urban papakāinga and cohousing communities.

This chapter began with the quote: “A house which stands alone is food for the fire” (Best, 1974, p. 95). This quote speaks to a Māori notion of home as being relational, as being grounded in whakapapa and the collective. Māori society was socially-based, and aspects of day-to-day life were explicitly bound up with belonging and membership to a wider social group such as whānau, hapū or iwi. A standalone house, removed from social responsibility and obligation to a wider group, such as that found in an individualised tenure system, loses its capacity to be a home within a communally-based society and becomes merely firewood or ‘food for the fire’. The physical, economic, social and cultural dislocation experienced by Māori and explored in this chapter is grim, but the emergent initiatives make for a promising outlook for the future.

Having provided a foundation for the thesis, the following chapter presents the research design, or the map for how to go about exploring the research question and objectives. This next chapter begins with my perspective of the basis of knowledge and how I consider knowledge to be constructed, which provides the justification for my methodological approach taken to generate new knowledge. This includes a critical explanation of the ethical considerations of research, as well as the strengths and weaknesses of this approach.

Chapter Three



Chapter 3 – He awa whiria: A braided river approach

Nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka ora ai te iwi.¹⁹

With your food basket and my food basket, the people will thrive (Māori proverb).

The previous chapter established an historical and cultural context of Māori housing in Aotearoa New Zealand. A metaphor of a two-stranded cord was used to conceptualise the transition from a socially-based tenure system to an individualised system, and then a range of emerging strategies and mechanisms in use by Māori were presented, which seek to ‘reclaim the pā’²⁰ across a variety of spatial contexts. The chapter proposed a set of seven core socially-based tenure principles to lay a foundation for a discussion about whether such principles might contribute to restoring cohesive, socially-based societies. I introduced cohousing as a potential comparative housing model, and highlighted a lack of in-depth, comparative studies between papakāinga and cohousing, particularly within the urban setting. Finally, the chapter introduced the overarching premise for the thesis: the contribution of socially-based tenure principles to the success of contemporary, urban papakāinga and cohousing communities.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline my assumptions about the nature of reality (ontology) and of knowledge (epistemology), and the resulting research approach founded on those assumptions. I argue for a middle-ground approach; that my perception of reality lies between the extremities of objectivist and constructivist ontologies, and subsequently, my understanding of how knowledge can be created lies between the extremes of positivist and interpretivist epistemologies. I suggest that there is no one ‘right answer’ or objective reality about how to envisage papakāinga and cohousing communities. Instead, elements of the material (for example, the physical layout and built form) as well as the immaterial (for example, residents’ experiences within their homes and communities) are both equally real and valid. Knowledge of material and immaterial realities can be gleaned from both quantitative (material) and

¹⁹ This whakatauki (proverb) encompasses the notion that although we can survive alone, by working together we can move beyond survival and into prosperity. This notion appropriately captures the essence of collaboration within my methodological approach, *he awa whiria*.

²⁰ The phrase ‘reclaim the pā’ is attributed to a statement made by Matunga at a 2017 research symposium (Matunga, 2017).

qualitative (immaterial) methodological approaches, and so a mixed-methods is considered appropriate.

This chapter begins by exploring the situatedness of reality and knowledge. I introduce *he awa whiria* (the braided river), a conceptualisation of my worldview which positions my approach to research at the interface or braiding of a range of different knowledge streams. With reference to similar approaches, I argue why the typical one-sided approach to researching residents' lived experiences is not sufficient in this instance (i.e. post-occupancy evaluation is often only qualitative or quantitative, but not both), and argue instead for a grounded, situational, mixed-methods approach. A common criticism of qualitative research approaches is the role of the researcher in shaping the research findings, given the subjective approach of qualitative research, and so a detailed discussion of positionality, reflexivity, and my underpinning axiological considerations is also provided. The chapter then shifts to explore the specific methods used and explains how the data generated from these tools has been analysed and reported. Finally, the chapter concludes with an evaluation of the perceived strengths and weaknesses of my approach.

3.1 A transformative paradigm

This section establishes my positioning as a researcher in the language of Western inquiry paradigms, laying the foundation for the specific research methods that have been utilised. I argue for a middle-ground, collaborative methodological approach as being appropriate for this thesis given my middle-ground ontological and epistemological positioning.

3.1.1 Ontology, epistemology, worldview

Western inquiry paradigms discuss the concept of ontology, or the nature of reality, as being a spectrum between extremes of objectivism and constructivism (e.g. Cronjé, 2006; Jonassen, 1991). At one end, an objectivist ontology considers that there is one universal truth or reality, which exists independently of individuals. At the opposite end, a constructivist ontology is subjective and suggests that multiple realities exist, each created by every individual or social actor (e.g. Jonassen, 1991). Similarly, Western

inquiry paradigms argue in favour of a spectrum of epistemologies (the nature of knowledge and of knowledge creation) between the extremes of positivism and interpretivism. Like an objectivist ontology, a positivist epistemology is objective and assumes a universal theory of knowledge; that is, the researcher is free of the responsibility of knowledge creation and any other researcher could follow the same process and obtain identical results. Conversely, an interpretivist approach recognises that knowledge (and knowledge creation) is subjective; the researcher is innately part of the research and as a result, identical results cannot be produced by different researchers (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). These two ontological and epistemological extremes have traditionally been the two dominant research cultures.

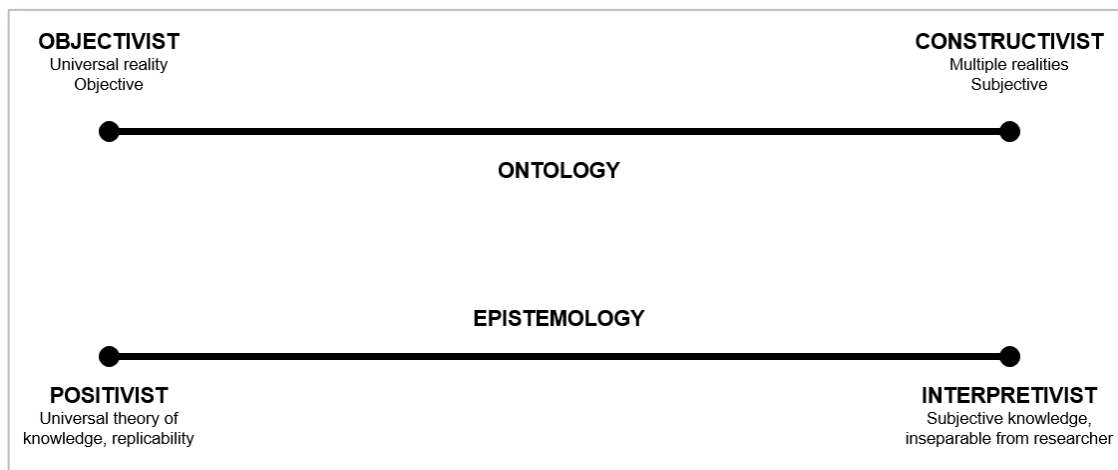


Figure 3.1: Ontological and epistemological spectrums (simplified) (drawn by author).

Eurocentric philosophy tends to align with the extremes at the left of the spectrum: assuming a universal theory of knowledge and reality, where there are universal, objective truths which are separable from the researcher. That is, reality exists free of the person, and therefore the researcher is free from the responsibility of the creation of the knowledge. Other views, such as a kaupapa Māori approach to research, seem to align more with the extremes to the right side of the spectrum²¹. Kaupapa Māori research

²¹ The literature is unclear about the alignment of kaupapa Māori research to the vocabulary of Western inquiry paradigms. In my view, while kaupapa Māori approaches may not directly translate (or be able to be translated) to the language of inquiry paradigms (which are, arguably, Western constructs that potentially constrain Indigenous aspirations and ideologies), they do share similarities and ideals with a constructivist ontology and interpretivist

highlights interdependence, relationality and spirituality as key components of the approach, largely drawing from a Māori worldview (Irwin, 1994). However, since about the 1960s, a ‘middle-ground’ research approach emerged, which has become increasingly common from the 1990s following the ‘paradigm wars’, where the two dominant research cultures were in opposition (e.g. Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017; Lincoln & Guba, 2000). This middle-ground approach attempts to traverse the methodological boundaries between extremes, and recognises and advocates for a pluralistic approach to reality and research.

My approach to research aligns with a middle-ground perspective. Many built environment professionals tend towards positivism²² and “make assertions about the ‘objective’ effects of certain formal types” of building, planning and design elements (Filep, 2017, p. 41). While I agree to an extent that some objective elements exist, it would be unrealistic to imagine that only one ‘correct’ way exists for housing and neighbourhood development. Some reality of the built environment must also derive from contextual and situational perspectives (such as lived experiences). Researchers, on the other hand, in post-occupancy evaluation studies of neighbourhoods tend to focus just on one type of assessment (e.g. qualitative or quantitative, but rarely both) (Boarin, Besen, & Haarhoff, 2018, p. 39). Given the complex and interrelated nature of housing and neighbourhood development, I consider that knowledge creation in these areas most appropriately derives from a middle-ground position that allows for the integration of both objective (i.e. material) and subjective (i.e. immaterial) elements. In

epistemology. In that case, perhaps it is useful to attempt to couch kaupapa Māori within this language; if not a perfect mapping, at least to clear a philosophical space and make clear to non-Indigenous scholars that this perspective exists. I consider the key distinction for kaupapa Māori approaches to be the emphasis given to axiological considerations, above and beyond ontology and epistemology. In other words, from a Māori perspective, the nature and assumptions of reality and knowledge are inseparable from the underlying individual and collective values and ethical bases.

²² For instance, Dainty (2008) carried out an analysis of the methodological position of one year’s worth of published articles in *Construction Management and Economics*. Of the total 107 papers examined, 76 (or 71%) utilised quantitative methods, suggesting an alignment with an objective view of reality and positivist philosophies.

this thesis, this middle-ground approach is depicted through my adaptation of the *he awa whiria* methodological framework.

3.1.2 Methodology: He awa whiria

He awa whiria is a methodology which seeks to interweave multiple knowledge streams, rather than set them against each other. In its original form, *he awa whiria* draws upon and interweaves perspectives from both Western science and Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) (see: Cram et al., 2018; Hong, Arago-Kemp, Macfarlane, & Poulton, 2015; Macfarlane, Macfarlane, & Gillon, 2015; Superu, 2018). The Western and Te Ao Māori knowledge streams exist as individual systems, but can interweave and cross over one another in innovative ways. *He awa whiria* is a conscious attempt to ameliorate a sense of contestation between Indigenous and Western perspectives, and bears similarities to the ‘middle-ground’ approach to resolve the paradigm wars between ontological and epistemological approaches noted in the section above.

Traditionally, the interface of Indigenous and Western perspectives has been a contested space. The validity of Indigenous science could be questioned when viewed from a Western perspective, and similarly, Western science would sometimes be criticised from an Indigenous lens (e.g. Cavino, 2013; Cram & Mertens, 2016). When one worldview attempts to view the other through their own respective lens, it is a recipe for conflict and contestation.²³ Each worldview is based on the assumption that one (i.e. their own) stream of knowledge is more valid, more important or has more relevance than the other (Ka'ai, 1995; Little Bear, 2000). An entrenched positioning at either end of the scale tends to amplify the tension and widen the divide between the two worldviews or systems, as each side staunchly defends their own position.

Rather than treating the interface of Indigenous and Western streams of knowledge as a source of conflict, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers have argued for

²³ See: Little Bear (2000), who, through the title of their chapter, describes the interface of Indigenous and Western perspectives as “jagged worldviews colliding”.

the need to respect the integrity of each stream while enabling opportunities to learn from both in conjunction:

The interface between science and indigenous knowledge need not be a site of contest. Rather, it can provide opportunities for the expansion of knowledge and understanding (Durie, 2004, p. 1139).

...Western science and Kaupapa Māori perspectives should not be seen in tension, rather an approach which encourages partnership and cooperation between these perspectives should be taken...Kaupapa Māori research privileges the views of the participants whereas science privileges the method. In the end, however, both are needed (Fergusson, McNaughton, Hayne, & Cunningham, 2011, p. 276).

As an Indigenous researcher myself, I (alongside most Indigenous communities in developed countries) exist at the interface of both Western and Indigenous knowledge systems and so my conception of reality is multi-faceted. My dual Māori-European heritage, coupled with my positioning as a researcher in a Western institution, and investigating two housing models steeped in Māori and European histories respectively, makes the winding and crossover of both streams inevitable. As a framework, *he awa whiria* provides the space to shift the narrative from one of contestation and superiority of one system or worldview over another, to one of collaboration and cohesion which harnesses both scientific and cultural integrity. A more collaborative approach offers the potential to create richer understandings and learnings than either system could provide alone (Cram & Mertens, 2016; Durie, 2004).

From a Māori perspective, collaborative approaches are common, particularly within health and education literature. *Tō tātou waka* (our canoe) is a conceptual framework drawn from psychology literature which promotes partnership in order to 'paddle' forward and recognises that there is more strength in collaboration than working in isolation (Macfarlane, Blampied, & Macfarlane, 2011). Similarly, Elder (2017) offers two frameworks from a health context; *te waka orangea* (again, based on the metaphor of waka, or canoe) and *te waka kuaka* (a flock of godwits). These frameworks seek to partner Māori knowledge with clinical knowledge in responding to traumatic brain injury, to metaphorically progress together or 'paddle as one' (Elder, 2017, p. 35).

One of the dangers of a seemingly balanced, collaborative approach to research (such as *he awa whiria*), is that, at face value, it may posit a utopian vision of neutrality between different worldviews and perspectives. Conscious or unconscious power dynamics can still mean that some viewpoints may be privileged over others, and invites criticism of such collaborative models. This means that care must be taken not just to make both realities visible, but also to make visible the sources of each of those realities – their position, power and privilege. For research at the interface of Māori and non-Māori knowledge systems, illuminating the sources of position, power and privilege is needed to truly create a negotiated space that reflects the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, namely, of partnership, protection and participation. Proponents for a kaupapa Māori approach to research stress that one of the strengths of a kaupapa Māori approach is its ability to make those positions of power, control and privilege visible (e.g. Pihama, 1993, p. 57). As a result, my conception of *he awa whiria* includes the addition by Cram and others (2018), that the knowledge streams flow across a common whaiawa (riverbed) representing kaupapa Māori. That is, while I draw together knowledge from a range of different knowledge streams and approaches, the principles of kaupapa Māori research are rightly placed at the forefront and provide the foundation to guide and dictate how knowledge is generated, regardless of the knowledge stream being utilised.

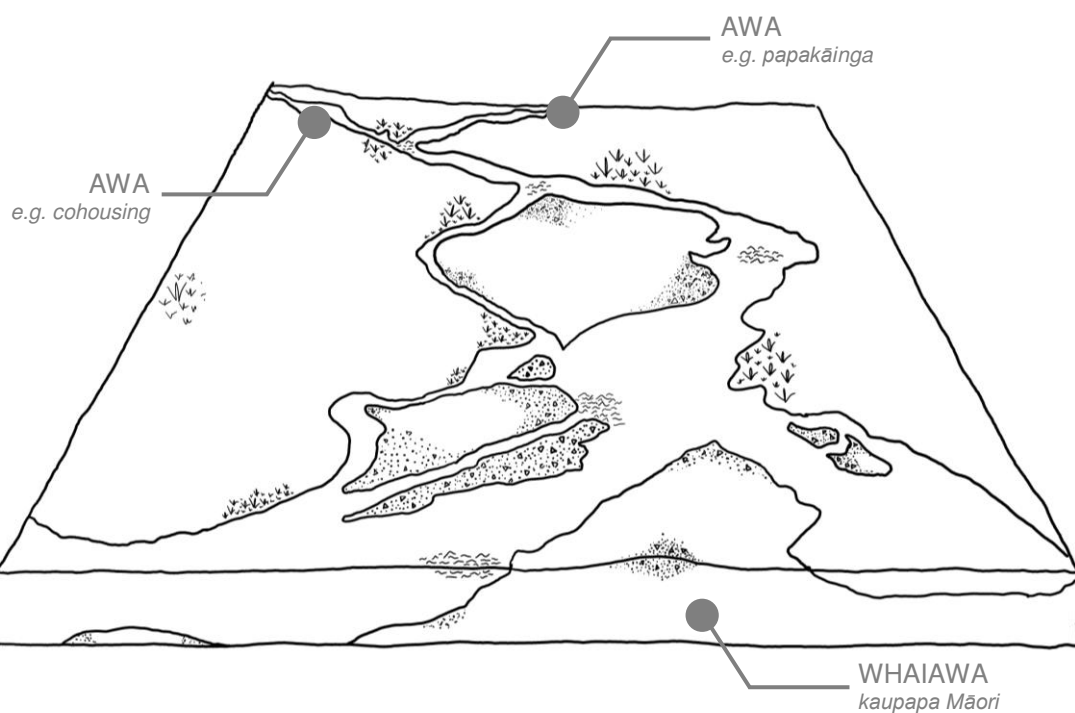


Figure 3.2: He awa whiria (drawing: author).



3.1.3 Principles of a kaupapa Māori approach

A kaupapa Māori approach to research is about more than 'Māori' methods such as wānanga or pūrākau. The explicit recognition and incorporation of kaupapa Māori principles into the research approach means that an explicit focus is put on methods and methodologies of research which are of benefit to Māori. Traditional research notions of and about Māori are often framed in terms of Māori deficit, whereas a kaupapa Māori approach is strengths-based and elevates Māori potentiality instead. As Macfarlane notes, a kaupapa Māori approach includes:

[a] seemingly complex series of cultural imperatives...[which] required me to initiate, approach and interact in particular ways; ways that spoke of my intent, my integrity, my expectations and my obligations (Macfarlane, 2013, p. 130).

Guiding principles or practices for Māori research such as the seven following points offered by Smith (2012, p. 210) provide a benchmark:

1. Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)
2. Kanohi kitea (the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face)
3. Titiro, whakarongo...korero (look, listen...speak)
4. Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
5. Kia tupato (be cautious)
6. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people)
7. Kia mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge).

These seven principles provided the foundation for approaching, behaving and for working with all communities within this research, both Māori and non-Māori.

3.2 Case-based inquiry

In the previous section, I argued for the situatedness and contextual nature of reality and knowledge; that both material and immaterial elements of housing and communities are real and knowable, within the holistic context they exist in. I introduced *he awa whiria* as an appropriate methodological approach, blending both

Western and Indigenous science and knowledge, to create a unique knowledge combination with the potential to advance both streams of knowledge. Given that I consider knowledge and knowledge creation to be inherently bound up with the context in which it sits, this research is necessarily case-based.

3.2.1 Rationale

The interrelationships of individual and collective lived experiences within 'alternative'²⁴ urban communities is complex; therefore this research is case-based. Case studies are:

...an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme or system in a 'real life' context. [Case studies are] research-based, inclusive of different methods and [are] evidence-led (Simons, 2009, p. 21).

As Simons (2009) notes, case studies enable us to study complex and unique systems in depth and in relation to the underlying context of the case at that point in time. By studying phenomena in context such as through case studies, the subjects of the research maintain a close connection to the reality in which they exist. This close connection can improve the applicability of findings when mapped back to social reality (what Dainty (2008, p. 3) calls 'ecological validity'), if those findings have not travelled far from the original context being researched.

The downside of in-depth case study enquiries is that the quantum of data produced can be difficult to process, and careful consideration needs to be given to how the data is reported and represented to ensure that it remains authentic. Similarly, case studies tend to be criticised for their lack of generalisability, or the ability to extrapolate the findings to other, different contexts or settings. The case study typically reflects a snapshot in time, and so by virtue of this time-stamp, findings will always be historical. These criticisms all demand a thorough and situated understanding of each case, and for each case to be documented in a way that enables the reader to vicariously

²⁴ Although the word 'alternative' can have negative connotations, it is used positively in this context to simply refer to development models which differ from dominant discourse of individualisation and individualised tenure.

experience what has been observed. A thorough contextual background will allow for any possible links to be made clear, and to draw the findings from this research to inform other cases or settings.

3.2.2 Case study sites and selection criteria

In order to explore how socially-based tenure principles are demonstrated within contemporary urban housing, various selection criteria were established to narrow the focus for potential case study sites (see Table 3.1).

A list of known New Zealand cohousing and papakāinga communities described in the literature were tabulated and assessed against these initial criteria and filtered to select the two primary case study sites: Kāinga Tuatahi, and Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood ('Earthsong'). Earthsong is a 32-home cohousing community located in Ranui, West Auckland, and was selected first as it was the only completed urban cohousing development in New Zealand at the time writing this thesis. Earthsong is a resident-led development, conceived and designed by the initial residents in conjunction with consultants. Construction was completed in 2008 and the approximately 65 current residents continue to manage the community themselves on an ongoing basis.

Kāinga Tuatahi is a 30-home urban papakāinga development in Ōrākei, Central Auckland. The development was led by Whai Rawa, the commercial development arm of the Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei hapū. Construction was completed in 2016 and the site is currently home to approximately 120 residents (most of whom are tribal members). Kāinga Tuatahi was selected for its physical similarities to Earthsong in the hopes of facilitating a useful comparison: both communities comprise a similar number of individual household units, are both located in Auckland, and both contain mostly medium-density homes.²⁵

²⁵ Medium-density here is defined as dwellings comprising multiple units and being up to six storeys high (Bryson & Allen, 2017, p. 5).

Table 3.1: Case study selection criteria

Criteria	Description of requirements
Scale	Minimum of 5 residential units Maximum of 35 residential units ²⁶
Context	Site located within urban or peri-urban areas ²⁷
Life span	Development has been completed and resided in for more than five years (preferably), but at the very least, one year ²⁸
Provision of private units	Development comprises individual household units ²⁹
Shared housing model	Development aligns with either a cohousing or papakāinga development model, and includes at least one communal or shared space or facility (excluding shared roadways and carparks)

The two primary case study sites are supplemented with insights from a range of other urban papakāinga and cohousing developments, from within New Zealand as well as

²⁶ Cohousing literature suggests that if there are too few households, the community can feel more like a family than a neighbourhood, and individual households tend to carry more of the burden to keep the community functioning. Conversely, cohousing communities larger than around 35 households tend to feel ‘institutional’ and residents begin to lose the perception that they have a unique contribution to the community. Danish cohousing communities with 35 or more individual households tend to be split into smaller clusters. For example, the Danish cohousing community Bondebjerget comprises 80 households, but the overall site is split into four clusters, each with their own common house (McCamant & Durrett, 2011, pp. 31-32, 248-250).

²⁷ United Nations (2018) estimates almost 87% of the New Zealand population lives in urban areas; however, definitions of ‘urban’ vary across the literature. The United Nations calculation is based on the Statistics New Zealand (2004) definition of ‘urban’, being an area with a population of more than 1000. Territorial and local authorities may define arbitrary zoning boundaries within their localities of the line between urban and rural areas, but these are not permanently fixed. As such, I consider that there is no clear boundary between urban and rural areas, but rather a spectrum or gradual transition whereby a site or area begins to take on more characteristics of one context rather than the other. The point where a site begins to seem ‘more rural’ or ‘more urban’ can depend on a range of factors such as population density, density of the built form, or proximity to the urban centre. Consequently, a level of professional judgement has been used when applying this condition to select sites that seem ‘more urban’ to me.

²⁸ Such that all seasons have been experienced at least once by most residents within the development.

²⁹ That is, individual household units are largely capable of functioning independently from the wider site or community if necessary. Households derive their own income independently (i.e. resident incomes are not pooled and then distributed among residents). Some cohousing literature considers this a distinguishing factor of cohousing communities from other intentional communities (such as communes) (e.g. McCamant & Durrett, 2011).



internationally. The purpose of these additional sites is to offer breadth to the study (as a means of triangulating ideas and concepts), albeit in less depth than the detailed analysis of the two primary case studies. As Earthsong is the only New Zealand cohousing development to satisfy the selection criteria, the supplementary cohousing case study sites were selected from an international pool. Denmark was chosen as it is the 'home' of the modern cohousing model and could potentially offer the closest perspectives and experiences relating to the original intent of cohousing. For logistical purposes (and in line with the selection criteria), possible sites were limited to those within approximately a one-hour travel distance from my accommodation in central Copenhagen at the time of visiting. As far as I am aware, there is no listed database of Danish cohousing communities, and so the pool of possible sites in Denmark emerged from an internet search using the terms 'cohousing', 'Denmark' and 'Copenhagen'. Consequently, the only sites available were those which have either been observed or written about previously, or those that have their own public website³⁰. After a cursory investigation of the physical layout and characteristics of potential communities, I made email enquiries with those for which I could locate contact details to request a visit. I was able to contact and visit seven communities, some of which are included as supplementary cohousing case studies (see Chapter 5).

Several papakāinga developments are also included as secondary case study sites, to provide breadth in relation to the papakāinga model. Similar to Danish cohousing communities, there is no centralised database of papakāinga communities in New Zealand.³¹ Based on papakāinga literature (and particularly, existing cases profiled in papakāinga toolkits and guides), as well as names of communities sourced from networking and conference presentations, I was able to tabulate a preliminary list of communities for assessment against the selection criteria. Of these, I was able to contact

³⁰ Websites investigated were only those already in English, or able to be translated into English easily using Google translate functionality.

³¹ Although Māori Maps (<http://www.maorimaps.com>) provides a useful starting point for locating papakāinga constructed around marae.

and visit six papakāinga across the North Island, with some being included as supplementary papakāinga cases (see Chapter 4).

3.2.3 Positioning

The role of Māori and Māori communities in research has evolved over time. In the past, research has been done *on* Māori and *about* Māori in ways which “disempower, objectify and further alienate *Maori* from our aspirations for self-determination” (Henry & Pene, 2001, p. 240, italics in original). Māori were typically considered to be ‘the silent research partner’, who held knowledge but not necessarily the skill set to do research themselves (Smith, 2015, p. 49). Consequently, there is an increasing level of caution, and perhaps scepticism, around who can do Māori research.

Some writers assert that Māori research can only be done by Māori, while others leave the door open for non-Māori to carry out Māori research under particular circumstances. For example, Smith (1992, pp. 8-9) offers four models of research that can be undertaken involving Māori to best protect and uplift the aspirations of Māori communities:

1. A tiaki (mentor) model – the research is guided by authoritative Māori people;
2. A whāngai (adoption) model – researchers are ‘adopted’ by whānau or communities and therefore trusted to do research;
3. A power-sharing model – the community works alongside the researchers to meaningfully develop the project; and
4. An empowering-outcomes model – where research explicitly and most importantly provides positive outcomes and benefits for Māori.

These approaches are helpful when considering community research, regardless of the community. I am mindful that I do not whakapapa to the Ngāti Whātua tribe, and similarly, I am an outsider to the Earthsong community (these points are discussed in more detail in section 3.4.2 below). Accordingly, certain precautions need to be taken to preserve and respect the mana of each community, Māori or non-Māori. Even as a Māori researcher myself, I adopted elements of the four strategies above as an outsider to Ngāti

Whātua Ōrākei and Earthsong. Within each community, I worked with a hakuturi³² (forest guardian) or an authoritative figure within the community to meet with and discuss this research at the outset. The hakuturi was my community guide, who I was able to address queries with, to help organise meetings and interviews and to provide access and introduce me to the community. Explicit in both cases was the question: ‘what is in it for us?’ Research typically benefits the researcher, so how could this research be carried out to provide positive outcomes and benefits to the communities themselves? For Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei, it was the opportunity to reflect on the lessons and successes of their first hapū development, and to capture learnings that could improve the processes and the outcomes for future development. For Earthsong, it was the opportunity for a ‘Warrant of Fitness’ check; this being the first post-occupancy assessment of the community with potential to shed light on how the community as a whole shifted (and continues to navigate the shift) from ‘building’ to ‘being’.

3.3 Methods

This section explores the specific research methods used to collect the research data, in order to uncover that which I deem to be knowledge. To do so, I have adopted a multi-methods approach, employing semi-structured interviews with residents as the primary data collection source. To triangulate the data and to obtain a more holistic, contextual and nuanced understanding of these cases, interview data is complemented by (and interwoven with) a range of other qualitative, quantitative and review-based methods including guided site visits, participant observation, spatial analysis, content analysis of secondary data and literature, and memoing and concept mapping. Although the qualitative element bears slightly more dominance in this thesis, I follow Bryman’s argument in that the addition of a variety of techniques from both qualitative and quantitative origins will help to enrich the data (Bryman, 2008).³³

³² Hakuturi “were the guardians of the forest of Tāne, protecting the trees and punishing those who offended against the tapu of the forest god” (Reed, 2004, p. 220). In the same way, the hakuturi in this research were the gatekeepers or guards of the respective communities.

³³ Dainty (2008, p. 8) also advocates for ‘methodological pluralism’ or the incorporation of a mixture of methods in studies particularly within the built environment to help explain complex situations.

3.3.1 Semi-structured resident interviews

Semi-structured interviews with residents of the case study communities formed the primary data collection source for this project. As the name implies, semi-structured interviews follow a general template or guide to focus the overall direction of the interview and to ensure the same general areas of information are covered, while also allowing for a degree of flexibility in obtaining that information, depending on how the interview progresses (e.g. Bryman, 2008; Leidner, 1993). As a researcher, this means that:

...researchers may alter the wording and order of [the] questions, perhaps omitting some that seem inappropriate; they may introduce new topics and supplementary questions not included on the list, and respondents are encouraged to expand on a response, or digress, or even go off the particular topic and introduce their own concerns. Most important, their responses are open-ended, in their own words and not restricted to the preconceived notions of the [researcher] (Davies, 1999, p. 95).

That is, semi-structured interviews are conversations shaped by the researcher but open to a certain level of freedom from both interviewer and interviewee in terms of the direction that the interview takes. Poell and Seezink (2010) suggest that informal, conversation-based formats such as this tend to produce richer discussions than those following a more rigid format.

One of the main disadvantages of a semi-structured interview approach is that every interview is unique, and although the same template or interview guide³⁴ was reused, the interviews informing the majority of this thesis depend on a number of factors, notwithstanding the rapport or trust built at the time of the interview. This is explored more in the subsections below, but ultimately, individual interviews cannot be entirely replicated to produce identical results either by myself or another researcher simply by following the same interview guide.

³⁴ A copy of the interview guide is attached as Appendix E.

Interview participants

Twenty semi-structured whānau (i.e. household) interviews were carried out, ten at each of the primary case study locations with 28 residents in total³⁵. All participants were residents within their respective communities, aged 18 years or over, and were self-selected by the communities themselves. This was a purposeful attempt to enhance the mana (prestige) of each community by allowing them to decide for themselves what (and whose) knowledge is important, as well as to gauge an illustrative perspective from a cross section of residents as opposed to a statistically random sample. For Earthsong, I presented the research proposal at one of their monthly resident meetings and twelve interested households volunteered, with ten eventually being interviewed. For Kāinga Tuatahi, I presented the research to Whai Rawa (the commercial arm of Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei) who then used their insider position to purposively select ten households for interviewing. The majority of participants from both sites were the homeowners, although a small number of tenants also took part.

All interviews were carried out *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face), at a resident's home or an extension of their home.³⁶ Drawing from kaupapa Māori approaches, *kanohi kitea* (the seen face) is critical in establishing trust and building rapport and was the approach taken when interviewing both communities.³⁷ Similarly, principles of 'kitchen table conversations' informed the decision to hold the interviews in residents' homes for comfort and familiarity for participants, as well as a conscious attempt to rebalance power relationships between the researcher and the researched in favour of the

³⁵ Each interview took place with one or sometimes two of the main residents in each household, depending on who in the household was available at the time for the interview. Interviews with two residents were either with spouses, siblings or flatmates. Ethical approval required participants to be aged 18 years or older. While children were often present with parents or relatives, they were not 'interviewed' in a research capacity.

³⁶ For example, at Earthsong, one interview took place in the common house, or the communal building. Although the common house is a shared space, it is considered an extension of the private dwelling and therefore still part of the home.

³⁷ See: Pipi et al. (2004, *Kaupapa Maori Research Practices* section) – "He *kanohi kitea* is about the importance of meeting with people face to face. An important value in Maori society is that people meet face to face so that trust and the relationship can be further built upon."

participants (e.g. Kohl & McCutcheon, 2015; van Hees, Horstman, Jansen, & Ruwaard, 2019).

Relationships of power

Interviews are not a neutral data collection method. They are contextually based, and the interface and power dynamics between interviewer and interviewee is constantly being renegotiated throughout the interview process (Haigh, 2008). In particular, the start of the interview or first meeting is critical in establishing the nature of any power dynamics and for making that power legible by determining what the nature of the relationship is. A warm, friendly meeting incited a more balanced power relationship of equals and allowed conversations to flow more freely. Conversely, an impersonal initial meeting tended to reinforce the researcher-participant power dynamic where interviews were answered more succinctly, and the conversation could feel somewhat stilted. The early stages also set the scene for any in-groups and out-groups which can affect the researcher and participant positioning and perspectives³⁸ - that is, what do we have in common, and where do we differ? A kaupapa Māori approach dictates that this starts with whakawhanaungatanga, or relationship building. Each interview started with a process of introducing ourselves to one another and sharing whakapapa and establishing connections either through people or place. These introductions happened regardless of whether the interview took place in a papakāinga or cohousing setting.

Dell (2017, p. 70) uses the metaphor of temperature to describe her interviewing processes, in that researchers seek to keep conversations 'warm'. A warm conversation allows information to flow more freely and will generate deeper, richer findings. This is an approach that I found resonated with my interview process. Keeping the conversation 'warm' meant building rapport with participants, creating a sense of openness, establishing trust and being flexible to adjust the order and format of questions based on how the interview was progressing. If that connection between the interviewer and participant is not strong, the conversation can quickly cool and the flow

³⁸ This is discussed in further detail in section 3.4.2.

of information slows or stops. I found strategies such as humour and the sharing of information particularly useful in maintaining a relaxed, conversation atmosphere.³⁹

Working with both Māori and non-Māori residents and sites of learning, I took an approach applying the Treaty principles of partnership, protection and participation. In the research context, this meant creating a relationship with participants based on partnership and information sharing rather than viewing communities purely as 'case study sites'. A partnership approach challenges traditional research notions of objectivity and neutrality grounded in reductionist research approaches, instead opting to be mana-enhancing by preserving and promoting the voice of participants as much as possible (for instance, by including direct quotes in the findings).

Probing

Bernard (2011) suggests probing is crucial to successful interviews. Probing is a technique that allows participants to offer more information in interviews, without the researcher having to explicitly ask for more information. Techniques such as the silent probe (remaining silent, or simply adding a head nod) or the 'uh-huh' probe⁴⁰ (making affirmative comments such as 'uh-huh', or 'right, I see') were useful for enabling thoughtful participants to continue (Bernard, 2011, pp. 177-178). A phased-assertion probe is also useful, where I, as the interviewer, could use information garnered from earlier interviews to show that I understand the current issues and participants are less likely to feel as though they are divulging information.⁴¹ Introducing information first

³⁹ Utu, or reciprocity, recognises that the conversation is a two way street; it is about give and take. It was imperative to hear resident's perceptions and experiences but at the same time, I was able to share my knowledge and learnings as I was working through the thesis with participants too.

⁴⁰ Matarazzo's (1964) study showed that using the phrase 'uh-huh' elicited more conversation from interview participants (approximately 30% longer responses than those not subject to the 'uh-huh' probe).

⁴¹ For instance, a common concern in Kāinga Tuatahi at the time of the interviews was car parking and residents parking in areas that other residents did not feel was safe, particularly for children playing nearby. An early interview question was around things they would change, so for participants who were struggling to think of anything, I could ask about parking and whānau would open up and confirm what had been discussed in earlier interviews and conversations.

like this can also prompt correcting responses from participants, when the interviewer's assertions are incorrect (Bernard, 2011, p. 180).

3.3.2 Guided site visits

A guided site visit is similar to a 'transect walk', where a researcher is guided around an area by a local informant (Grenier, 1998, pp. 58-59). I participated in guided tours of both the primary case study sites and several of the supplementary cohousing and papakāinga sites. However, distinct from a transect walk which tends to follow a prescribed route (Chambers, 1997), these tours tended to be more informal and were more akin to a general wander where the route was at the guide's discretion at the time. As such, I have adopted the term 'guided site visits' in line with Bateman's (2017, p. 78) version of a 'guided field walk'.

The guide, typically the hakuturi from each community, would lead both the walk and the discussion, and the conversations would be based around the guide's observations or comments based on features and structures they would introduce to the discussion. Such a structure of interaction has implications on the power relationship between researcher and participant. It places the power within the reach of the residents themselves to raise points that they consider to be important, to visit particular features they consider important and to encourage them to drive the formulation of knowledge, as well as grounding the data so that it is not subject to 'roadside bias' that can often present itself in unguided visits (Narayanasamy, 2009, p. 11).

3.3.3 Participant observation

Specific mention is given to the method of participant observation, beyond what would already be observed within interviews and guided site visits. Participant observation mostly took the form of passive observation such as conversations over a meal or sitting in on a monthly residents meeting, but with active recording of my thoughts and observations through handwritten, digital and voice-recorded notes. The purpose of this method was to deepen my understanding of social life beyond what might be said or covered within the more formalised setting of an interview, because regardless of how conversational the interview may have been, participants may still be inclined to

give a 'correct' answer to questions as opposed to an honest truth. Observing residents 'in their natural habitat' also has the potential to garner some authentic insights which may not come through from more obvious and intense methods (Gans, 1999; Homan, 1980).

It is worth mentioning that these observations were often short and sporadic and my motive was not to justify an ethnographic approach. Rather, these brief insights deepened my understanding of each community and validated several comments raised during the more formal or prescribed interview setting.

3.3.4 Spatial analysis

Spatial analysis was used as a data collection tool to create diagrammatic representations of site aspects and physical design features. Diagrammatic representations can be used to isolate specific design components or aspects, and to enable easy comparison of those features between different sites and to see trends or patterns (e.g. Downing & Hubka, 1986). Spatial analysis plans were created by the author using BricsCAD⁴², with architectural plans sourced from the property file, aerial photos sourced from Google Earth and cadastral information sourced from Land Information New Zealand.

For spatial analysis plans, I focused on three key elements or features of the built environment:

1. Entry/exit points – to visualise the extent of access points available for residents to enter and exit the development;
2. Transport and circulation – to visualise the network of trafficable areas, both by foot and car, and any inherent hierarchies;
3. Built form/clusters - to visualise the physical layout of private and shared buildings on site, as well as how that built form relates to areas of open space.

⁴² BricsCAD is a software package for computer-aided design (CAD).

3.3.5 Content analysis of secondary data

Secondary data about each case study site was sourced as a way of triangulating data from the primary methods introduced above (Babbie, 2010), and included a range of property information such as resource consent applications and decisions, building plans, design statements and technical reports (e.g. geotechnical reports). Secondary data adds a level of technical breadth beyond that which can easily be sourced from interview data, particularly where residents would be relying on memory to recall specific information, as well as to add context. For instance, if the documentation for contract administration and supervision is lengthy or complex, this may support interview claims of a complicated build process and lengthy delays, and provide the specific context as to why some of these delays may have occurred.

Summative content analysis (where each document is summarised and the context interpreted (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005)) was undertaken on each document within each property file to extract key information and themes which were relevant to the wider research agenda. The unit of analysis was set at the individual document level, given the range of different documents available, their sizes and the content they each relate to. All documents in the file were viewed but only those containing information pertinent to the development process were retained for analysis (e.g. specific building plans detailing roof joints and details were not analysed any further than a cursory glance). At the recommendation of Babbie (2010), I applied subjective coding of the latent content (i.e. the underlying context or meaning behind the communication) in an attempt to get a well-rounded perspective.

An important benefit of utilising secondary data is that it is an unobtrusive research method: the documents themselves are already written and publicly available (for a small fee). Although my researcher positioning will have an influence on the analysis of the data, my position does not affect the data itself (unlike interviews where the data sourced is directly related to and influenced by my involvement) (Babbie, 2010). On the other hand, the data is limited to those communications that were written, and which originated from (or were sent to) the relevant staff at Auckland Council who store and manage the official property file documentation. As a result, files may offer a one-sided

perspective as they only contain relevant regulatory information related to the Council's jurisdiction. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, access to secondary data provides a level of technical depth and breadth not offered by the other methods, and adds rigour to the compilation of research data.

Perhaps of greater benefit of using secondary data, though, is the potential to reduce the intrusion on already over-researched communities. Both Earthsong and Kāinga Tuatahi are 'novel' housing developments and have featured extensively across a range of media. Drawing on secondary data enables access to additional data without creating additional burden on residents, and further aligns with a kaupapa Māori approach (Phillips, 2019). As Smith advocates:

Idealistic ideas about community collaboration and active participation need to be tempered by realistic assessments of a community's resources and capabilities, even if there is enthusiasm and goodwill. Similarly, the involvement of community resource people also needs to be considered before putting an additional responsibility on individuals already carrying heavy burdens of duty (Smith, 2012, p. 235).

3.3.6 Memoing and concept mapping

Memoing is the act of writing fieldnotes and thoughts in memos either to myself or to others, while concept mapping is a similar act of writing down thoughts but in a more visual or graphic form (Babbie, 2013). An example of one of my concept maps drawn on a whiteboard is shown in Figure 3.3 below. The literature tends to treat memos and concept maps as a stage of data analysis, though I consider them to be both a tool of data collection and data analysis. Memoing and concept mapping are ongoing and iterative: they happen throughout the research process and are themselves a form of data as they capture the thoughts and positioning of the researcher. Earlier, the role of the researcher was highlighted because researcher positioning affects the understanding and interpretation of data. For instance, this research approach is predominantly subjective, and so memos and concept maps provide validation of my thought process as a researcher as I moved through the organisation and reformulation of different ideas and concepts. Accordingly, digital copies were made of all memos and concept maps for storage and retrieval.

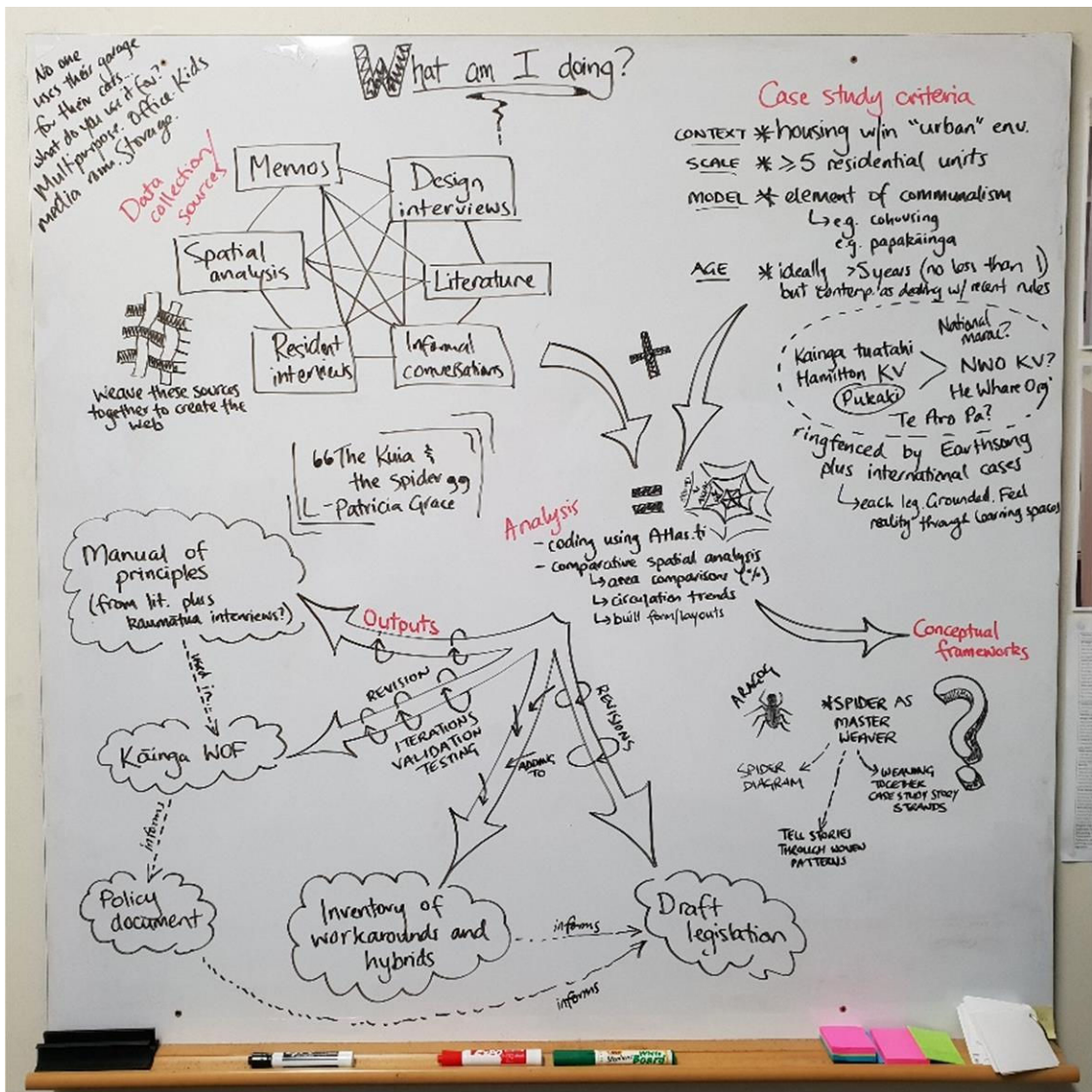


Figure 3.3: Example of hand-drawn concept map produced during this research to visualise the research process (photo: author).

3.3.7 Analysis and reporting

Table 3.2 below outlines the format of data recorded in relation to each of the data collection methods outlined above. Manual files were kept for all handwritten notes, and photographs were taken of handwritten notes and drawings to retain a digital copy. The digital copies could then all be managed from one location and can be inputted directly into Atlas.ti (a qualitative data analysis software package) to help with organising themes, thoughts, concepts and connections across the data sources.

Table 3.2: How data were recorded

Method	Record of data
Semi-structured interviews	Audio recorded and fully transcribed
Guided site visit	Field notes (handwritten and photographed; audio-recorded and transcribed); photographs
Participant observation	Field notes (handwritten and photographed; audio-recorded and transcribed)
Spatial analysis	Digitally drawn plans; digital notes
Content analysis (secondary data)	Original digital format
Memoing and concept mapping	Notes (digital; audio-recorded and transcribed; drawn and photographed)

Data were analysed iteratively. The first cycle of coding across all data is a way to assign initial classifications and labels to ideas and concepts that start to emerge from the data (Saldaña, 2009). Initially, I focused on eliciting five different types of codes: evaluation codes (a positive or negative assessment or comment, or a recommendation), emotion coding (any emotion portrayed or suggested by the speaker either through their language, tone of voice, body language or the content of what was recorded), value coding (highlighting particular values, attitudes and beliefs which were being expressed), attribute coding (comments specifically as a result of a particular attribute of the data or participant, such as age or life stage), and open coding (general response coding for any data considered to be relevant or highlighting particularly pertinent issues). These five coding categories were initially selected for their strengths in understanding emotions or perceptions (e.g. lived experiences, home-place satisfaction) with regard to units of social organisation (e.g. villages, neighbourhoods) (Saldaña, 2009, p. 14).

Second and subsequent cycles of coding were iterative reanalyses of the previous results, with the view of reorganising those concepts into broader categories and themes. Concept mapping as a process was particularly relevant in these iterative phases as a means of displaying concepts graphically to visualise interrelationships of the emerging ideas and themes. Similarly, memoing was an ongoing tool for recording code notes (explaining the labels given to codes and what they mean, to avoid ambiguity

particularly with words that might have different meanings in everyday language) and personal reflections on perhaps deeper meanings of concepts and relationships between concepts. As well, I recorded notes in terms of any issues with the research process itself that either had relevance to understanding the data, or could help improve future data collection.

Interview labels for reporting

In this thesis, interview quotes are reported using the following labelling formula:

Interview (site) (interview number)

The main case study sites, Kāinga Tuatahi and Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood are abbreviated as KT and ES respectively. For example, the 3rd interview at Earthsong is referenced as (Interview ES03). Similarly, the 8th interview at Kāinga Tuatahi is referenced (Interview KT08).

3.4 Evaluation

As with any approach to research, there are both strengths and weaknesses with the approach taken in this thesis. This section evaluates the effectiveness of my approach, and outlines any measures taken to mitigate these limitations.

3.4.1 Relationships

Relationships are a critical component of my research approach. Relationships underpin the principles of a kaupapa Māori approach to research and dictated many aspects of my approach to this thesis. For instance, as introduced in section 3.2.3 above, one of the most important relationships in this research was my relationship with the hakuturi from each community. A strong relationship with each hakuturi enabled access, but also helped to share the vision or the kaupapa for this project and ensure we were working in partnership. This interaction or relationship with key community members was present regardless of whether the community was in New Zealand or overseas.

Relationship building plays a key role in a kaupapa Māori approach, but can be at odds with traditional notions of objectivity and neutrality. I do not apologise for this, and there is no intention for this research to present itself as objective or neutral. My relationships with the subject, with the communities, with individual whānau and participants, and even my relationship to my funder and institution all play a role in how I have approached, undertaken, analysed and presented this research. The critical element of such subjective research is to document and position myself in relation to those different influences to best understand how they have shaped the research.

3.4.2 Power and positioning

Early anthropological convention was to render the role of the researcher invisible (e.g. see Davies, 1999). Here, I seek to do the opposite. Some data sources in this research (such as secondary data) are largely independent of myself as a researcher. However, for human-centric data sources such as site visits, participant observation and interviews, my role and positioning as a researcher has influence. For example, in interviews, my researcher positioning is constantly renegotiated depending on the other party, the in-groups and out-groups that we consider the positioning in relation to, and the social boundaries we create to separate the groups. In-groupings and out-groupings such as male/female, parent/non-parent, Māori/non-Māori, Aucklander/non-Aucklander are changing with every interaction with the research participants, which can even manifest as potential power relations due to our differing positionalities. A recognition or perception of our similarities and our differences from groupings like this can consciously or unconsciously alter how much information is freely given.

Depending on how groupings are defined, and both mine and the participants' perception of my positioning, the role of researcher can result in simultaneous inclusion and exclusion. For example, as introduced in section 3.2.3 above, I am somewhat of an inside-outsider in relation to the urban papakāinga sites studied. I am Māori, like the residents; however I do not whakapapa to Ngāti Whātua. Depending on where the lines are drawn, I could be considered an insider if the grouping is made at the ethnic level (i.e. Māori), but an outsider if the boundaries are drawn at a more defined iwi or hapū level (i.e. from a Ngāti Whātua perspective). Smith articulates this when she says:

...indigenous researcher approaches problematize the insider model in different ways because there are multiple ways of being either an insider or an outsider in indigenous contexts (2012, p. 231).

Occupying multiple positions can have implications on the warmth of the relationships and interactions, and encourage or hinder the flow of information and knowledge. As more information is divulged, particularly in interviews, more dimensionality is added to the interface of that researcher-participant dynamic. Researchers have “the potential to extend knowledge or to perpetuate ignorance” (Smith, 2012, p. 290). Thus, a conscious recognition and understanding of the different positions is critical to give agency to diverse forms of knowledge, understandings and realities, especially when they differ from my own.

As well as both mine and the participants’ perceptions of my positioning, the participants themselves will have a positioning of their own within this research process. This positioning can depend on a range of factors such as age, gender, life stage, life experiences, memories and timing. Depending on external factors, stressors and other aspects going on during their lives at the time, influences from those factors may be made present and may influence or become reflected in their answers or their approach to different answers especially during interviews.

In some cases, I approached the interviews with a naïve view of a participant’s positioning. Based on my review of the literature and my own personal perspectives of cohousing and papakāinga, I was expecting all of the participants to be positive and speak favourably of the respective housing models. In both situations, I was fortunate to be able to interview residents who were either planning on leaving (including receiving a secondary interview from residents who had already left), or who were not actively participating in the community. This was a lesson in highlighting a bias that I unconsciously possessed; that I could not assume residents’ positionality or perspectives.

3.4.3 Triangulation

In research, triangulation is a tool used to validate information through independent data sources, methods, or approaches. A mixed-methods approach in this thesis is valuable for helping to triangulate data from different sources and from different media. Similarly, the range of interview participants and their positioning (and for instance, their praise or otherwise of the development) helped to validate responses. Multiple data sources and perspectives helped me to differentiate between overt and covert responses; sometimes, interview participants may have unconsciously 'sugar coated' the truth so as not to portray too negative an impression. Where those perspectives conflicted with information from other sources, I was able to probe further for validation.

3.4.4 Axiological considerations

My personal, subjective experiences will shape the way that the research has progressed and developed. These values (and hence, bias) that I personally bring to the research are referred to as axiology (or axiological considerations) (e.g. Hedlund-de Witt, 2013). With elements of an interpretivist epistemology, my approach is more value-laden (i.e. more biased) than a positivist, 'traditional science' perspective.

My methodological approach is founded on axiological considerations of respect and self-determination. This includes taking a strengths-based approach (rather than a deficit approach, which has previously been commonplace for research on Māori), enabling and encouraging *te reo me ona tikanga*, and attempting to reframe relationships of power between the researcher and the researched to become about partnership and reciprocity.

3.4.5 Timing

The research process was initially planned to be sequential. Although I have outlined the various research steps here for simplicity, processes of 'gaining access', collecting data, analysing and reporting data are seldom discrete steps in a linear process. Rather, a *koru* or spiral shape would more accurately represent the cyclical and iterative nature of this process, which has required a constant revisiting of the purpose and *kaupapa* of

this thesis. Partly, piloting interviews assisted in this development prior to interviewing whānau in the case study groups, but the research process has been a constant learning and adjusting experience.

Despite constant revision of the research kaupapa, this research remains a largely cross-sectional study. While interviews and data often span both past and present processes and experiences (such as the construction phase, or selecting residents), this thesis essentially provides a snapshot of communities at one point in time. Consequently, the results are limited to this snapshot in time and are, inevitably, already out of date (Babbie, 2010, pp. 106-107). Future research could be justified to provide additional snapshots in time to track how these communities evolve over time.

The timing of the interviews themselves will have also inevitably had an effect on the findings. Depending on the contextual situation, there may be particular issues or challenges that communities are working through at the time of the interview, which could feature heavily or may be over-emphasized in interviews. This context might cause participants to reflect on other elements of the interview in a particular way. Using a scientific lens, I considered the interview timing to be potentially a systematic error. By conducting all interviews within each community in a confined time period, the community context was more likely to be similar across all participants.

Furthermore, the timing of events in individuals' and whānau's lives could have an impact on the findings. For example, during one interview, the whānau I was meeting with received a phone call notifying them of a death. Such shocking news can influence the perspectives within the rest of the interview; for instance, aspects that may have been trivial earlier in the conversation were no longer important. In that particular case, the principles of a kaupapa Māori approach to research were even more crucial. The situation called for caution and respect, and an absolute 'devolution of power' to enable the participants to dictate how the interview should proceed.

3.4.6 Further ethical considerations

Institutional ethics approval processes tends to propagate normative assumptions on how research should be carried out with human participants. In this study, that process required the preparation of written information sheets to be provided to participants, as well as a written consent form to be signed and dated by participants prior to their involvement in the study (see Appendices C and D). Although these documents are clear about the 'rights' of participants, the process is very formal and contractual in requiring a written signature of participation within the particular study. This formal process is at odds with a kaupapa Māori approach where, rather than consent for a particular research project or a specific set of questions, consent is instead given for the researcher themselves. Consent is a sign of confidence in the researcher and an affirmation of their credibility. In that sense, the participant is not providing their consent to participate in the research, but consenting to the researcher doing the research. This returns to the notion or principle of whanaungatanga. A kaupapa Māori approach encompasses a wider set of social and cultural obligations; there is a community accountability between the researcher and participants that extends beyond a signed 'contract' that is not time or project-bound, which is often not present in typical Western approaches.

The formality of the ethics process can stifle or inhibit participant engagement. Lengthy information sheets and consent forms with requests for written signatures tend to formalise the interview process in a very contractual way, and can signal distrust or create a sense of caution and suspicion for participants. Returning to the temperature analogy for the flow of conversations, the formality of working through the ethical requirements at the beginning of interviews (including allowing participants time to read through each document) quickly 'cooled' conversations, and required more work afterwards to 'warm' the conversation again. Efforts could be made to reduce or remove the 'contractualisation' of the process and allow less formal or intimidating tactics while providing the relevant protection and insurances for participants.

The formal ethics process can also add another dimension of imbalance to an already unbalanced power relationship between the researcher and the researched. Common

sections within information sheets and consent forms outline the use of the data, typically publication in academic theses, or for conferences and academic journals. That is, the information sheets and consent forms make it clear that data is explicitly of benefit to the researcher. But what about the community themselves? What do they get out of the research? A one-sided approach to data collection fails to recognise the principle of partnership in research. Consequently, I made a point of adding a section within the consent forms explaining how anonymised raw data would be returned to the communities themselves, as well as the findings. The data belongs to those communities and should be made available for them to use for their own development, not just for my own academic advancement.

3.5 Summary

This chapter began with an overview of the nature and my assumptions of reality and knowledge which subsequently shaped the methodological approach I took in order to shed light on the research objectives. I introduced and adopted *he awa whiria* as a metaphor to illustrate my epistemological position being at the braiding or blending of Indigenous and Western knowledge. Premised on the notion of the existence of a multitude of diverse and valid realities, this led to a description of the multi-methodology approach and research methods employed to gather data on the lived experiences and relationships of residents in urban papakāinga and cohousing communities. I then outlined the various methodological decisions made and the implication of those decisions, as well as offering suggestions on areas of weakness and how weaknesses could be mitigated in future. In addition, the role of the researcher in shaping the research findings was explored in an attempt to question common criticisms of research which leans towards a predominantly qualitative approach.

Some scholars take issue with the *he awa whiria* methodological approach. Some consider that it devolves Māori preference or dominance that can be achieved in a pure kaupapa Māori approach. I argue that *he awa whiria* does not require either side (Māori/Indigenous approaches or Western science) to concede or relinquish their knowledge or knowledge system. Rather, *he awa whiria* explicitly seeks to preserve the

integrity of each knowledge stream. Even among Māori, 'mātauranga Māori is an elusive reality' given the diversity of worldviews and ways of thinking (A. Macfarlane, personal communication, October 22, 2019). For a comparative study, I find *he awa whiria* the most appropriate approach that respects the integrity of each community involved.

The next chapter narrows the focus to explore the historical context and contemporary realities of papakāinga through the perspectives of residents in the first primary case study site, Kāinga Tuatahi.

Chapter Four



Chapter 4 – He awa o ngā ‘Papakāinga’

Te tapuae o mua, mō muri.

Footsteps of the past, informing the future (Māori proverb).

The previous chapter explored my assumptions of reality and knowledge, which shape the methodological approach I have taken for this thesis. I argued that I operate at the interface of Indigenous and Western science, and combine elements of both worldviews in determining what reality and knowledge are. Following this, I introduced a grounded, situational, mixed-methods approach to data collection. This chapter is the first of two parallel chapters which describe how that theory has been applied to data collection for an investigation into social tenure principles in contemporary papakāinga and cohousing developments.

This chapter contributes to the second and third research objectives by examining the extent to which contemporary urban papakāinga include socially-based tenure principles, and the mechanisms by which papakāinga can be facilitated. Through the eyes of a range of papakāinga case study sites, this chapter begins to offer insights into how principles of social tenure could be applied and strengthened in other housing situations and contexts. Metaphorically, this chapter represents the journey down ‘He awa o ngā papakāinga’ (i.e. the papakāinga knowledge stream), and specifically, through the forest representing the Kāinga Tuatahi community.

The chapter starts by revisiting the concept of papakāinga from chapter two, which offered an historical context of Māori housing from early settlement through to today. A variety of definitions of ‘papakāinga’ exist within the literature, which are broadly discussed before I propose a synthesised definition to articulate the scope of developments explored within this thesis. With that foundation in mind, I introduce Kāinga Tuatahi, a contemporary urban papakāinga development in Ōrākei, Auckland. Drawing on field visits, spatial analysis plans and interview data with Kāinga Tuatahi residents, I examine the extent to which the seven socially-based tenure principles are demonstrated. Insights from supplementary papakāinga case study sites are also woven throughout the chapter. These sites have not been studied in the same level of detail as



Kāinga Tuatahi but provide complementary perspectives and offer contextual triangulation of the findings emerging from the main case study site. Finally, a summary of this chapter is made before the following chapter, which examines socially-based tenure principles but from the perspective of urban cohousing communities.⁴³

4.1 Papakāinga: An urban construct

Chapter two introduced the historical context of Māori housing from early Māori settlement, through the changes arising following contact with European settlers, to the rise of Māori housing initiatives today. This chapter narrows the focus from Māori housing generally to the concept of papakāinga, and more specifically papakāinga within the urban setting of Aotearoa New Zealand's towns and cities.

4.1.1 What is 'papakāinga'?

The term papakāinga is not uniquely defined in literature. It can mean different things to different people or groups, depending on the time, context and purpose (e.g. B&A Urban & Environmental, n.d.; Hoskins et al., 2002; Kake, 2015; *Ki te hau kainga: New perspectives on Māori housing solutions (August 2014 edition)*, 2014; Tane, 2018; Te Aranga Steering Committee, 2008; Te Kanawa, 2015; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2017; Wixon, 2008). Literally, papakāinga means 'a nurturing place to return to', although a variety of definitions for the term exist, ranging from the straightforward to the relatively

⁴³ Section 4.2 of this chapter ('Introducing Kāinga Tuatahi') derives from a forthcoming publication: Berghan, J., Carter, L., Goodwin, D., & Rawiri, A. (forthcoming). Planning for community: The Kāinga Tuatahi papakāinga in central Auckland. Chapter in J. Hutchings, J. Smith & F. Cram (Eds.), *Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua: Māori housing realities and aspirations*. Accepted for publication 25th July 2018. The first draft of the historical context statement (section 4.2.1 in this thesis) was written by L. Carter, with the other authors reviewing and editing. The first drafts of the remaining sections (sections 4.2, 4.2.2, 4.2.3 and 4.2.4) were written by J. Berghan, and reviewed and edited by the other three authors.

Also, portions of Box 4.1 are reproduced from a prior publication: Goodwin, D., & Berghan, J. (2018). *A planning model to incorporate socially-based tenure principles into mainstream planning*. FIG Congress 2018, Embracing our smart world where the continents connect: enhancing the geospatial maturity of societies. Istanbul, Turkey, 6-11 May 2018. The reproduced portions were first drafted by J. Berghan and edited by D. Goodwin (and also peer-reviewed by two anonymous reviewers).

complex. It is worth addressing this variability to gain some clarity and scope for this thesis.

Tane (2018, p. 68) recommends thinking about the meaning of papakāinga with respect to the meanings of parts of the word in the Māori language. 'Kāinga' means home, village, or settlement. 'Papa' can refer to Papa-tūā-nuku (the Earth mother), or whakapapa (ancestry, genealogy, layering). Tane (2018) suggests that the word 'papakāinga' could then take meanings from both versions of 'papa'; that is, a village or settlement deriving from the Earth, or a village or settlement formed from the layering of successive generations over time. For their similar and connected meanings, often the terms pā, kāinga, papakāinga, pā-kāinga, wā kāinga and others are used interchangeably (Tane, 2018, p. 68).

Other definitions of the term vary according to their interpretations as to whom papakāinga are for. Some restrict papakāinga to Māori who are mana whenua ("those *iwi* and or *hapū* who hold traditional *mana* over the land that they reside in" (Ryks, Pearson, & Waa, 2016, p. 31, italics in original)) (e.g. Auckland Council, 2018; Dunedin City Council, 2018) while others enable mana whenua, mātāwaka ("all *Māori* living in urban areas who do not hold traditional links to that area" (Ryks et al., 2016, p. 32, italics in original)) and tauwi (foreigner, non-Māori) alike (e.g. Hamilton City Council, 2017). Some posit that papakāinga take place on ancestral Māori land (e.g. Te Puni Kōkiri, 2017; Wixon, 2008), while others do not place restrictions on the status of the land (e.g. Reddy et al., 2019). Similarly, some municipalities describe papakāinga as housing or a residential activity (e.g. Hutt City Council, 2004; Invercargill City Council, 2016; Napier City Council, 2011; Palmerston North City Council, 2000; Wellington City Council, 2000) while others speak of papakāinga as a range of activities and facilities supporting economic, social and cultural functions as well as housing (e.g. Tauranga City Council, 2013). This thesis subscribes to the inclusive nature of 'papakāinga', and the following definition for contemporary papakāinga has been settled on, based predominantly on the definition suggested in the 2014 edition of the Ki Te Hau Kāinga guide (*Ki te hau kainga: New perspectives on Māori housing solutions (August 2014 edition)*, 2014, p. 2):



Papakāinga means a community based on Māori ways of living. Today, papakāinga can be used to describe both an ancestral land base as well as a collection of whare occupied by Māori connected by common kinship or kaupapa, and located in close proximity to one another, often in relation to a central, communal area or building such as a marae. Beyond housing, papakāinga can include other activities and facilities (e.g. social, economic) to support self-sustaining communities.

4.1.2 What is meant by ‘urban papakāinga’?

Papakāinga have traditionally been considered a rural construct. The original taxonomy of papakāinga was established long ago, but with high levels of urban Māori⁴⁴ (and urban marae), increasingly there are likely to be aspirations for papakāinga within urban and semi-urban contexts. It is suggested that traditional definitions or notions of papakāinga may have to evolve to encapsulate the papakāinga model within contemporary urban contexts. By no means would that diminish the important role of more rural-based papakāinga. Rather, some flexibility is necessary to maintain a focus and scope for this thesis, and to understand how best to bring elements of the traditional papakāinga model into modern, urban settings. The optimal scenario would be to ‘reclaim the pā’ across all spatial contexts; from remote, rural, semi-urban and urban. To address all settings is beyond the scope of this thesis. While Tane (2018) explores the reclamation of papakāinga within a more rural setting, this thesis focuses specifically on urban and semi-urban contexts.

The chapter now shifts to explore Kāinga Tuatahi, one of the first urban papakāinga to be completed in Aotearoa New Zealand.

4.2 The Kāinga Tuatahi development

Kāinga Tuatahi is a 30-home development in Ōrākei, Auckland, and is the first medium-density urban papakāinga completed in New Zealand. As the first stage of a longer term strategy of re-establishing Ōrākei as a vibrant community and heart for the Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei hapū, Kāinga Tuatahi has enabled hapū members to return to live on their ancestral lands surrounding Okahu Bay following a troubled and unjust history of

⁴⁴ As at the 2013 census, approximately 84% of Māori reside in urban areas (Meredith, 2015).

land confiscation and eviction. Stories of the historic Okahu Bay papakāinga tell of whanaungatanga (relationships), of being strongly connected to one another and being raised by multiple generations, and pride of living as ahi kā before the hapū was evicted from their village in the 1950s. Kāinga Tuatahi evokes a ‘papakāinga way of living’ in a contemporary context, perhaps not seen at this scale since the original Okahu Bay papakāinga.

Located in New Zealand’s largest metropolitan area, the development goes beyond creating ‘a Māori development’, instead fostering a Māori community facilitated by creative design, shared spaces and more customary social norms. It is for these reasons that Kāinga Tuatahi was chosen as an investigative case study site. This chapter explores residents’ satisfaction and experiences of moving into and living in an urban papakāinga. Beyond improving tenure security and enabling home ownership, these accounts shed light on how housing development can foster social and cultural repatriation for urban Māori whānau.

4.2.1 Historical context

Ngāti Whātua ki Ōrākei are the principal iwi in the Tāmaki (Auckland) isthmus. They have continually occupied the area around central Auckland from the western Waitemata Harbour through to Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill), and out to the Manukau Harbour since the mid-17th century, when they gained dominance over the lands by defeating the Waiohua iwi. The Ōrākei hapū of Ngāti Whātua was founded by Tuperiri and through him they held the mana (power and authority) over their lands in Tāmaki.

As such, every member of Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei can trace their whakapapa (genealogy) to Tuperiri and are descended from the 3 hapū (sub-tribes): Te Tāōū, Ngāoho and Te Uringutu, collectively referred to as Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei. Today, the collective affairs of the sub-tribe are looked after by the Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei Trust (Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei, 2019).

Ngāti Whātua also held strong ties with Waikato iwi and forged an alliance that continues to be important today. In 1835 this alliance was key to Ngāti Whātua regaining their stronghold following challenges from the northern tribe, Ngāpuhi. This meant that Ngāti Whātua was in residence and fully in control when the British Crown signed the



Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Ngāti Whātua were flourishing 'on both harbours of the isthmus, the most noteworthy being at Mangere and Onehunga on the Manukau, and Okahu and Horotiu (Queen Street) on the Waitemata' (Kawharu, 1975, p. 6).

Ngāti Whātua signed the Treaty of Waitangi at Mangere and persuaded Governor Hobson to move his capital from the Bay of Islands to Tāmaki. As part of the inducement, Hobson was offered a piece of land adjoining Ōrākei on the Waitemata Harbour. Kawharu asserts that the motivation for the offer was two-fold: the presence of the Pākehā at Ōrākei would mean lasting peace for Ngāti Whātua from the Ngāpuhi threat; and being closer to the government seat would mean more security. In any event, 'the offer was accepted and 3,000 acres [of land]...and 56 pounds plus an assortment of trade goods' was the agreed price (Kawharu, 1975, p. 6). Thus followed years of Crown-led land acquisitions, ownership and changes to title (from trustees on behalf of the tribe to 13 "owners"), partitioning, and other legal means through the Colonial Government's Native Land Court. This meant that by 1914, only the papakāinga (the village proper), with its marae and cottages, food gardens, cemetery and chapel remained (Kawharu, 1975, p. 6). The loss of land did not end there though, and by 1923 there were only three acres remaining. One family agreed to swap their holding for 10 acres situated above the ancestral land area, but by 1950 that too had been acquired under the Public Works Act for future housing. The bulk of what is now metropolitan Auckland was lost to Ngāti Whātua.

In 1953, the remaining inhabitants were evicted from the original village site in Okahu Bay and their houses and marae burnt down and demolished by the government in an attempt to tidy up the view for an upcoming visit by a young Queen Elizabeth II. Hapū members were relocated as tenants in small state houses uphill on Kitemoana Street, designed for nuclear families and not suited to the extended family life of the hapū.

In due course, the community was separated geographically into three sections. By far the largest group, some 27 households, rented the new state houses in Kitemoana Street. On the opposite side of the Ōrākei domain...three tenancies were allocated to the children of the last individual title holder in the land surrounding the marae...somewhat further from the

main settlement five more were made over to the descendants of Mohouri, stepmother of Tuperiri...(Kawharu, 1975, p. 14)

Over a relatively short period of time, Ngāti Whātua had been reduced from holding paramount authority and mana over a large part of the Tāmaki isthmus to ‘the level of landless labourers’⁴⁵ with only the cemetery and the chapel remaining in their ownership (Kawharu, 1975, p. 13). The turning point for reassertion of Ngāti Whātua mana whenua status could be said to have occurred in the 1970s. In 1977, members of the hapū occupied the Ōrākei Reserve to prevent it being used for up-market housing. The occupation of Takaparawhau (Bastion Point) was to last for 506 days, and ended only when the Government sent in police to forcibly remove the occupiers and destroy the village that had been set up.⁴⁶ In the meantime, wanting a peaceful solution, there were negotiations between Ngāti Whātua elders and the Crown that led to the return of 9.2 hectares, and 4 hectares to replace land taken for state houses. The land including the houses on Kitemoana Street were handed over to a Trust Board to administer (Walker, 2004).

The second turning point was the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, to deal with Māori grievances over breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. In 1985 this was adjusted to hear claims back to 1840, which opened up the process for all iwi who had suffered under the many legislative and policy breaches since the signing in 1840. The settlement process allowed two things to happen: first, it restored the recognised mana whenua status of Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei as the principal hapū in the Tāmaki isthmus, in particular (and most notably), within the metropolitan Auckland area. Second, the Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei settlement has allowed the cultural, social, environmental and economic development aspirations to be realised. The Treaty claims settlement was based primarily on nineteenth-century Crown on-sales of Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei land, and land speculation that rendered Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei virtually landless. The settlement provided for monetary compensation and return of Crown-owned lands in downtown

⁴⁵ For a full explanation of the various means by which the Crown acquired the land from Ngāti Whātua, please refer to Kawharu (1975), pp. 5-14.

⁴⁶ Refer to Hawke (1998) for a full account of the Takaparawhau occupation.

Auckland (New Zealand Railways lands settlement in 1993). The title to Okahu Bay was also vested in Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei, along with the return of placenames in the official maps and signage, and Pourewa Creek to be vested in the hapū.⁴⁷ Most importantly, the settlement has allowed Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei to reassert their tino rangatiratanga and strengthen relationships between the people, land and sea environs they once dominated. The main hapū tūrangawaewae is centred on the tribal lands along and around Kupe and Kitemoana Streets, anchored by Ōrākei Marae.

Having established an historical context and possible development drivers, this chapter moves on to look at the Kāinga Tuatahi (First Place) development in Ōrākei.

4.2.2 Kāinga Tuatahi

Housing whānau has been a priority for Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei since the original Okahu Bay papakāinga was burnt to the ground in the 1950s, but increasingly so over the last five or so years. The hapū have long held aspirations to recreate a vibrant community in Ōrākei, alongside a commitment to enable as many hapū members as possible to return to and live on the Ōrākei papakāinga. Significant financial and cultural investment followed the settlement, including buying back land and state houses in Ōrākei over many years, after which Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei was in a position to start building their own homes. There was a recognition that the whenua is a finite resource, and this required a mindset shift from the ‘quarter acre dream’ to visions of a more sustainable, higher density living arrangement. In a step towards re-establishing a strong, thriving village community in Ōrākei, Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei recently completed the development of Kāinga Tuatahi, the first medium-density urban papakāinga in New Zealand. The development comprises 30 homes for Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei members to live on the Ōrākei papakāinga, with the first houses completed in early 2016 and the remainder shortly after (see Figures 4.1 – 4.9 below).

⁴⁷ ‘The total cost to the Crown of the settlement redress outlined in the Deed of Settlement is \$18.00 million plus interest. \$2 million of the \$18 million was received by Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei as an on-account payment through the Railways Settlement in 1993 so the value received through this settlement is \$16 million plus interest and the value of the Pourewa Creek to be vested.’ <https://www.tuhoronuku.com/Ngāti-Whātua-Ōrākei-settlement-summary>

Stevens Lawson Architects designed the houses to be bold but simple. Most of the houses are in groups of three or more, clustered under a larger roof that wraps around them like a cloak. The peaked asymmetrical rooflines evoke the jagged landscape of volcanic cones across the Auckland isthmus. Three standalone houses sit at the west of the development, at the fringe of the site, with prominent gable-ends that resemble pātaka (storehouses). The framework design offered three housing types: terraced units (3 x 2-bedroom units and 6 x 3-bedroom units), nine in all; side-attached houses (all 4-bedroom units) clustered in six groups of three, eighteen in all; and standalone houses (3-bedrooms), three in all. The 4-bedroom homes also had the option of converting their garage to a study, studio or fifth bedroom. Each house has outdoor areas on two or more sides of the house, linked by shared driveways, children’s play areas, and māra kai (communal gardens).



Figure 4.1: Kāinga Tuatahi – aerial photo (shown in colour). Located in Ōrākei, Auckland, the development is divided by Kupe Street down the centre, with the East Block (12 units) on the right of Kupe Street, and the West Block (18 units) on the left. For reference, a larger aerial image is attached as Appendix F.





Figure 4.2: Kāinga Tuatahi (East block) - buildings viewed from Kupe Street looking North. Note the asymmetric rooflines (to reflect the landscape of volcanic cones across Auckland), and how the roof wraps around three attached units like a metaphorical kākahu (cloak) (photo: author).



Figure 4.3: Kāinga Tuatahi (East block) – laneway. The lanes are for single-direction traffic only, and residents reverse their cars into their private parking spaces (e.g. the front of a parked car is visible in front left of image). Part of the lanes are constructed using permeable pavers (right side of photo), which allows stormwater to permeate into the ground, reducing the amount of stormwater runoff from hard surfaces (photo: author).



Figure 4.4: Kāinga Tuatahi (East Block) – communal playground and māra kai, with a bridge over the stormwater swale in the foreground. This image demonstrates an application of shared economies: the twelve households on the East Block collectively funded the trampoline for all of the children to play on, as opposed to each individual household having to purchase play equipment of their own (photo: author).



Figure 4.5: Kāinga Tuatahi (East Block) – laneway exit onto Kupe Street. As mentioned above, the laneways are for single-direction traffic only, reducing the number of new intersections created with Kupe Street. The bins currently at kerbside for collection are usually stored behind the screen to the left of the driveway (photo: author).





Figure 4.6: Kāinga Tuatahi (East Block) – buildings along Kupe Street. Again, this image shows the peaked rooflines of the building clusters. The original façade was designed to have cedar panels, but for cost-savings, these were replaced with the coloured weatherboards (green for these clusters of homes) (photo: author).



Figure 4.7: Kāinga Tuatahi (West Block) – view from Kupe Street. This is a pedestrian accessway to the West Block laneway, connecting to Kupe Street (via steps), with a visual link to central Auckland (Sky Tower and central Auckland skyline faintly visible in background). Terraced houses are located either side of the accessway (photo: author).



Figure 4.8: Kāinga Tuatahi (West Block) – terraced homes viewed from the West Block laneway. The top two floors contain the dwellings, with carports underneath. West Block residents also have a rule requiring residents to reverse their cars into parking spaces. The balconies help to provide passive surveillance of the block and create a sense of safety and enclosure for residents (photo: author).



Figure 4.9: Kāinga Tuatahi (West Block) – māra kai. Residents have access to the communal gardens and share any produce grown. The central Auckland skyline is visible in background (photo: author).



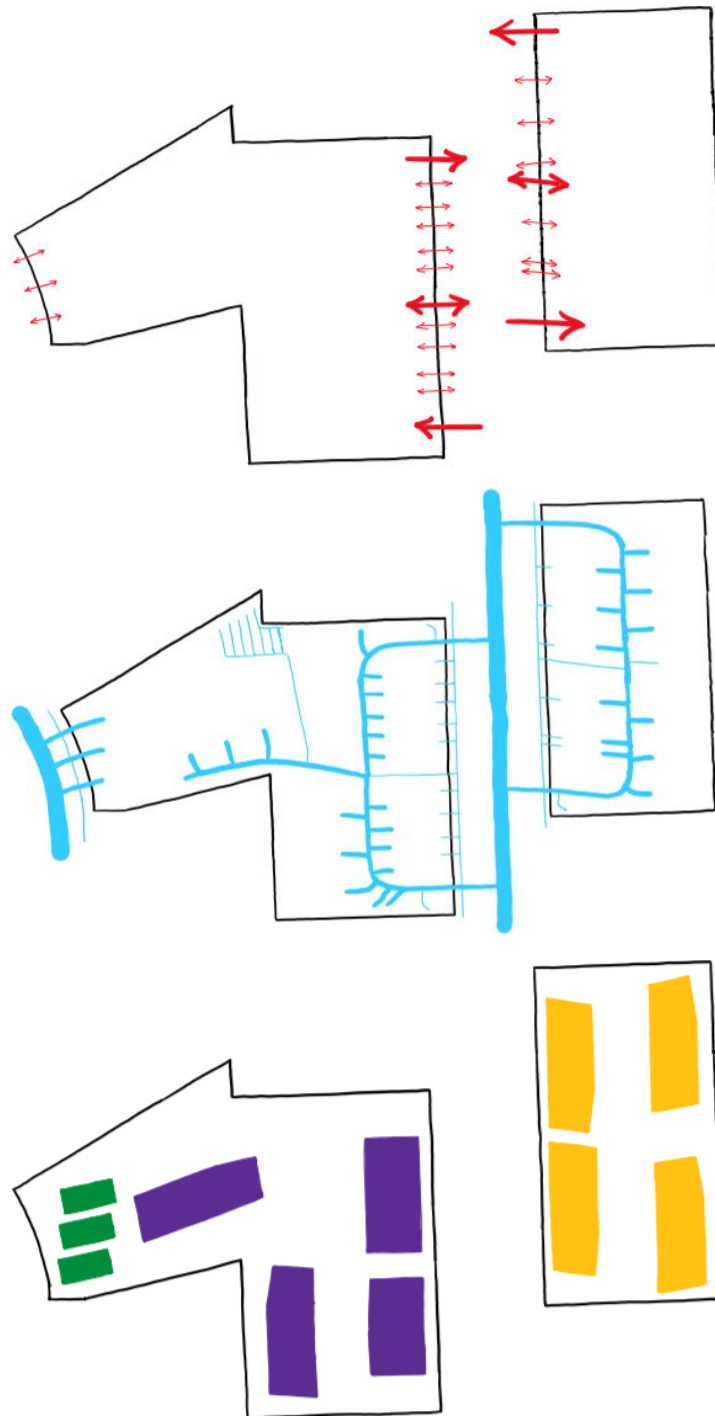


Figure 4.10: Kāinga Tuatahi - spatial plans. TOP: Connections in and out of the site, with bolder arrows indicating shared entrances/paths with narrow arrows representing private entry points. The large number of arrows indicates it is relatively easy for residents to enter and exit the site individually or anonymously. MIDDLE: Site connectivity, with the thickest lines indicating public roads, medium-sized lines representing surfaces trafficable by cars, and thin lines representing pedestrian pathways. The network of pathways and laneways are primarily 'ring-like', making it easy for residents to move around the site. BOTTOM: Homes are generally clustered in three groups: the three standalone homes to the West (green), 15 homes within the rest of the West Block (purple) and 12 homes in the East Block (yellow). This allows for sub-groups to form within the wider development.

4.2.3 Ownership model

Physical architecture aside, Kāinga Tuatahi is unique in the home ownership model it has created. The land is held in common ownership by the hapū, with individual homes and private areas subject to a leasehold subdivision; that is, residents own their houses but sublease the land for 150 years, managing the kāinga or village themselves through a ‘cuzzy corp’ (i.e. corporation of cousins, similar in nature to a body corporate in a Unit Title subdivision). With banks unwilling to lend on communally-owned land, Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei financed the mortgages for whānau. Home ownership and leasehold subdivision may not seem new or unusual, but in this context, it represents a significant shift away from the model of tenants in state-owned state houses that has been the norm.

The leasehold areas for the West Block and East Block are depicted on the plans in Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12 respectively. These plans show the two different layers or zones of property: there are private lease areas (shown white, encompassing the building units as well as private front and back yards) as well as common spaces shared among all residents (green/pink/yellow).

4.2.4 Data collection

Between June and August 2018, I visited ten of the 30 resident whānau at their homes in Kāinga Tuatahi and asked how they were settling in to village life just over two years since first moving in. Whānau participants were selected by Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei based on the size and location of the whare (to give a spread of residents across the site and across the different house sizes), as well as variety in resident involvement in the community. A slightly higher proportion of whānau were interviewed from the Kupe Street West Block, given there is a mixture of house typologies within that block.

The interviews were audio recorded and varied in length from 44 minutes to 1 hour 37 minutes, with the average interview being 1 hour and 7 minutes long. The audio recordings were transcribed and copies of the transcriptions sent back to respective whānau for them to proof-read, make corrections or clarify points. A copy of the interview guide is attached in Appendix E. Later, in February 2019, a guided field walk was undertaken with the hakuturi for this site.





Figure 4.11: Kāinga Tuatahi (West Block) – plan of lease areas (white) and common areas (green/pink) for Kāinga Tuatahi, West Block (source: Woods Drawing “Proposed Leasehold Subdivision ~ Phase 2 West”, No. 613063-5-GE-001-4, Revision 5, accessed from Auckland Council Property File).



Figure 4.12: Kāinga Tuatahi (East Block) – plan of lease areas (white) and common areas (green/yellow) (source: Woods Drawing “Proposed Leasehold Subdivision ~ Phase 2 East”, No. 61306-5-GE-001-2, Revision 5, accessed from Auckland Council Property File).

Table 4.1: Breakdown of Kāinga Tuatahi whānau participant households interviewed compared to households for the whole site.

		Homes interviewed	
		<i>Number</i>	<i>% of total</i>
Location of whānau home on site	Kupe St (East Block)	3/12	25%
	Kupe St (West Block)	6/15	40%
	Takitimu St	1/3	33%
	TOTAL	10/30	33%
House size	2 bedroom homes	1/3	33%
	3 bedroom homes	2/9	22%
	4+ bedroom homes	7/18	39%
	TOTAL	10/30	33%

In addition, the property file for the development was purchased, including the resource consent application, engineering plans and associated completion certificates for the development (received January 2019). A range of field notes, memos and photographs were also taken and recorded through the duration of this project.

The following seven sections explore each of the socially-based tenure principles and ways in which they are embodied within the Kāinga Tuatahi development, as well as a sample of the codes used for analysis. Insights from other, similar cases are also included throughout. Each principle concludes with a summary and a visual depiction of the extent to which that principle is perceived to be embodied within the Kāinga Tuatahi development (for example, as shown in Figure 4.13). It is important to note that this visual depiction (and the gauge level depicted for each principle) is not an objective measure. Rather, the gauge levels shown are merely a visual representation of a response determined subjectively by the author. This instinctive response is based on an informed personal synthesis of interview and secondary data content, as well as body language, pitch, tone of voice and other observations of participants and case study sites over the course of this research, much of which cannot necessarily be conveyed aptly in written form. Consequently, while readers may assess the levels differently to those



shown, these diagrams are offered throughout the following two chapters as a heuristic technique to guide the reader along the author’s process of assessment.



Figure 4.13: Gauge diagram (example) displaying the extent to which a principle is embodied in the development (e.g. this principle is displayed as being present to a high degree).

4.3 Principle 1: Rights are embedded in social relationships

Socially-based tenure principle #1:
Rights are embedded in social relationships

Codes: whakapapa | relationships with others | shared facilities | borrow economy
| organisational structures | social connections | ‘type’ of resident

The first principle posits that in socially-based systems, rights to land and property are inherently bound up with belonging to a social group. Within Kāinga Tuatahi, this principle is expressed through: whakapapa; social relationships through physical design; tangible outcomes from active social relationships; and a sense of community identity.

4.3.1 Social relationships are built on whakapapa

Given that whānau are generally only able to live in Kāinga Tuatahi if they hold a whakapapa connection to Ngāti Whātua (or have a relationship or connection with someone who is a member of the tribe), this principle is automatically present to varying extents. This requirement accords with traditional notions of rights derived through membership of a tribal grouping, however the contemporary application of a whakapapa principle bears a subtle difference to tradition-based notions. A cursory examination of hapū membership application forms suggests that ‘proof’ of a whakapapa connection to Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei requires applicants to trace their

whakapapa to the common ancestor, Tuperiri, by completing family trees and identifying the connection through relevant ancestors. Carter (2003) suggests that the ways in which whakapapa is recorded in a modern context, such as through registers and rolls like this, is at odds with traditional notions of whakapapa encompassing a greater set of rights, responsibilities, and protocols. As a result, reciprocal responsibilities that would normally exist within a whakapapa system may be lost or disconnected from the associated rights from belonging.

The introduction of beneficiary rolls has changed the ways that alliances and participation are maintained. The rolls have changed the way whakapapa obligations and responsibilities are carried out thereby providing a check on the contribution from each individual as to how they participate. All practices of tiakitanga [guardianship, protection, trust] and the reciprocal obligations and responsibilities that are part of maintaining whakapapa relationships disappear, because the main requirement to participation is simply to register a name on a list. The rolls have separated people from the environment, except in a very materialistic way (Carter, 2003, p. 203).

Traditionally, if obligations of belonging were not maintained, rights could lapse. For instance, under the concept of ahi kā, rights to land or an area could lapse if tribal members were absent, usually after three generations (Kawharu, 1987; Metge, 1967):

In the context of land tenure, rights of use depended upon occupation, and by extension, active and responsible membership of the land holding group. An individual's rights therefore lay dormant in those villages where he did not live and became less important with the passage of time. It was widely accepted that after three generations of absence the rights of the absentee lapsed entirely, though this seems to have been modified in practice by such factors as rank, sex and circumstances of the absentee as well as by the nature and extent of his or her contact with the residents (Kawharu, 1987, p. 143).

This duality of rights and responsibilities, as is entrenched in a whakapapa framework, is explored further in section 4.4 below.

In some instances, the combination of whakapapa and other, more general commonalities seemed to make for a strong group. For instance, many of the residents in the East Block are of similar ages and at similar life stages, which also meant that



many of them had grown up around one another. Residents reflected on how these similarities and connections established prior helped to provide a foundation for easier community building. The following is a short excerpt from a longer conversation in which the resident listed several linkages and connections to other residents in the block that existed prior to moving in:

We get along on this block [the East Block] cause we're all the same age. And Dave and Rewa, they grew up with my cousins that lived on Kitemoana. My nan used to live down there and we used to see them all of the time growing up, in the holidays or visiting nan on a Sunday. So we always knew Dave from when he was little...(Interview KT11, p. 15).

For residents who do not whakapapa to Ngāti Whātua directly (for instance, spouses or flatmates of tribal members), the binding factor of a shared ancestry was sometimes exhibited instead through shared Māoritanga (a shared connection by virtue of being Māori), irrespective of particular iwi connections. While those connections were present, for non-Ngāti Whātua members the connections did not appear as strong. For example, some spouses perceived a lower level of individual security by not holding blood-ties to Ngāti Whātua themselves:

It's a little bit hard for myself, not being Ngāti Whātua, because if we were to separate, I'd lose the house. I could live here but I couldn't do anything with the house (Interview KT02, p. 2).

Further research could valuably explore ways to improve or increase the sense of security for non-tribal members, and strategies adopted by those non-tribal members who do feel more secure.

4.3.2 Social relationships are supported by design

Beyond whakapapa, feelings of belonging stemming from social relationships were also expressed. The arrangement of whare across the site was deliberately designed to support a whānau concept of living, or what one resident describes as 'that village thing' (Interview KT08, p. 10). The homes are positioned either side of the laneways providing a sense of enclosure and passive surveillance, making it feel like a safe space for children to play in. The shared-space lanes and the communal play areas for children provide a

framework for regular interaction between whānau, and many residents spoke about how this made them feel connected with each other and their neighbours.

I like the fact that there is a good whānau community feel...the fact that you know your neighbours. Well, you're related to most of them in some shape or form. Because every other place that we've lived, we've never known our neighbours (Interview KT06, p. 7).

4.3.3 Social relationships can generate tangible outcomes

Social relationships and strong in-groups have the benefit of producing tangible benefits for the community. The village feel has the flow-on effect of creating a strong sense of safety and security within the community, particularly for children. The adults are comfortable letting children roam freely, playing with their cousins, with the knowledge that there is a sort of collective child-minding in action.

[Interviewer question: What do you like the most about living here?] Just being able to have the kids do what they want to do. If you come here in the afternoon...there's about 30 kids playing on the lane. Some of them don't live here; they just come from all over and play there. I think that's what I like the most. That you don't really have to worry about the kids, you can just let them roam (Interview KT02, p. 2).

I think my favourite thing about living up here is how safe it feels. There is just a real sense of...if something went wrong, your neighbours would know about it, they would see and help and tell someone, you know? You don't feel all isolated like I've felt in pretty much every neighbourhood I've ever lived in...I just feel really safe (Interview KT11, p. 3).

With the laneways separated from the main road (Kupe Street), this has helped to create a feeling of enclosure with the houses overlooking the lane and providing passive surveillance or 'eyes on the street' (Jacobs, 1961). In addition to the physical design, some residents reflected on how they considered that the kids were safe to freely roam the site because they were around whānau, not strangers (e.g. Interview KT07) and suggests perhaps an additional level of accountability in place because of the common belonging group.



What is more, whānau also reflected on the borrow economy (as explained below) as a tangible benefit of the social relationships forged within the community.

[Interviewer question: Do you ever borrow things from your neighbours, or vice versa?] All the time. There's a really nice sort of added benefit to that; that people always reciprocate. For example, some of my neighbours borrowed my pie dishes and I came home last night and the pie they made, there was one for me in the fridge, you know. So it's not just 'borrowing' (Interview KT03, p. 10).

However, while social relationships and the community feel are often described as highlights of living in Kāinga Tuatahi, equally, they can be a challenging aspect.

[Interviewer question: If you could change one thing about living here, what would it be?] I would say the same, that sometimes it's whānau all around. Sometimes you can't escape! (Interview KT02, p. 2).

4.3.4 Social relationships support community identity

Strong internal ties or links within a community (including a strong internal community identity) can potentially create tension with residents outside of the development or the immediate area.

From an outside perspective, there definitely is an identity to living here, as one of the fancy Māori's on the hill, kind of thing. I haven't been here long enough to see what that looks like from the inside though (Interview KT11, p. 9).

As far as the rest of the community knowing we're here, you can't help but know. It sticks out like a sore thumb! And in that sense, we've got a huge community identity (Interview KT04, p. 9).

While beyond the scope of this thesis, future research may helpfully explore the perceptions of residents beyond the development site before, during and after construction. Similar research has recently been conducted in Waimahia Inlet, Auckland which would provide a useful starting point (see: Witten, Opit, Ferguson, & Kearns, 2018, 2019).



4.3.5 Summary



Figure 4.14: Gauge diagram (Kāinga Tuatahi) – Principle 1 is demonstrated to a high degree.

Overall, the principle of rights being embedded in social relationships seems to be present to a high degree in Kāinga Tuatahi. Residents can only buy homes by being virtue of holding a whakapapa connection to Ngāti Whātua, or by having a connection or relationship with a tribal member. While the strength of that belonging relationship may not be as strong for spouses and other non-tribal members not having the Ngāti Whātua bloodline, in general, the positive aspects of living in Kāinga Tuatahi tended to outweigh the negatives. Historically, the principle of right-holding deriving from membership of a social group was explicitly bound up with survival. There was a strong notion of the collective and that damaging the ties binding those social relationships carried the risk of exclusion or of being ostracised from the collective. Within a contemporary context, that historical reliance on mutual cooperation for food-gathering or fighting is no longer present. While whānau must hold or connect to an ancestral bloodline to purchase a house within Kāinga Tuatahi, once whānau reside in the community, the obligation to maintain cordial relationships is not necessarily as strong without the survival incentive.

Most Kāinga Tuatahi residents enjoy common bonds through whakapapa, even prior to moving into their homes. This begs the question as to whether (and how) comparable community bonds can be forged or established in other ways, for groups who do not have a shared ancestry binding the group from the outset (as is common in cohousing communities). This is explored further in the following two chapters.



4.4 Principle 2: Individual rights are subordinated to group rights

Socially-based tenure principle #2:
Individual rights are subordinated to group rights

Codes: individualism | rights and responsibilities | group rights | power |
community ideology | notion of the collective

The second principle posits that individual rights are subordinated to group rights. That is, individual rights are nested within a wider land administration system of group rights; the group comes first:

Somewhat divorced from the formal policy line but alive and well in the minds and hearts of many people...is the belief that belonging to a collective does not simply mean 'getting something' but includes notions of contribution and commitment (O'Regan, 2001, p. 96).

Within the Kāinga Tuatahi development, this principle is evidenced through: notions of the collective; a duality of rights and responsibilities; and through expressions of individualism.

4.4.1 Groups occur at varying spatial scales

A notion of the collective was expressed across varying scales: at a site level (Kāinga Tuatahi itself), at a tribal level (relating to Ngāti Whātua generally), as well as a pan-tribal level (relating to Māoridom generally). For instance, at the site level, there was a general perception among residents that the māra kai were for the collective residents within Kāinga Tuatahi (e.g. Interview KT06, p. 13). While individual whānau or residents might tend to a particular area or portion of the māra kai, it tended to be universally understood that produce from the gardens was available for any residents to collect and use. Similarly, some whānau spoke of future aspirations for enhanced co-sharing opportunities where residents could more easily store and share children's toys, tools and other commodities. The potential for shared resource economies such as these reveals a mindset distinctly different from an individualist perspective of needing to 'own' everything yourself.

At the tribal and pan-tribal level, as noted above, whakapapa or a shared ancestry ('Whatuatanga', or 'Māoritanga' for spouses and flatmates) formed an important binding factor for the residents in Kāinga Tuatahi. This is consistent with international literature on the important contributions of shared histories to group bonding and a sense of community (e.g. Perkins & Long, 2002). Residents often reflected on their sense of luck or gratitude at having been able to purchase a house within the development, which was bound up with an explicit sense of responsibility to contribute back to the tribal collective in return.

I think the opportunity [to live here] has probably pushed me more to make sure I contribute wherever I'm asked to...I was asked to apply for [a job with Ngāti Whātua] and even though it was just an internship, I just stopped my proper job. I had to do it, I felt obliged to give back in some way...so even though it's not as stable as my flash job before, you have to sacrifice for what they've sacrificed. That's how I balance out my reciprocity. On the market, this [house] is worth over a million dollars. Have I given that amount of value back to the tribe? Well now I can say yup. Lately I have! (Interview KT01, pp. 9-10).

Language can also contribute to group cohesion, as Rivlin describes below:

Language also is a mechanism for cohesion...This linguistic pattern establishes another link to people and a distinctiveness when viewed by the larger community (1987, p. 19).

This was an initial imperative of the Kāinga Tuatahi development: to encourage and foster the growth of Te Reo Māori in the community, which held particular appeal to some residents throughout the planning phases:

We're a reo speaking family, we're a full immersion home and so [having a reo speaking community] was important to us. We thought living in a Māori community, we'd hopefully build up the capacity for the community to want to speak Māori... (Interview KT05, p. 3).

Some residents suggested the focus on Te Reo Māori could be promoted or prescribed more strongly in future developments. Incentives such as financial discounts might encourage whānau to commit to becoming a full immersion home, because at Kāinga Tuatahi, the aspiration has not yet been fully realised:

...we're a hapori (community) Māori, but not a hapori reo Māori (Interview KT05, pp. 5-6).

4.4.2 Group formation can be influenced by site layout

The physical layout of the site may have had the unintended side-effect of fostering the formation of subgroups within the development. The Kupe Street road reserve acts as a natural barrier or boundary bisecting the development. What was designed as one development has produced what could be perceived as two smaller communities. For instance, residents spoke of 'this side' and 'the other side' being parts of the development either side of Kupe Street (refer: various interviews⁴⁸), or colloquially, 'the Eastern Heights' and 'the Western Heights' (Interview KT05, p. 9). Within the two 'sides' of the development, further sub-groupings sometimes emerged between residents at similar life stages who formed strong bonds.

[Interviewer question: What do you like the most about living here?] The support. We're all young whānau so we're all going through the same crazy lifestyles at the moment, just being parents at home and all work and no play. Just being in a supportive community, being close to his whānau, it's a massive support to us (Interview KT05, p. 6).

We're quite separate...all of us on this side are about the same age, we've got kids about the same age, and we were the first ones [to move] in, so we sort of created the community (Interview KT02, p. 3).

The layout of the site and use of laneways also has the effect of promoting some individualist practices. Residents are generally able to drive or park cars easily and directly outside their homes. While making it easier for residents to access and exit the site, the individualisation of routes or paths from car parking to individual homes limits the opportunity for neighbourly interactions that can be experienced by more walkable neighbourhoods. As one resident mentioned.

It's not quite like the hill [Boot Hill/Kitemoana Street], where you walk around it...[Here, we are] all in and out, in and out. We park our cars outside the door so we don't walk anywhere (Interview KT04, p. 17).

⁴⁸ Interviews KT02, pp. 3, 4, 6, 8; KT03, pp. 12-15; KT04, pp. 5, 12, 15-16; KT05, pp. 7-10, 13; KT06, pp. 13, 18; KT07, pp. 4, 6, 7; KT08, pp. 5, 12; KT10, pp. 7-8; KT11, p. 7.

4.4.3 Group membership balances rights and responsibilities

Residents tended to perceive a duality of rights and responsibilities within the development itself. Residents tended to recognise that benefits of social interactions and the tangible outcomes of social capital were fruitful when they personally took the responsibility to engage with the collective. Some residents took responsibility for leading meetings within Kāinga Tuatahi as a way of serving some responsibility to the community.

When we've had meetings, I've sort of been the chair and run the meetings. And the way we do things is by a vote; we vote on things. Because there's 12 houses on this side, you have to have 8 or more to pass. That's how we've done it (Interview KT02, p. 6).

It was more common, however, for residents to feel a sense of obligation or responsibility to a wider tribal level, particularly to the marae. Most residents were actively involved in the marae or other activities such as sport within the local community. For many, the opportunity to get more involved with the marae itself had also been a strong motivating factor for moving into Kāinga Tuatahi.

4.4.4 Groups should consider individual privacy

A strong focus on shared or collective living can sometimes be at the detriment of private, individual space. For instance, the whānau or community-style of development did mean that some whānau were not expecting to enjoy much privacy.

Privacy? There's no privacy in these! That's all good anyway. Can't expect to live in a kāinga and get it; you're dreaming (Interview KT04, p. 8).

Other residents aspired for better balance between social interaction and privacy, and stressed the need for private, individual space to retreat to. Some whānau had extended fences or installed partial screens along sides of their units to try and create an element of privacy, though it was commonly recognised that the landscaping across the site was still young, and would mature and provide enhanced screening and privacy over time.



4.4.5 Summary



Figure 4.15: Gauge diagram (Kāinga Tuatahi) – Principle 2 is demonstrated to a moderate degree.

Overall, the principle of individual rights being subordinated to group rights is presented to a moderate extent. The notion of the collective is exhibited in Kāinga Tuatahi with elements of sharing and collective rights with the māra kai and the shared play areas for children. Many residents spoke of aspirations for additional co-sharing of resources and materials that could happen in the future. Whānau also spoke of a strong sense of responsibility and reciprocity; that they felt privileged to have had the opportunity to move into Kāinga Tuatahi, and felt obliged to participate in the local community (both in a general sense, and in terms of giving back to the hapū community specifically). However, those notions of reciprocity typically operated at a spatial and social level beyond the physical bounds of the Kāinga Tuatahi site itself; responsibilities to the marae, to the Ōrākei community and to the tribe were more common than to the Kāinga Tuatahi community itself.

Elements of the physical design tended to perpetuate ‘the status quo’, and reflect dominant design paradigms for medium-density development such as the use of shared laneways and private parking. While the laneways do provide a valued hard surface for children to play sports on, the laneway design promotes an individualist mindset by offering the ability for residents to drive throughout the site and to generally park private vehicles directly outside their units. This reduces the opportunity for spontaneous interactions between residents, when whānau can move uninterrupted from their homes to their cars, and off site. Similar analysis of cohousing communities in Chapter 5 and comparisons in Chapter 6 shed further light on the importance of

purposeful, community-based design in fostering community engagement and interaction.

4.5 Principle 3: Work gives rise to belonging and creates effective rights

Socially-based tenure principle #3:
Work gives rise to belonging and creates effective rights

Codes: physical work | symbolic work | jobs and work | community activities | personal stage of life | ebbs and flows | capacity | equality and equity

The third principle extends on the notion of a duality of rights and responsibilities and recognises the benefits of personal contribution in fostering a sense of belonging and self-worth. This principle recognises that everyone has a role within the community and can contribute in different ways, regardless of age or physical ability, and was a principle that could be assumed in traditional kāinga. An individual's capacity to undertake work can have ebbs and flows though, depending on their personal life stage. Within Kāinga Tuatahi, this principle is demonstrated through work practices (internal and community-based); community activities; and ebbs and flows.

4.5.1 Work can relate to the site

While whānau generally undertake the physical work to maintain their own private homes and front and back yards, most of the work to maintain the shared areas within Kāinga Tuatahi is contracted to external groups. Resident whānau pay money into a 'sink fund' to cover general maintenance such as gardening of the common areas, as well as to save money for larger but less common tasks such as painting the exterior of houses. Several residents preferred the ease of paying into a central fund, citing busy lifestyles limiting their ability or desire to work on the maintenance of common areas themselves.

I know when we had our first kāinga hui, we kind of entertained that thought [of doing the work on the shared areas such as gardening]. And then we realised that it was just going to be too much. A lot of the whānau



work 9 to 5, Monday to Friday, and the last thing we want to be doing is gardening and all that (Interview KT07, p. 7).

We pay someone. We thought about setting up a roster to do the weeding in the common areas, but we were voted against (Interview KT05, p. 12).

However, some residents expressed frustration over instances where the work to be contracted may not be physically carried out, with residents being refunded their payments instead. Several residents spoke about the maintenance of external areas (both private and shared) as taking pride in your home and your community, and suggested the funds could be used to pay some of the residents themselves to carry out the work for the community, where they had greater capacity and perhaps desire to do it.

Just the little things that make it look better. I mean, we take pride in our little piece of paradise, so why can't [the tribe] help us keep the rest pretty? (Interview KT04, p. 10).

4.5.2 Work can relate to the wider community

Whānau within Kāinga Tuatahi who undertake jobs or work for the collective (i.e. beyond their private lease areas) tend to do so at a scale beyond the immediate development site. As noted above, residents pay a regular fee into a maintenance fund to cover costs related to the upkeep and maintenance of common areas within the bounds of Kāinga Tuatahi. Physical work or jobs that individual residents or whānau carry out for others tend to be for the marae or wider Ōrākei community.

The type of work tends to vary greatly as well, from volunteering to wash dishes and help out at the marae whenever possible (e.g. Interview KT02, KT03), to doing pro-bono policy work for the marae (e.g. Interview KT06, KT08), involvement in coaching and managing sports clubs and teams (e.g. Interview KT10), to full-time employment in a professional capacity for Ngāti Whātua generally (e.g. Interview KT01).

Our neighbour next door, he does a lot of the gardening, as well as some of the others along here. Our neighbour here, he works for Ngāti Whātua so he's always involved in something. Same with some of the ones down there. Whereas we are more...we'll put our hands up for things that come up (Interview KT02, p. 5).

Having the ability to participate and take up an active role within the community was a common motivation for whānau seeking to return to Ōrākei and live in Kāinga Tuatahi.

In the back of my mind, it was always to come back home, to come back here. Not just to live here though, but to be a part of the community and participate in as much as we can (Interview KT07, p. 2).

4.5.3 Work (or participation) ebbs and flows

While work and the sense of belonging that it can engender were valued, there was also a clear recognition that the ability of different whānau to participate and offer input to the community will ebb and flow over time, depending on their own personal circumstances and their stage of life. For instance, one of the youngest children in one whānau had been unwell for an extended period of time, meaning that the whānau was not available as much to contribute to the wider community. Similarly, other whānau with young families and who were also working longer weeks were more reluctant to take on additional work.

[Interviewer question: do you have much to do with the marae?]

- Slowly. Slowly getting back into it. This one is our sick baby, so he has been in hospital most of last year (Interview KT07, p. 4).
- Yep, I do a lot of helping with the cooking and stuff, but that's about it. Because we work fulltime, where some of the ones that are more involved are the ones that don't work (Interview KT02, p. 7).

The different jobs and roles that individuals hold within the community also ebb and flow with the life stage of the community itself. For example, some residents had initially been involved as the community leaders of East Block and West Block respectively, leading hui when whānau first moved in to Kāinga Tuatahi. Over time, as whānau settled in and the community has matured, meetings have become less frequent and that work or input has evolved into other forms.



4.5.4 Work can take the form of community activities

The idea of work could also extend to shared activities which bring whānau together to connect, to build relationships and to cement their stake or investment in the community. Residents recalled community events such as sharing their first Christmas together on the lane after moving in, and other social gatherings in the initial ‘honeymoon period’ (Interview KT01, p. 5), though there are fewer community activities now residents have settled in.

The first year we had Christmas [together], in 2016 when we all moved in and we had this huge thing, it was all happy families. But then last year, not so much (Interview KT01, p. 4).

Beyond the physical site boundaries of Kāinga Tuatahi itself, community activities helped residents to feel like part of the wider Ōrākei community as well.

It’s good to see kids running around and all sorts. We never had kids [running around at our previous house]. We had a right of way....so in Halloween, they would always miss us out. Now we get them all coming, which is awesome. That stuff, you can join in with the community now (Interview KT04, p. 7).

4.5.5 Summary



Figure 4.16: Gauge diagram (Kāinga Tuatahi) - Principle 3 is demonstrated to a low extent.

Overall, a work principle is demonstrated to a low extent in Kāinga Tuatahi. While whānau hold responsibility for the physical work to maintain their private homes and outdoor areas, responsibility for the common areas tends to be passed to external contractors. Residents pay money into a maintenance fund for work, for which the tribe generally contracts out to an external party. Contracting labour is an example of ‘symbolic work’, where the relationship or connection between the practice (i.e. the

work) and the actor (i.e. the worker) is not direct. The process has an additional step, or barrier, which is typically financial payments to others (see Figure 4.17 and Figure 4.18). Potentially, a greater level of physical or direct work could produce stronger connections both between residents, and between residents and their physical environments.

The Kaumātua Village in Hamilton (see Box 4.1) offers another perspective of physical work and in particular, touches on some of the intangible reasons residents undertake physical work. Real, physical work such as this bears similarities to perhaps the extreme end of the work spectrum where residents undertake work to complete the actual house build, such as half-built homes in South America and core housing in southern Africa (discussed further in section 5.6 below). These forms of work could potentially offer valuable insights into the practicalities and benefits of greater resident involvement.

In addition, examples of jobs and work practices by residents tends to be carried out at the wider Ōrākei community level, and beyond the bounds of the Kāinga Tuatahi site itself. Whānau expressed a variety of ways in which they contribute to the marae, the hapū or the community in general, so while physical work levels within the immediate development were lower, participation beyond the site was high. This is an important consideration for Māori communities who may often hold additional responsibilities to their marae or tribe over and above any personal interests or obligations within their immediate neighbourhood.

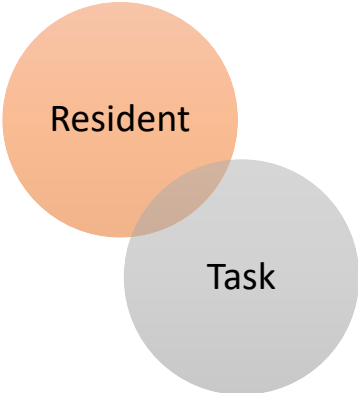


Figure 4.17: Diagram of physical (or direct) work, where there is a direct relationship or overlap between the resident and the task.

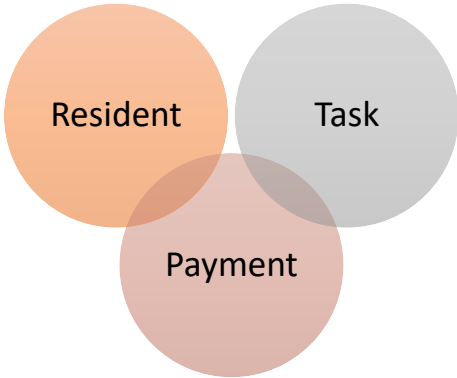


Figure 4.18: Diagram of symbolic work, where the resident is separated from the task, typically via payment to others such as external contractors.



Box 4.1: Kaumātua Village, Hamilton (work) - lawn mowing in the village demonstrates another way that a work principle occurs in contemporary urban papakāinga.



Figure 4.19: Kaumātua Village - aerial photo (stage one).

The concept behind the *Kaumātua Village* project in Hamilton, New Zealand, arose from a concern regarding the living conditions of some kaumātua (elders) in the city and a desire to provide them with warm, safe houses. A joint venture between Rauawaawa Kaumātua Charitable Trust and Te Rūnanga o Kirihiroa enabled the housing development to be born. The project was developed in two stages, with stage one consisting of eight units, and stage two consisting of six units. The units comprise one or two bedrooms, one bathroom and either an integrated garage, on-site parking (uncovered or carport) or on-street parking.

The units were designed based on the papakāinga model, where people learn to share and care for one another and look after one another as a quasi-whānau. Physically, the units are generally arranged around a central, communal space (platform/surfaced area under a shade sail) to encourage community interaction and passive surveillance, while also providing for the need for private spaces within individual units.

Ngā Rau Tatangi (the landlords for the Kaumātua Village), had originally intended to employ a commercial operator to mow the lawns within the village (private and shared lawns), however the kaumātua decided between them that they wanted to mow the lawns themselves. Resident kaumātua each contribute a koha (donation) to pay one of their kaumātua who mows the lawns himself.

While the notion of rental tenants mowing the lawns of a property is not uncommon (and can actually be a requirement of some rental tenancies), the kaumātua selecting this option over the provision of a commercial operator suggests that the kaumātua sought a sense of power and agency in shaping where one lives. The task itself becomes less about an obligation and more about pride and autonomy. For the kaumātua carrying out the work, it was one way that he was able to contribute to the village and reaffirm his sense of place within the community (Interview KV01, KV02).



Figure 4.20: Kaumātua Village - communal area (stage one). The communal area is centrally located, with individual units around the perimeter allowing residents to see the space from inside their homes and decide if they want to socialise or remain indoors. The amount of close-boarded timber fencing was reduced in stage two.



Figure 4.21: Kaumātua Village - buildings (stage two). The close-boarded timber fencing from stage one was largely replaced with more permeable fencing in this stage, allowing residents greater ability to see one another (e.g. if a neighbour has fallen). Stage two similarly has a shaded communal area, and solar panels visible on the roof. Also note the pou (carved posts) at the entrance to the site.



4.6 Principle 4: Communities are self-determining

Socially-based tenure principle #4:
Communities are self-determining

*Codes: processes | self-determination and autonomy | community stage of life |
adaptability | innovation*

The fourth principle posits that socially-based communities have autonomy and are adaptive. They are flexible in order to react to changes, both externally and internally, and seek to adopt new technologies and innovations to survive and thrive. Within Kāinga Tuatahi, this principle is demonstrated through the design and build process; innovation practices; rules and values; and the ability for residents to make changes to their homes and neighbourhood.

4.6.1 Self-determination can be applied through design/build processes

Resident whānau had relatively limited input in the early stages of the design of Kāinga Tuatahi. While some initial consultation hui and surveys were carried out in regard to features such as house size, the input that resident whānau had into the detailed design stage tended to be limited to cosmetic features or changes such as cabinetry, kitchen benchtops, window fixtures and flooring. Whānau may have been offered a range of options to select from, of different colours or materials, but did not tend to have any major input into design outcomes.

[Interviewer question: did you have any involvement in the design of the development?] No...I think it was one part which they should have allowed us more input in terms of the development. Even the interior of the houses. There wasn't much budging (Interview KT02, p. 5).

...we got to choose the colour of the floor, the colour of the cabinets, the benchtop...it would have been good to have, not more options per se, but more flexibility in what we could choose once things had been finalised (Interview KT05, p. 11).

We were able to give [the house] a little bit of our own flavour but basically, it's not like we could say we want the kitchen in this corner, because it was set...You can understand why they didn't open that up, there's 30 homes

and you're guaranteed there would have been 30 different ideas so it would've driven costs up (Interview KT06, p. 4).

Through the build process, whānau were more involved and had some ability to influence changes throughout. For instance, some whānau opted to convert their garages to an office or additional bedroom, while others successfully sought separate bathrooms on the downstairs level where they had not been initially designed for.

...there was no toilet downstairs, there were two toilets upstairs but you have kaumātua that come here, like my old man, he's 70 now. Having to go upstairs to the toilet doesn't make sense, there should be a toilet downstairs. It was little things like that (Interview KT05, p. 6).

Some of these changes required residents to persist against attitudes that they were perhaps going against a set of ideals of what was 'normal'. For example, one resident wanted separate bathrooms included in their home given they were not part of a nuclear family, and thought this could afford the different adults in the home a greater sense of privacy and autonomy.

I requested specifically to see if the architects could make two full bathrooms instead of one and a half...but they [the design team] were like "no, it's normal in New Zealand for everyone to have one and a half bathrooms"...but the project manager, she got them to change it (Interview KT01, p. 5).

Whānau did speak highly of the value of being able to follow the build process by watching the construction, visiting the site, walking through the houses on certain days ('milestone visits') and generally seeing the building progress. Once residents knew which house was theirs, they began to form a connection knowing that it was their home and that they could visualise it and see it coming together before their own eyes.

All the walls were up but nothing was gibbed up. It was at that time that we knew this whare was ours so we could come in and start visualising. From then on...we had sort of a connection to it then (Interview KT06, p. 6).



4.6.2 Self-determination can include innovation

The Kāinga Tuatahi development incorporates several innovative and sustainable measures. As the first medium-density urban papakāinga, Kāinga Tuatahi is innovative both in translating the traditionally rural concept of papakāinga to an urban setting, as well as by doing so with medium-density, attached dwellings. The home ownership model whereby residents pay off their mortgages to Whai Rawa was equally an innovative response to an inability of existing banking services in catering to multiply-owned land.

Through a partnership with Vector, Whai Rawa Ltd installed solar panels on the roofs of homes, as well as Tesla Energy Powerwall batteries (see Figure 4.22) which store excess power or can distribute it to other units, or back to the main electricity grid. This has helped to reduce electricity costs for homeowners, as well as improve the self-sufficiency of the development.

4.6.3 Self-determination can allow residents to make future changes

Self-determination and adaptability can also be considered in relation to residents' ability to alter and shape their living environments thinking ahead to the future. In Kāinga Tuatahi, residents own their homes, so can generally make internal changes as they wish. Any major internal changes might be confirmed with Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei prior to the commencement of building work, given their provision to buy-back any units within the first 15 years (to ensure valuations are accurate, for example). Residents can also make external changes to the home, in consultation with their neighbours. For example, some whānau installed or extended fences around private backyards for additional privacy. Generally, other neighbours did not mind, but did appreciate being consulted and having the ability to discuss any implications or alterations in certain cases.



Figure 4.22: Kāinga Tuatahi (East Block) - Tesla Energy Powerwall batteries. The batteries store excess power generated from the solar panels on the rooves and return it to individual units. Some batteries are located within units themselves, while these three are located within the screened service area.

Kāinga Tuatahi also included spaces ‘left over’. Both the East Block and West Block had an area of land set aside for residents to share the use of. Rather than the architects or developers imposing what the communal space would be used for, the area was grassed and left for the residents to define how the space could be utilised. The provision of common land is itself a feature of socially-based societies, but enabling residents to specify the use of that space adds the dimension of self-determination. Each whānau contributed a sum of money, which was collected and then distributed back to each block as a collective (pro-rated based on the number of houses within the block). The respective residents could then utilise those funds to develop the communal area as they wished. For instance, the East Block residents purchased a trampoline for all the children to use. Leaving spaces undeveloped is a useful technique to foster community building by placing the control with the community themselves to dictate the type of space they wish to use.



4.6.4 Self-determination includes creating your own rules and values

Residents of both sides of Kāinga Tuatahi (the East Block and the West Block) came together early to hold hui for their respective sides, to decide and agree on the values and guidelines that they wished to live by. Examples include auahi kore (smokefree, i.e. no smoking on the lanes), the requirement for residents reverse their vehicles into their carparks (to reduce the potential for accidents when leaving the site), and to limit driving speeds to a walking pace throughout the site. While this forming stage seemed to be useful and empowering for residents, they did not strictly impose any sanctions or propose what would happen to any non-conformers which has started to have some minor impacts on residents now the community has become more settled.

I think at the time, we were all sort of in honeymoon mode. We were all like ‘yay, we’re all going to be living here, everything’s going to be happy’. We put the rules in place, but we didn’t actually enforce them, we didn’t say what would happen. So unfortunately, we’ve had some instances where we’re trying to...iron that behaviour out, let’s just say (Interview KT07, p. 5).

We all have a say in what goes on...but the rules have never been agreed to. They’re written but they’ve never been approved (Interview KT04, p. 13).

4.6.5 Summary



Figure 4.23: Gauge diagram (Kāinga Tuatahi) – Principle 4 is applied to a moderate degree.

Overall, a principle of self-determination is demonstrated in Kāinga Tuatahi to a moderate extent. The development includes elements of both physical and social innovation and adaptability through the incorporation of the Tesla batteries, leaving shared spaces unfinished, and building papakāinga in an urban context and at medium-density. However, the design and build process was less adaptable, justified by the need

for economies of scale and consistent designs to reduce costs. Residents had some choice of cosmetic finishes for their homes, although choice could be considered another form of symbolic work where residents are unable to express their full autonomy. Lessons may be gleaned from other developments where autonomy is a stronger factor in the design of buildings and spaces, such as modular construction and half-built houses. These are explored in further detail in section 5.6 below.

A sense of autonomy also extends to consider other communities outside of Kāinga Tuatahi. One resident explained how the processes behind establishing developments like urban papakāinga can be uncertain for some groups, and that perhaps more education and sharing of lessons can be used to foster self-determination for other, perhaps less resourced communities hoping to do similar developments:

I whakapapa out to Kaipara...and I feel like there's a lot of money just sitting there, and no one knowing what to do about it. It'd be nice if the sort of processes [like the process to create Kāinga Tuatahi] became easier for the smaller iwi to pick up and use a template. There's so much land, they've got money...[they just need] the knowledge and stuff to make it happen (Interview KT11, pp. 19-20).

While a range of papakāinga toolkits exist (as introduced in chapter 2 above), perhaps lessons can be more effectively passed on through direct relationships between different communities, rather than purely through written documents. To that end, an informal spinoff from this research has been to connect members of Whai Rawa with the project team from the Kaumātua Village (including Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa (TROC)), both to help Whai Rawa progress with an approach to a kaumātua housing project, as well as allow TROC to gain insights and lessons for their future papakāinga development work. This has been found helpful for both parties, and perhaps more connections and relationships like these could be promoted and formalised.



Box 4.2: Kaumātua Village, Hamilton (autonomy) - resident engagement in the design and build process of the village enabled a sense of self-determination and agency for residents.

The design phase of *Kaumātua Village* embodied an adaptation principle through the establishment of a 'kaumātua committee', where kaumātua were actively involved in the design process. In this consultative process, kaumātua and designers were able to collaborate to ensure the units were appropriate and fit-for-purpose for end users. Purposeful inclusion in the design process meant that kaumātua committee were able to refine design details such as:

- Ensuring wide footpaths for easy access with wheelchairs;
- Providing lower light fittings and higher plug sockets, being easier to reach;
- Including bar door handles instead of round door handles (easier than round door handles for those with arthritis);
- Changing specific plants from the landscaping where the original species in the design were known to exacerbate respiratory issues;
- Providing wet floors (bathroom floors were flat, removing the need to step in and out of a shower); and
- Including rubber mats on doorways to remove even the smallest lip.

Similar consultation took place following the completion of stage one and prior to stage two, as well as a collective reflection on the lessons learnt from the project to date, and changes (such as reducing the amount of close-boarded fencing as noted above) could be incorporated into stage two.

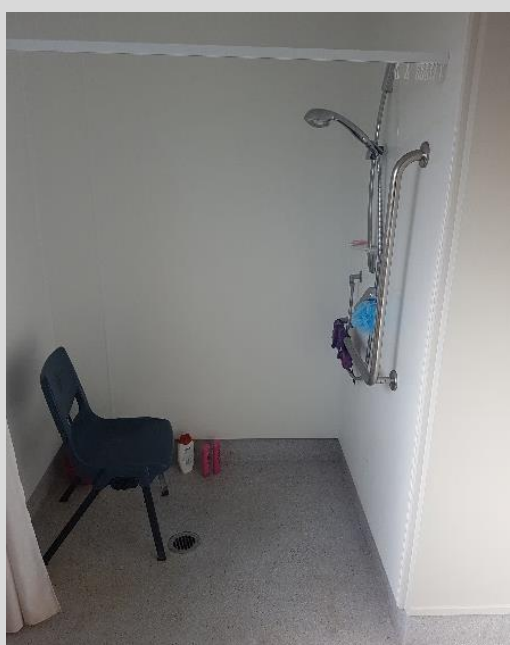


Figure 4.24: Kaumātua Village - wet flooring in bathroom units. The bathroom surface is level with the floor within the rest of the home, reducing the risk of trips or falls from residents having to climb up or over steps. This is one example of fit-for-purpose design incorporated into the development, which was able to be included by involving kaumātua in the design phase.

4.7 Principle 5: Humans form links with places

Socially-based tenure principle #5:
Humans form links with places

Codes: duration of tenure | physical connection | cultural connection

The fifth principle conceives that people (and particularly, Indigenous people) can hold an emotional attachment to the land and the environment. This attachment is often grounded through community continuity; that is, a longstanding and ancestral connection to place. Within Kāinga, this principle is conveyed through: duration of tenure; cultural connections to place; and physical connections to place.

4.7.1 Links can be strengthened by duration of tenure

While most of the residents moved into Kāinga Tuatahi at the same time (i.e. once construction was completed), whānau had spent various amounts of time within the wider Ōrākei community prior to moving in. Some had grown up in Ōrākei but had been living elsewhere, and so moving back with their own families had been an aspiration to return and reconnect with whānau and whenua.

I grew up in Ōrākei so I always wanted to come back here, when we moved back to Auckland (Interview KT03, p. 2).

Others had lived in the neighbourhood for almost the last 30 years, so were firmly grounded in the Ōrākei community and the Ōrākei community way of life already.

Living here, we've always had the concept of whānau. Living in a whānau environment (Interview KT04, p. 3).

Meanwhile, other whānau had been absent from Ngāti Whātua for years but were equally passionate about re-establishing their links with place.

I've been absent from the iwi for twenty something years now...so when this opportunity came up, it was just a no-brainer for us. We wanted to come home, we wanted to re-connect (Interview KT07, p. 2).



Regardless of the length of time residents had lived in (or been absent from) Ōrākei, they all expressed a strong connection to place ('place attachment'). Place attachment is described as a "positive affective bond that develops between individuals (or groups) and their residential environment" (Shumaker & Taylor, 1983, p. 233). Stokols and Shumaker (1981) argue that the intensity of place attachment can relate to how the present home or area relates to previous homes or areas. This was commonly reinforced by residents who generally described Kāinga Tuatahi in much more favourable terms than other places they had lived.

[Interviewer question: how does your home in Kāinga Tuatahi compare to other places you've lived?]

- It's a lot better. It's really healthy. It's warm. I see a lot of cold houses [in my work], and when I come back here, I know...I've got a good house (Interview KT02, p. 3).
- It doesn't. It's on its own level, anything that we've lived in. [Kāinga Tuatahi is] miles ahead. From the community and whānau perspective, but also quality and space. And from a health perspective (Interview KT03, p. 3).
- We've lived in a body corp situation before, and I actually liked that because it was enclosed, it was safe for the kids. But it was just living with a bunch of strangers...We've had a whare that we had out in Avondale, that was a really big house, it was really spacious but it was just really really far away from everybody (Interview KT07, p. 3).

Importantly, whānau links to Kāinga Tuatahi canvassed a combination of both physical design strengths as well as socio-cultural perspectives of living amongst and around whānau.

4.7.2 Links can derive from culture

Whānau connections to place were also evidenced through aspects of culture, whether through a sense of Whatuatanga or pan-tribal Māoritanga.

I think there's a deeper connection living here, because you feel you're a part of this. I don't whakapapa here, I'm not Ngāti Whātua, but I still feel

connected here through [my partner]. Whātua iwi are all welcoming and it's that community spirit I guess...there's a lot to like about living here but I think there is a deeper connection to it and just being so close to the marae, and being able to get involved with doing activities and whatever else they've got going on (Interview KT06, p. 7).

For Māori, various cultural practices can reinforce connection to place such as burying the placenta of new-born babies.⁴⁹ Whenua is the Māori term for both land and placenta. As well as forging a direct connection with Papa-tūā-nuku, 'whenua ki te whenua' acknowledges the life-supporting roles of whenua the land, and whenua the placenta (Mead, 2003, pp. 288-289; Royal, 2007). While deemed too personal to raise in conversation with whānau whom I had only just met, this or other cultural practices could also be expressions of cultural connection to place. Perhaps one related example that was voluntarily offered in conversation was about burial. The parents in one whānau had previously assumed that they would be buried in another area of the North Island, but that had changed since moving into Kāinga Tuatahi. Their sense of connection and permanency to place, and to Ōrākei, included the aspiration to one day be buried in the urupā in Ōrākei too.

Similarly, connections to place were also evidenced through reflections about the land and other physical spaces. In particular, residents who had been absent from Ōrākei for a time prior to moving to Kāinga Tuatahi were grateful to be able to return and reconnect with the whenua, and with easy access to other spaces such as the marae and urupā.

It's really not so much the whare itself...it's where it is that's made the difference, and who we're living amongst, and the fact that it's just so close to the marae, our urupā's just down the road... (Interview KT07, p. 3).

I take the dog for a walk down to the urupā and down to our beach and I walk back up and I think, 'oh wow, we're so lucky'. I feel where our tūpuna are down there, and now I know all of the history, for me it's really important...like last week, I was down weeding our relatives' graves and

⁴⁹ Goodwin (2007, pp. 204-209) illustrates a range of instances of both Māori and non-Māori continuing the practice of burying the placenta and suggests that the practice is "if anything, on the increase in New Zealand" (p. 204).

our Granddad and our Nana, great grandparents, uncles and aunties. I feel very comfortable because I'm down there with the whānau (Interview KT08, p. 9).

...people just want to live on the whenua, they're blood to this whenua (Interview KT06, p. 16).

Living on the whenua also offered a level of safety and comfort for many residents, by being around whānau and other Māori. Those positive associations contributed to the strong association or attachment to place.

Generally you would associate marae to kind of rural settings. I know growing up, going to the marae on my mum's side, it was always on the coast, rural settings. But you would be quite hard pressed to find something like this in an urban setting. You can come down Kupe Street and think, oh lots of Māori faces around. The marae is just down there, it's just a nice feeling really, living on your whenua and what comes with that (Interview KT06, p. 8).

4.7.3 Summary



Figure 4.25: Gauge diagram (Kāinga Tuatahi) – Principle 5 is demonstrated to a very high extent.

While attachment to place is a subjective characteristic, residents expressed their attachments to Kāinga Tuatahi and Ōrākei in ways that implied place-based links are present to a very high extent. The homes sit on ancestral whenua, and in close proximity to the marae and urupā, allowing residents to feel connected to the community (past and present) through those physical spaces. 'Returning home', both in the geographical sense (i.e. returning to Ōrākei) and the socio-cultural sense (i.e. returning to the tribe), was a common motivation of residents originally applying for a house in Kāinga Tuatahi. This connection draws similarities to what Cross terms 'biographical relationships' (2001, p. 3), or relationships to place which result from having a personal

history with that place. Cross (2001, p. 3) considers biographical relationships as being the ‘strongest and most enduring relationships’ for creating a sense of place, which seems to be evident in Kāinga Tuatahi. This raises the question of how comparable attachments are forged by residents in non-Māori developments such as cohousing, as well as in papakāinga developments that are not explicitly linked to ancestral whenua. These are discussed in sections 5.7 and 6.4.5 below.

4.8 Principle 6: Land is not negotiable wealth

Socially-based tenure principle #6:
Land is not negotiable wealth

Codes: motivations for moving in | money matters | other bottom lines |
land ownership | ‘no-brainer’ | affordable housing

In chapter two, I argued that in socially-based societies, individual rights derive from group membership. For instance, Māori property rights were allocated on a functional basis, rather than a geographical basis. Individuals or whānau did not secure ownership of a space, but access to (or use of) a particular resource in a particular way (Blomley, 2004, p. 9). Unlike a corporation where individual right holders might hold a specified share-holding (i.e. their individual right in relation to the collective is quantified in some way), the share of individual rights in a socially-based system are not typically defined and therefore cannot be assigned a monetary value and traded as a commodity.

An individual, with an unspecified interest in a collectively owned area of land, is certainly not free to ask the bank for a loan or mortgage on the basis of his interest, because he/she does not bear sole responsibility and accountability for that land (Lea, 2008, p. 86).

This also relates to an Indigenous, relational worldview where humans are intrinsically connected to the land through whakapapa. The notion of ‘community’ extends in both directions beyond those presently living. To sell land goes against that whakapapa conception of the environment, as it typically only compensates the present generation (e.g. Roulac, 2008). But how does this principle apply in a contemporary context? For a start, within Kāinga Tuatahi, this principle is expressed through: whānau motivations



for moving in; physical and cultural connections to the whenua; and money and other bottom lines.

4.8.1 Wealth was an initial motivator for the development

One of the original reasons for Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei opting to create the Kāinga Tuatahi development was to provide whānau with a stepping-stone onto the property ladder through affordable home ownership. Priority for securing a home was given to whānau who would be able to service their mortgage and who would be owning their first home. Depending on the extent to which whānau met these and other criteria, whānau were ranked into tiers: the first tier automatically secured a whare, and the remaining homes were balloted to whānau from the tier below. As a result, a perspective of commodification has always featured, at least in part, within the development.

While the financial component of house building and home ownership was a feature of the development, whānau also held a variety of non-financial motivations for moving in to Kāinga Tuatahi. Many whānau saw the kāinga as providing an opportunity to improve their living situation: the Kāinga Tuatahi homes offered independence, improved tenure security, and a better quality of housing.

I used to live in a whata [garage, prefabricated unit] before, like in a prefab in my Auntie's garage...the next rung after that is living in the car, and after that it's on the street (Interview KT01, p. 2).

[With] my last landlord, it was always just like...feeling a little bit vulnerable because it's not your house (Interview KT11, p. 3).

The location of the development was also an important motivator for whānau choosing to apply for a home. Common responses described a desire to 'move back home', to live on the whenua, to live closer to family and have access to whānau support in Ōrākei.

We always wanted to live in Auckland for our careers...we had always planned to come to Auckland and Ōrākei seemed like the perfect place to be because we had whānau support here and it's a community Māori (Interview KT05, p. 3).

We were at the Bastion Point anniversary not so long ago, there are te reo classes going on, we had the mokopuna [event], there's always something going on down [at the marae]. And we always said that we wanted to be more involved. That's one of the reasons why we moved here (Interview KT06, p. 14).

I've always wanted to move back home...so when this opportunity came up, it was a no-brainer for us. We wanted to come home, we wanted to re-connect...Not just to live here though, but to be a part of the community (Interview KT07, p. 2).

4.8.2 Wealth is also realised in non-economic forms

As noted in section 4.7 above, the Kāinga Tuatahi development holds value for whānau for its physical and cultural place-based connections. In particular, reconnecting with whānau and whenua was a motivating factor for whānau who had been living away from Ōrākei. These intrinsic connections to land and place help to locate the development in a different league than if it were considered a pure commodity.

4.8.3 Wealth can be reframed through ownership models

The way in which Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei structured the home ownership model supports the notion that land is not negotiable wealth. The land is held in common ownership by the hapū, with individual homes and private areas subject to a leasehold subdivision: that is, residents own their houses but lease the land for 150 years for a tokenistic fee, and collectively manage the shared areas within the kāinga themselves through a 'cuzzy corp'. This supports the traditional notion that land can support wealth-generation but does not generate wealth in and of itself (Goodwin, 2013, p. 120). Ownership of the houses can be transferred between tribal members, but the land is excluded from those transactions and remains in the hands of the tribe as a collective.

The commodification of Kāinga Tuatahi is also limited to an extent through a buy-back clause. Whai Rawa (the commercial arm of Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei) have the first right of refusal to purchase any homes in Kāinga Tuatahi that are sold within the first 15 years following completion of the build. The sale prices of home within that 15-year period are fixed and calculated or adjusted based on build costs plus factors such as inflation and general wear-and-tear. Beyond that initial 15-year period, whānau are permitted to



sell at any price they wish (though only to a secondary market or the 'Ōrākei whānau market', as future homeowners must be members of the tribe).

Box 4.3: Land Rent Scheme, Canberra, Australia.

Canberra's Land Rent Scheme

Canberra's government introduced a Land Rent Scheme in an attempt to enable an alternative pathway to home ownership. Under the scheme, eligible owners rent the land from the government and pay an annual land rent, in much the same way as a landowner might pay rates to their local authority (ACT Government, 2017). The cost of the building (and its construction) is managed separately, meaning the upfront costs are reduced. Under the scheme, homeowners have the option to save and purchase the land outright in future.

As well as the reduced upfront costs, land rents (currently set at 2% for eligible homeowners) are typically less than the interest rates charged on mortgages (ACT Government, 2017). In effect, the scheme creates a secondary market as land blocks within the scheme can only be transferred to other eligible home owners (eligibility criteria includes, among other things, a limit on household income and a limit on other property that may be owned at the same time).

Canberra's Land Rent Scheme (Box 4.3) offers a comparable perspective to Kāinga Tuatahi. In Kāinga Tuatahi, homeowners lease the land from the tribe for a nominal fee per year and have a mortgage which only includes the cost of the build. Similarly, both the Land Rent Scheme and Kāinga Tuatahi informally create a secondary housing market with a limited pool of potential purchasers. The key difference between the two, though, is that the land at Kāinga Tuatahi cannot be bought outright in the future; it remains under tribal ownership.

Similar concepts are also applied through initiatives such as Community Land Trusts. Community Land Trusts are typically non-profit trusts which own land, and then lease exclusive areas to individuals or groups. Originally established as a mechanism to encourage housing affordability in rural areas, the concept is beginning to grow in urban centres in a range of countries around the world, and demonstrates other benefits such as community-building in addition to affordability (e.g. Aernouts & Ryckewaert, 2018;

Gray & Galande, 2011, p. 247). While Community Land Trusts are present in New Zealand, they are not yet widespread.⁵⁰

These are just a few alternative models which share aspirations to remove or limit the financialisation of housing, at least to some degree. Models such as these could be helpfully explored in more detail to understand the nuances underpinning the different models, as well as the limitations in how they could be applied in different contexts and settings.

4.8.4 Summary



Figure 4.26: Gauge diagram (Kāinga Tuatahi) – Principle 6 is applied to a moderate degree.

Overall, the principle of land not being negotiable wealth is demonstrated in Kāinga Tuatahi to a moderate extent. While the financial perspective of enabling home ownership seemed to feature highly in the original intent of the development, whānau motivations in applying for a home were much more wide-ranging and encompassed a wider spectrum of physical, cultural and social priorities beyond the economic bottom line. As a leasehold subdivision, Kāinga Tuatahi enables the land to be retained in collective tribal ownership, meaning it cannot be traded as a commodity. The structures that sit on that land (i.e. the houses) can be traded, though even then, sale prices are restricted for at least the first 15 years.

⁵⁰ Possibly the most well-known example in New Zealand is Kotare Village: <http://kotarevillage.org.nz/>.



4.9 Principle 7: The very long-term is recognised

Socially-based tenure principle #7:
The very long-term is recognised

Codes: permanence | personal stage of life | community stage of life | hauora

The seventh principle encompasses a long-term perspective of community including ancestors as well as future generations to come. Within Kāinga Tuatahi, this principle is demonstrated through: permanence of residence; kaitiakitanga; and future generations.

4.9.1 A long-term view is expressed through permanency

As mentioned above, the original intent or aspiration for Kāinga Tuatahi was to provide a stepping-stone for whānau to help them onto the first rung of the property ladder. This first step of home ownership would support whānau through the process of purchasing a home and foster financial literacy to help whānau manage mortgage payments. Whānau would be able to leverage off the equity in their kāinga homes to be better positioned to become active in the wider property market. This vision of a first step on the property ladder seemed to align for some whānau, although this original vision has perhaps morphed for others who saw Kāinga Tuatahi as more of a long-term solution. Kāinga would be their permanent home and they were not planning to leave.

[Interviewer question: Do you see this as your permanent home?]

- It's more of a stepping-stone for me I think. But until there's another stone to jump to (Interview KT01, p. 11).
- In a box is the only way I'll be moving out of here. Actually, it might be a kete [basket, kit] (Interview KT10, p. 10).
- Āe, yes...it's definitely for life, for the family (Interview KT08, p. 18).
- That's an interesting question, because I know initially the whole concept about this with Ngāti Whātua and Whai Rawa was this was like a stepping-stone to help people get onto the first ladder to then either move on or whatever. But I think as it's sort of turned out,

people just want to live on the whenua and they're blood to this whenua (Interview KT06, p. 16).

Those whānau who had considered their kāinga home as a stepping-stone on the property ladder commonly shared desires to retain their homes as a whānau homestead if they were ever to leave to live elsewhere. This again reflects a longer-term perspective which the village has morphed to, rather than the original shorter-term 'stepping-stone' vision behind the conception of Kāinga Tuatahi.

I think...we're looking at paying this off and then my husband does want to move down the line and have more of a lifestyle block. But we would keep this for the kids, so they have somewhere to come to. But that's hopefully the dream. This is our first house, our first home (Interview KT02, p. 6).

We are multi-generational here. We're the only ones that have children that have bought into the house as well. And that's what we see as the concept of whānau housing - house your family...You're all buying into it. We're looking at our grandchildren, it'll be mortgage free for them (Interview KT04, p. 4).

4.9.2 A long-term view encompasses kaitiakitanga (stewardship)

A long-term perspective was reflected through parts of the site design, incorporating kaitiakitanga and an environmental ethic. For instance, homes are fitted with solar panels and Tesla Energy Powerwall batteries to harness, store and distribute solar power and reduce reliance on mains electricity. Another example is the use of swales alongside the laneways. Swales are an engineering solution providing water retention and filtration before runoff is released to the wider stormwater network, as well as aesthetic benefits where swales are planted and well-maintained. While the Tesla batteries demonstrate innovation by the tribe, the stormwater solutions are engineering requirements largely prescribed by the local consenting authority, rather than a long-term perspective implicitly developed by Ngāti Whātua.





Figure 4.27: Kāinga Tuatahi – stormwater swales visible to left of laneway, as well as permeable paving (on right side of image) as stormwater treatment and retention devices.

4.9.3 A long-term view considers future generations

Ultimately, the driving force behind the decision-making processes within Kāinga Tuatahi centres on the best interests of future generations. More often than not, that future focus is used as the basis for what is right and wrong through considering how proposals would impact children, and their children. This kind of decision-making is often in marked contrast to the shorter-term emphasis of Western society.

I think what people forget is that it's not about us, it's about our generations to come (Interview KT04, p. 12).

4.9.4 Summary



Figure 4.28: Gauge diagram (Kāinga Tuatahi) – Principle 7 is applied to a moderate degree.

Overall, a principle recognising a long-term approach is demonstrated to a moderate degree in Kāinga Tuatahi. While perhaps originally envisioned to be more of a short-term, stepping-stone solution for whānau, Kāinga Tuatahi seems to have emerged as more of a long-term housing solution for whānau in Ōrākei. Most whānau shared aspirations of retaining their kāinga homes, either to live in themselves or to retain as a family base or homestead for future generations. A long-term perspective was also evident in elements of the physical design and construction of the development with stormwater swales and solar energy, as well as an overall notion or thought process which placed future generations at the core of decision-making.

4.10 Concluding remarks

As the first in a longer-term vision of re-establishing a vibrant community in Ōrākei and enabling hapū members to return to the papakāinga, Kāinga Tuatahi goes a long way to achieving these goals. Beyond just providing housing and enabling home ownership (which it does, innovatively), the physical design and layout of the development encourages and enables community interaction between whānau. Arguably though, the same could be said about many other community-oriented housing developments such as Hobsonville Point.⁵¹ So what sets Kāinga Tuatahi apart? Most obvious is that Kāinga Tuatahi whānau share a whakapapa connection.

If I compare it to Hobsonville Point, for instance, where there's a whole lot of strangers moving into a new development versus us who are all whānau that are moving in...we all know each other anyway, sort of thing. You can stop and have a yarn quite easily (Interview KT03, p. 10).

Residents spoke about the papakāinga style of living as being about living amongst your whanaunga (relatives) and among Māori, which made it different from 'normal suburbia'. Having this sense of cultural connectedness went beyond just the social connections and interactions that can be contrived by a well-designed development. For

⁵¹ For more information, see <https://hobsonvillepoint.co.nz/>



instance, the following quote describes how latent aspects of community life have such an effect on residents:

I guess it occurred to me through Matatini⁵², when you'd walk out there and every TV you hear is tuned in and you just heard waiata and all that down the street. And that draws on you and just makes that connection stronger. It's these little flavours that draw at you, that make you feel comfortable and grounded as opposed to living in normal suburbia (Interview KT06, p. 7).

Living this way can entail an adjustment if someone is used to a more private and individualised way of living. A clear understanding or expectation from the outset that living on the papakāinga is a special type of lifestyle could help whānau accustomed to a more individualised mindset, particularly when it comes to resolving communal challenges.

I think it's a generational thing that we're still in that mindset of a quarter acre section with one whare on it (Interview KT08, p. 14).

That is not to say that everything must be shared and communal – in fact, a lesson that emerges from community-oriented housing models in countries such as Denmark and Sweden (and explored further in the following chapter) is that privacy and private spaces are also important to wellbeing, and need to be safeguarded. The two are not mutually exclusive so long as an appropriate balance can be struck. Nor is it always possible to select residents with a shared history or genealogy, but other bonds may also promote community such as the shared ideals underlying the Earthsong co-housing development (also explored in the following chapter).

The greatest strength and potential of the papakāinga model may be that it provides not just an opportunity for hapū members to physically return to their ancestral land, but it can also act as a driver to enable whānau to connect (and reconnect) to the hapū and the local community on a social and cultural level, thereby re-establishing threads which for some whānau were severed by historic “land grabs” and evictions 70 years ago.

⁵² Te Matatini, a biennial Māori performing arts festival.



It's really not so much the whare itself...it's where it is that's made the difference and who we're living amongst and the fact that it's just so close to the marae...our urupā's just down the road, it's finally having that connection again. Honestly, it just feels like...those fibres that were once invisible are starting to become visible again, starting to strengthen. And that's all just by having this opportunity of coming back home (Interview KT07, pp. 3-4).

This chapter began with the whakatauki:

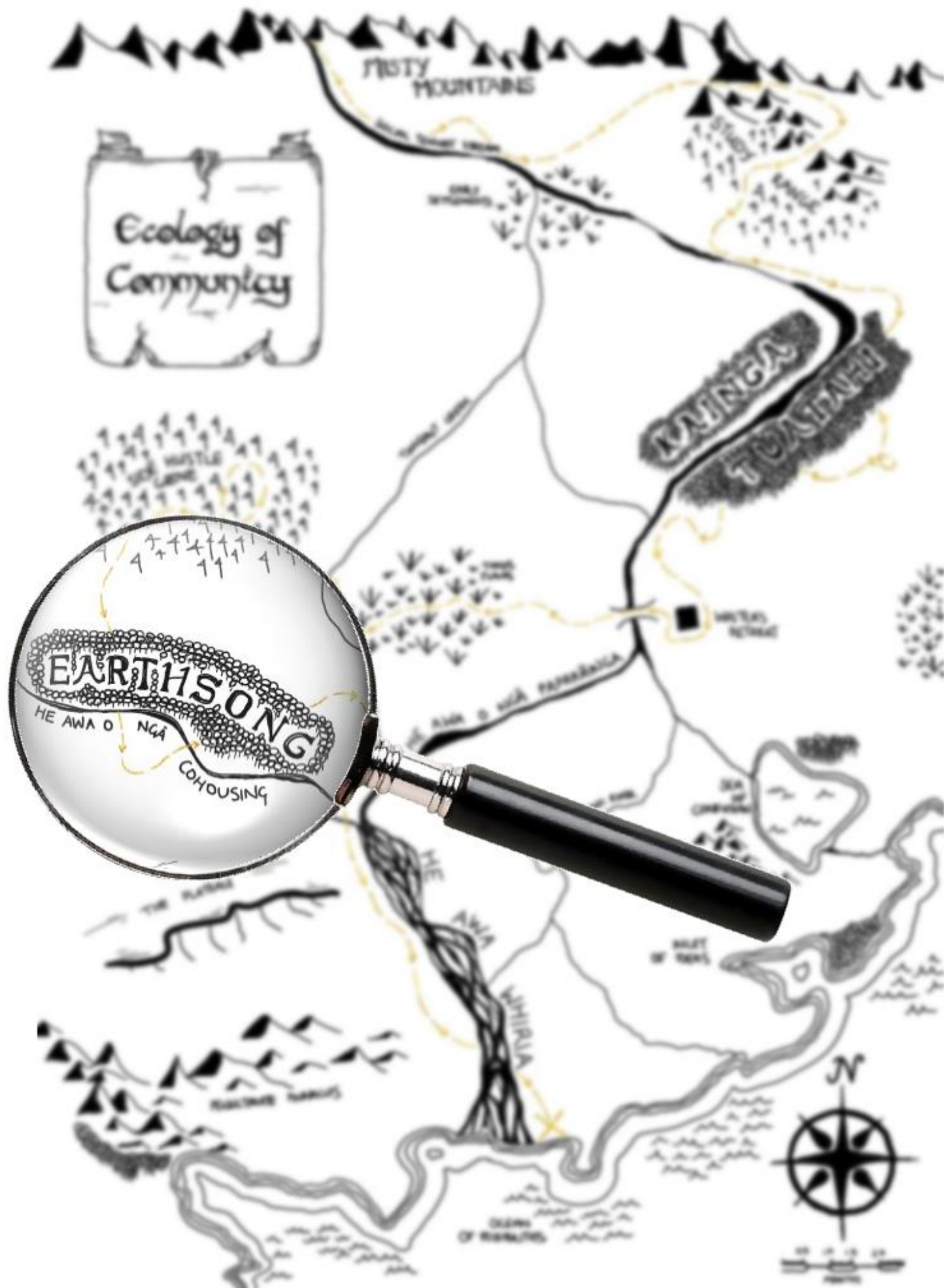
Te tapuae o mua, mō muri.
Footsteps of the past, informing the future.

This proverb encompasses the notion of urban papakāinga, being an historic model of Māori housing and society but reimagined in a modern, urban setting. Like the footsteps of the past, lessons and values of traditional Māori settlement can be used to inform contemporary development. Through the eyes of the Kāinga Tuatahi development in central Auckland, as well as supplementary urban papakāinga cases, this chapter explored different ways in which principles of socially-based tenure are embodied in some modern Māori housing projects, and began to offer insights to how those principles could be applied and strengthened in other housing situations and contexts. On their own, though, the argument remains unclear as to whether developments subscribing to these principles are superior to those not doing so. Chapter five will seek to delve further into this argument.

The following chapter is the second of two parallel chapters and explores the ways in which socially-based tenure principles are demonstrated in urban cohousing communities, including perspectives from Danish communities. Chapter six then offers a synthesis of the similarities and differences in approaches between papakāinga and cohousing, and discussion about the potential for transferable lessons that both models can offer to housing development more generally.



CHAPTER FIVE



Chapter 5 – He awa o ngā ‘Cohousing’

Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody (Jacobs, 1961, p. 238).

The previous chapter explored ways in which seven principles of socially-based tenure are embodied in urban papakāinga, specifically, the Kāinga Tuatahi development in central Auckland. It was the first of two parallel chapters comprising the initial findings from data collected about modern papakāinga and cohousing communities. This chapter is the second of the two chapters.

This chapter contributes to the second and third research objectives by examining the extent to which contemporary urban cohousing developments include socially-based tenure principles, and the mechanisms by which cohousing can be facilitated. Through the eyes of a range of local and international cohousing case study sites, this chapter offers insights into how principles of social tenure could be applied and strengthened in other housing situations and contexts. Metaphorically, and as depicted on the thesis map preceding this page, the path of the thesis has ventured westward to a second stream of knowledge on cohousing. This chapter represents the journey down ‘He awa o ngā cohousing (i.e. the cohousing knowledge stream), and specifically, through the forest representing the Earthsong community.

The chapter starts by re-introducing the concept of cohousing and building on the preview provided in chapter two, both from the international origins of cohousing and its role in the New Zealand housing equation. I then introduce the second case study site for this thesis: Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood (‘Earthsong’), the first (and to date, the only) urban cohousing community to be completed in New Zealand. Mirroring the methodological approach taken in the previous chapter, this chapter explores the lived realities of ten resident whānau from Earthsong. Drawing on field visits, spatial analyses and interview data with Earthsong residents, this chapter considers how the seven socially-based tenure principles are demonstrated and the extent to which they thrive. Insights from international cohousing developments, as well as other related but



relevant models, are also woven throughout the chapter. These sites have not been studied in the same level of detail as Earthsong but provide complementary perspectives and offer some triangulation of the findings emerging from those at Earthsong. Finally, a summary is made of this and the previous chapter. The following chapter then begins to draw comparisons between the two chapters on cohousing and papakāinga.

5.1 Cohousing origins

5.1.1 The Danish model

Denmark is often considered to be the home of the modern cohousing movement, though the term ‘cohousing’ itself was coined by a pair of American architects following their visits to Denmark in the 1980s (e.g. McCamant & Durrett, 2011; Ruiiu, 2016; Williams, 2005). The Danish model, known locally as *bofællesskaber* (as briefly introduced in section 2.6.1 above) dates back to the late 1960s (e.g. McCamant & Durrett, 2011, p. 5; Ruiiu, 2016, p. 402). At the time, Denmark (and much of Western Europe) was going through a period of radicalisation. This led to the rise of urban collectives: one of the most prominent Danish examples being Freetown Christiania, a self-proclaimed autonomous neighbourhood in Copenhagen (see Figure 5.1). The intentional community is home to approximately 900 residents and was established in a squatted military area in 1971 (Coppola & Vanolo, 2015, p. 1152). At the time, two of the foundational principles for the neighbourhood concerned a desire for alternatives to the nuclear family model, and a desire for new social relationships. However, the community tended to operate at the fringes or margins of society, and so there was no significant change to existing policy or institutional frameworks in that sense, at least in regard to housing (Egerö, 2014, p. 3).

Those communitarian motivations (of improved social relationships with others and a shift away from the nuclear family model) eventually began to gain traction in mainstream society, which is partly attributed to the architect, Jan Gudmand-Høyer (Larsen, 2019). Gudmand-Høyer had spent several years making informal and partial attempts at establishing a more community-oriented housing model, before publishing



an influential article which discussed “practical possibilities of realising “the missing link” between utopia and the outdated single-family home” (Gudmand-Høyer, 1968, p. 3). The article attracted interest from several interested families and eventually saw the establishment of the first modern cohousing communities.

One of the first two communities was Sættedammen, established in 1972 near Copenhagen. Residents came together to build their own custom neighbourhood which included self-sufficient, private homes as well as extensive shared buildings and common facilities. While the community was initially underpinned by some of the principles of communes (and likely, those of Freetown Christiania), Sættedammen had the distinction whereby private homes were separated from the shared spaces (Larsen, 2019). This distinction has become one of the founding principles of the cohousing model today.



Figure 5.1: Freetown Christiania including old military buildings occupied and repurposed for housing (top left and bottom left), as well as a door with the Flag of Christiania painted on it (right). Photographs were taken in the more suburban areas of the neighbourhood as taking photographs was prohibited in the main urban area (photo credit: author).



While bofællesskaber became increasingly common in Denmark (and similar models in nearby countries, such as the kollektivhus model in Sweden (e.g. see Vestbro, 2000)), the cohousing movement took on a 'second wave' into North America in the late 1980s. The popularity of the model is largely attributed to a book, *'Cohousing: A contemporary approach to housing ourselves'* written by the two architects mentioned earlier, who coined the term cohousing (Ruiu, 2016, p. 402). Similar to the Danish approach, the North American version of the model also had a communitarian basis, with a focus on building socially-connected communities and shifting away from isolated, nuclear family homes (e.g. McCamant & Durrett, 2011; Williams, 2005). Residents have their own private homes, as well as access to shared buildings and facilities (for instance, a workshop, kids' play room, shared laundry, and a community building). The difference between cohousing and an 'ordinary' apartment building though (which can equally have the provision of shared spaces and facilities) is the involvement of the residents throughout the life of the community; from conception, design, construction, as well as the ongoing maintenance and operation of the community (e.g. Ruiu, 2016, p. 403). Today, a range of communities aligning with the cohousing model exist in Denmark, Sweden, The Netherlands, The United States, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and elsewhere.

In many respects, cohousing is not a new concept. In the past, most people lived in villages or tightly knit urban neighbourhoods where they worked together to build a schoolhouse, raise a barn, grow crops, and celebrate the harvest. Similarly, residents in cohousing enjoy the benefits of collaboration, whether by organizing childcare, attending common dinners, or participating in social activities. Through cooperation and some proximity, the members of cohousing communities build social relationships and work together to address practical needs. This kind of relationship demands accountability, but in return provides security and a sense of belonging (McCamant & Durrett, 2011, p. 24).

As such, the cohousing model embodies many of the socially-based principles that are at the heart of this thesis, and could valuably offer insights in comparison to modern papakāinga developments led by Māori.



5.1.2 Defining 'cohousing'

While there is no set or agreed-upon definition of what cohousing is exactly, McCamant and Durrett (2011, pp. 36-30) offer a set of six characteristics which, at a minimum, distinguish a cohousing community from other housing models:

1. Resident participation in all aspects of the community, including design, development and operation.
2. Extensive common facilities which act as an extension of the private home.
3. Community-oriented design.
4. Complete resident management.
5. Non-hierarchical decision-making.
6. Residents have separate income sources.

The principles tend to align somewhat with ideals of new urbanism, and in particular, notions of building a sense of community, social interconnectedness, diversity, and community-oriented design by limiting urban sprawl and dependency on cars (Williams, 2005, p. 202). McCamant and Durrett argue that, while these cohousing principles themselves are not unique, the combination of the principles is what uniquely distinguishes the cohousing model from other approaches to housing (2011, p. 30).

5.1.3 Cohousing in New Zealand

As a model, cohousing has been much less prevalent in New Zealand than other nations around the world, particularly Europe and North America. To date, only one cohousing community has completed construction with a second underway at the time of writing, though there does appear to be an increasing interest in the model. A range of new cohousing communities are at various stages of development, such as the High Street Cohousing Project in Dunedin (the second community which is currently under construction), Cohaus in Auckland (resource consent stage), the Buckley Road cohousing project in Wellington (design and feasibility) and Cambridge Cohousing in Waikato (formation and site searching) (Cohousing NZ, 2015). Consequently, the concept is still considered relatively 'young' in New Zealand and documented lived



experiences are limited. This thesis seeks to contribute to that emerging body of literature with experiences from the urban New Zealand context.

5.2 The Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood

The Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood ('Earthsong') is a 32-home development in Ranui, West Auckland. Like Kāinga Tuatahi, Earthsong is located in New Zealand's largest metropolitan area, Auckland. As the first (and currently, the only) urban cohousing community to be constructed in New Zealand, Earthsong was selected as a comparative case study site. This section explores the conception and evolution of Earthsong, before examining residents' experiences of living in this urban cohousing community.

5.2.1 Historical context

The founder of Earthsong, Robin Allison, first conceived the vision for an urban 'eco-neighbourhood' in 1995 (Allison, 2010a). Her personal motivation initially stemmed from a frustration with her way of living.

I was an architect and I had two small children, as well as trying to run my own practice, and that lifestyle wasn't feeling like it was working. It was too isolated and too much work and not enough interaction with people, but also as an architect, I thought...what is a healthy lifestyle for us; the people and for the rest of the biosphere? (Interview ES09, p. 2).

After spending almost three years exploring eco-villages prior to 1995 (the ideas for which were situated in more of a remote or semi-rural context), Robin refocused her energy into a similar vision of living but situated in an urban context and based on cohousing principles. Initially, she presented a proposal to the Waitakere City Council, seeking to establish an eco-neighbourhood on land owned by Council at the time (which would later become too expensive to progress with). The proposal included holding a public meeting to gauge interest, and from that meeting, a core group of three formed (Robin, along with Cathy Angell and John Hammond) (Allison, 2010a). This core group began to meet regularly and established a framework for the vision of what would eventually become Earthsong (Allison, 2018b).



A pivotal moment for the initial development group was a visit to New Zealand by the American architects, Katie McCamant and Chuck Durrett (Allison, 2010a). The architects gave a public presentation (raising the profile of cohousing in New Zealand and attracting potential future residents to Earthsong), and held a group workshop with the Earthsong members, helping to inform the group of different solutions to some of the issues they had been facing. Following this visit, the Earthsong group grew to a membership of 15 who began actively exploring potential sites for their community.

In 1998, the Earthsong group first visited the Ranui site which would become the site of their future homes (Allison, 2010a). Originally an organically-managed orchard, the site was, so far, the best fit with their list of site selection criteria (Allison, 2010a, 2018b). Five Earthsong members were willing to put in shares to form a development company, Cohousing New Zealand Ltd (CNZL), which made an offer on the site that was accepted in 1999 (Allison, 2010a). The planning and design phase accelerated from this point: the group engaged an architect and appointed a development coordinator for the group (Robin) to work on the project full-time. The group members spent four weekends creating a design brief for the architect, including undertaking their own individual site analyses as well as group discussions about what should be in the common house and criteria for private homes (Allison, 2018b). Many of the early families camped on the site over Christmas of 1999, forming a connection with the existing site as well as envisioning what it would become (Allison, 2010b). By 2000, the development received resource consent and the group settled on the name 'Earthsong', partly in reflection of the architectural decision to include rammed earth walls in the construction of the ground floor of the homes.

Now that we had our land, we needed a new name. Several were proposed but 'Earthsong' caught the imagination of many. For some it signified the sound the rammed earth makes when it reaches the desired density during ramming; others felt that our community would be the earth's song on that land (Allison, 2010b).

While Earthsong's membership was growing, there were not enough people or money to complete the development of all 32 homes together, so the construction was staged.



Phase one saw the construction of the first 17 houses to the north of the site. Less than a year into construction, however, the builders went into liquidation. The effects were felt particularly strongly by the Earthsong members, who had already pre-paid for some work and materials. Through significant cost-cutting (removing anything but that which was essential to complete the house builds) and increasing the final prices of the homes, a new building company was engaged who were not experienced with rammed earth building techniques, but were willing to take on the large and unfinished project. By June 2002, all 17 homes in stage one had been completed and families were able to move in (Allison, 2010b).

Stages 2a and 2b saw the gradual completion of the remaining 15 homes, as well as the common house. By the end of 2006, all of the houses were constructed. A number of critical landscaping items as well as some cosmetic tasks had been removed from the construction budget, leaving residents to complete these tasks themselves. Tasks such as forming and planting the stormwater swales, paving the driveways, and removing excess clay and topsoil from the site were gradually undertaken by residents over a series of weekend working bees. It was not until 2008 that the construction phase for the development finally came to a close (Allison, 2010c).

Having established an historical context and outlined the development process of Earthsong from conception to construction, this chapter now moves on to look at the Earthsong community today, over 15 years since residents moved into the first completed homes.

5.2.2 Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood

Earthsong is a medium-density development comprising 32 self-contained terraced homes and apartments ranging from one bedroom studios to four bedroom homes. The homes are between 56 and 122 square metres in size, and are built from non-toxic, sustainably sourced materials. Rammed earth walls (350mm and 400mm thick) feature in the ground floor of most homes which serve a range of functions; they absorb heat from sunlight and slowly release the heat in cooler periods, they provide an acoustic buffer, as well as firewall separation between homes. Most of the units have concrete



floors, solid untreated timber (including framing), and a solar water heater, as well as a rainwater tank for clusters of houses. The layout of the houses on site was specifically designed to utilise passive solar design, keeping the homes warm in winter and cool in summer (for instance, clusters of homes are elongated east to west, so that they all contain north-facing living areas to maximise sunlight in winter (see Figure 5.2)) (e.g. BRANZ, 2018; Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood, n.d.-a).

The homes in Earthsong are linked by a network of shared pathways and common areas. The common house, a 340 square metre community building owned jointly by all householders, is located near the centre of the site. The common house is an extension of the private home, and comprises a dining hall, fireplace, sitting room, kitchen, children's play rooms, guest room, and shared laundry (Allison, 2018a; Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood, n.d.-a). Individual homes are slightly smaller than might otherwise be expected, given that residents have access to the large number of shared common spaces and facilities. Car parking is kept to one edge of the site, preserving the network of pathways through the site for pedestrians. A main concrete footpath 1.5 metres wide runs through the site in the shape of a figure eight, with smaller paths branching off to provide access to individual units. Stormwater swales were constructed alongside footpaths for treating and conveying stormwater to a pond at the northern end of the site.

While a number of the physical design aspects of Earthsong were deliberately designed for their environmental sustainability benefits, the vision for Earthsong was equally focused on the pursuit of social sustainability outcomes.

I spent a year in Waitati, a little village north of Dunedin, in the seventies and that was a kind of alternative lifestyle place. You bought a little rotten house and learnt how to garden and had chooks and things like that. For me, as a young person, 20 or so, it was my first experience of really having my own place but having lots of other likeminded people around...[we had] community gardens and a food co-op...concerts...and you know, sitting on the verandas and yarning into the evening, it was just fantastic! That's sort of the sense I was really yearning for (Interview ES09, p. 3).



Residents at Earthsong come together for a range of community events and activities, both planned and spontaneous. For most of the year, residents can cook and share meals out of the common house for two nights a week, where they rotate cooking duties. Residents also come together several times a year for working bees on the site, as well as for celebrations such as Matariki (the Māori New Year) and an annual boat race in the pond. Similarly, spontaneous gatherings are common; residents might organise a movie night or knitting session in the common house on a rainy day, or work together on projects in the workshop. Residents hold a Full Group meeting once a month as another way of bonding and to discuss any community matters, any of which are decided by consensus.

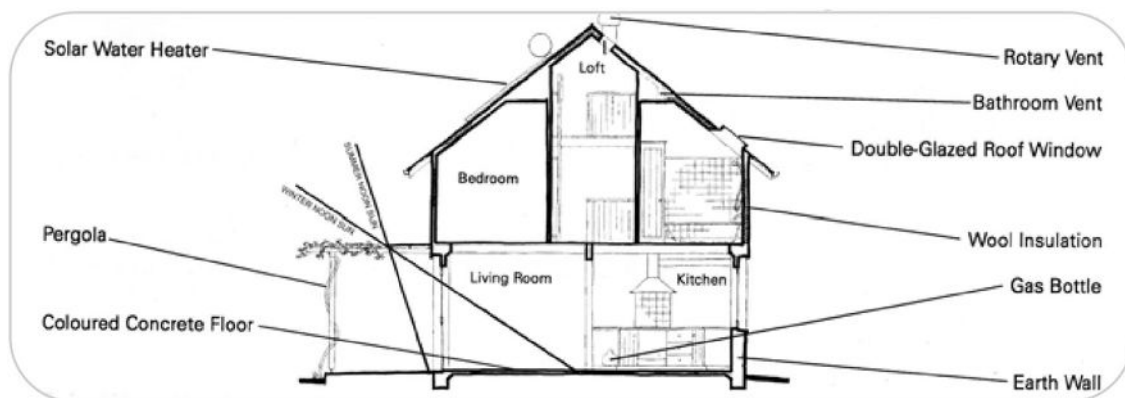


Figure 5.2: Earthsong – diagram of passive solar design aspects shown on a section view of a typical home in Earthsong. For example, note the pergola on the north side of the homes (left side of image). The pergola provides a frame or structure for deciduous vines to grow, which shade the homes in summer and shed their leaves in winter, allowing full winter sun into the homes (image credit: Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood, n.d.-a)





Figure 5.3: Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood – aerial photo (development shown in colour) in Ranui, West Auckland (oriented north to top of page). The aerial photo illustrates how clusters of homes are elongated east to west to provide a north-facing living area for every home (therefore providing solar access). Car-parking is kept to the western edge of the site, ensuring the network of footpaths are kept for pedestrians. For reference, a larger colour aerial image of Earthsong is attached as Appendix G.





Figure 5.4: Earthsong - from the balcony of a first-floor apartment at the south of the site, looking north. The common house is to the left. Also visible is a rainwater collection tank (left), the network of footpaths and mature landscaping to break up hard surfaces (photo: author).



Figure 5.5: Earthsong - common house and common lawn. The common house is located centrally to the site, and typically between residents' car parks and their unit, meaning most residents will walk past the common house on their way home (increasing the chances they might spontaneously call in and interact with their neighbours). The solar water heater is also visible on the common house roof, as well as on the homes in the background (photo: author).





Figure 5.6: Earthsong - children's playground and common lawn. This image demonstrates the benefits of resource sharing: all children in Earthsong have access to the play equipment and areas that is shared by the community, as opposed to each household with children needing to purchase their own play equipment for their own children (photo: author).



Figure 5.7: Earthsong - part of the main footpath running through the centre of the site. While only concreted to 1.5 metres in width, the ground to the right of the footpath is reinforced for vehicles (for instance, if an ambulance was required to get closer to homes, or for residents to move a trailer load of compost more easily). Smaller footpaths branch off the main path to access individual homes (photo: author).





Figure 5.8: Earthsong - part of the main footpath which weaves its way around the site. This is effectively the main street of the community, in stark contrast to a typical urban or suburban street cross-section which often comprises vehicles and much larger spans of hard surfaces (photo: author).



Figure 5.9: Earthsong - private backyard of one of the units. Note the mature vegetation provides screening from the neighbouring homes to the south (photo: author).





Figure 5.10: Earthsong - common gardens and orchards are assigned a guardian, although all produce grown in the common gardens is available to all residents. This guardianship model was especially valued by residents living in the apartments which are on the first floor only (and therefore do not have a private front yard or garden of their own) (photo: author).



Figure 5.11: Earthsong – parking is kept to the periphery of the site. Some residents have uncovered parking, while others have constructed carports or even garages. A workshop with shared tools and materials is in the shed in the foreground (right) (photo: author).





Figure 5.12: Earthsong - playing a 'timeline game', working as a team to discuss, debate, and come to a consensus on the various steps within the cohousing development process and the sequence of those steps. This was a valuable insight to the group processes that the founding members of Earthsong had gone through, and in particular, the value in clear communication and open debate to produce outcomes that were supported by the group as a whole (photo: author).



Figure 5.13: Earthsong - a special 'hot-pot' shared dinner in the common house, Winter 2018. A group of 4-5 residents prepared the meal for any other residents to attend. On this occasion, one resident brought along feijoa wine (centre right) which she had made herself from the feijoas in the orchard, as well as feijoa ice blocks for dessert. All of the hot-pots and burners (approximately seven tables) were sourced from residents within the community (photo: author).



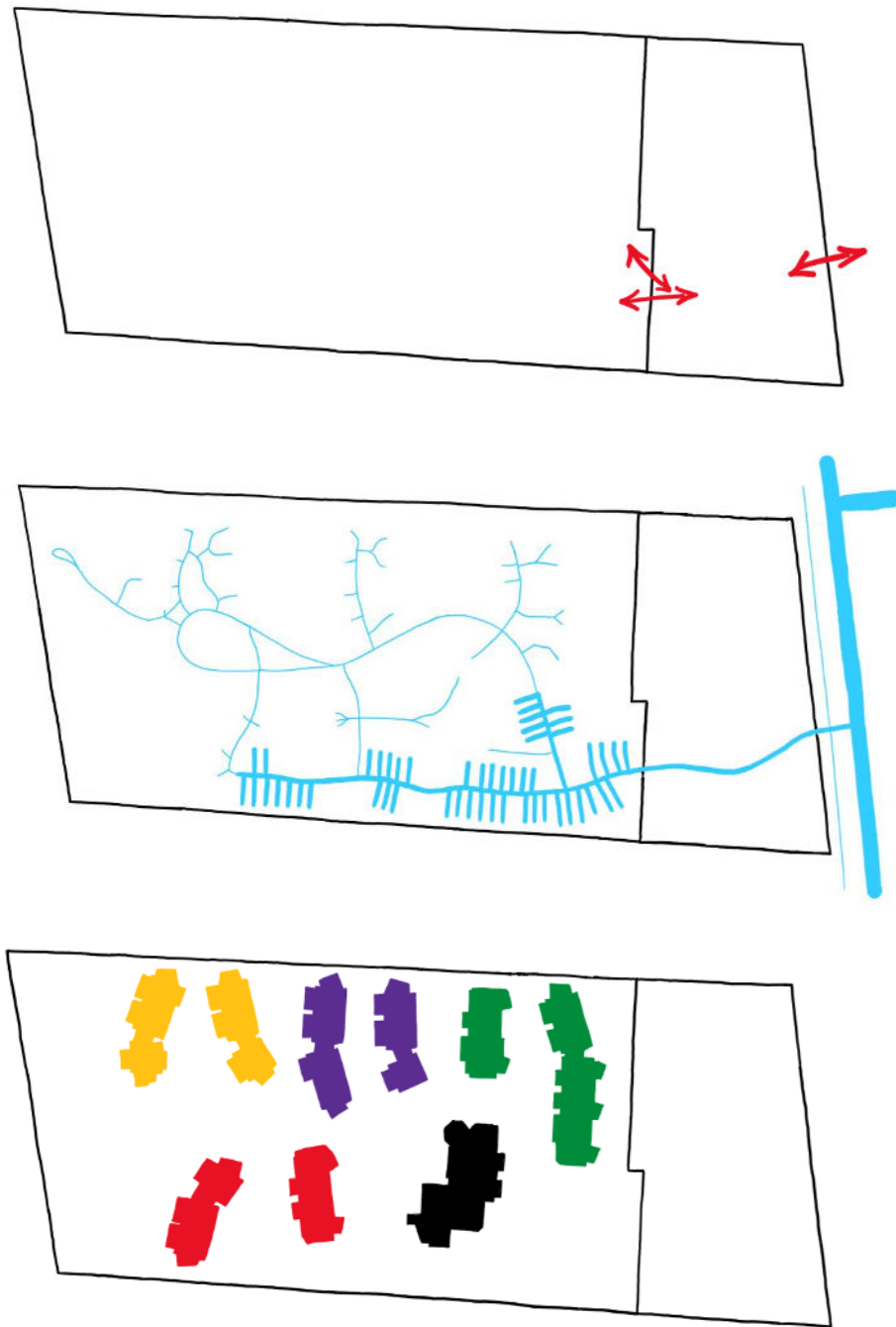


Figure 5.14: Earthsong - spatial plans (note: plans are rotated, so North is to the left of the page). TOP: Connections in and out of the site, with arrows indicating shared entrances/entry points to the site. While Earthsong does not enjoy the same amount of road frontage as Kāinga Tuatahi, Earthsong still has considerably fewer entry points, meaning there are more opportunities for residents to bump into one another here. MIDDLE: Site connectivity, with the thickest lines indicating public roads, the middle-sized lines representing surfaces typically driven on by cars, and the thin lines representing pedestrian pathways. The network of pathways and laneways are primarily 'tree-like' in structure as opposed to the predominantly 'ring-like' form at Kāinga Tuatahi. The tree-like structure has the effect of funnelling residents along particular pathways, increasing the chance that residents will encounter other residents as they move about the site. BOTTOM: Homes are generally clustered in three groups: the three standalone homes to the West (green), 15 homes within the rest of the West Block (purple) and 12 homes in the East Block (yellow). This allows for sub-groups to form within the wider development and a level of social interaction which is one step removed from interacting with the whole community at large.



5.2.3 Ownership model

Homes in Earthsong are held in unit title ownership. Unit title subdivision enables both individual ownership of private spaces (typically units or apartments, as well as any accessory units such as garages or car parks), as well as shared ownership of collective areas and facilities (for example, driveways and gardens). A partial copy of the first stage unit plan for Earthsong is shown in Figure 5.15 below. At Earthsong, homeowners typically hold an individual unit title to their homes and private gardens (including private car parking spaces for some), as well as shared ownership in the common areas and gardens, and the common house. In addition, in a unit title development, all unit owners collectively make up the body corporate, which is the governance body responsible for managing and administering the property as a whole.

5.2.4 Data collection

Between April and July 2018, ten of the 32 resident families were visited at their homes in Earthsong to discuss their experiences of living in an urban cohousing community. Residents volunteered to participate following a presentation at one of the monthly Earthsong Full Group meetings, resulting in a spread of residents from across the site and with various lengths of residence in Earthsong.

The interviews were audio recorded and varied in length from 34 minutes to 1 hour 39 minutes, with the average interview being 1 hour and 12 minutes long. The audio recordings were transcribed, and copies of the transcriptions sent back to respective participants for them to proof-read, make corrections or clarify points. A copy of the interview guide is attached in Appendix E. Prior to the interviews, on 06 March 2018, a guided field walk was undertaken with the hakuturi for this site.

In addition, the property file for the development was purchased, including the resource consent application, engineering plans and associated completion certificates for the development (received January 2019). A range of field notes, memos and photographs were also taken or recorded through the duration of this project.



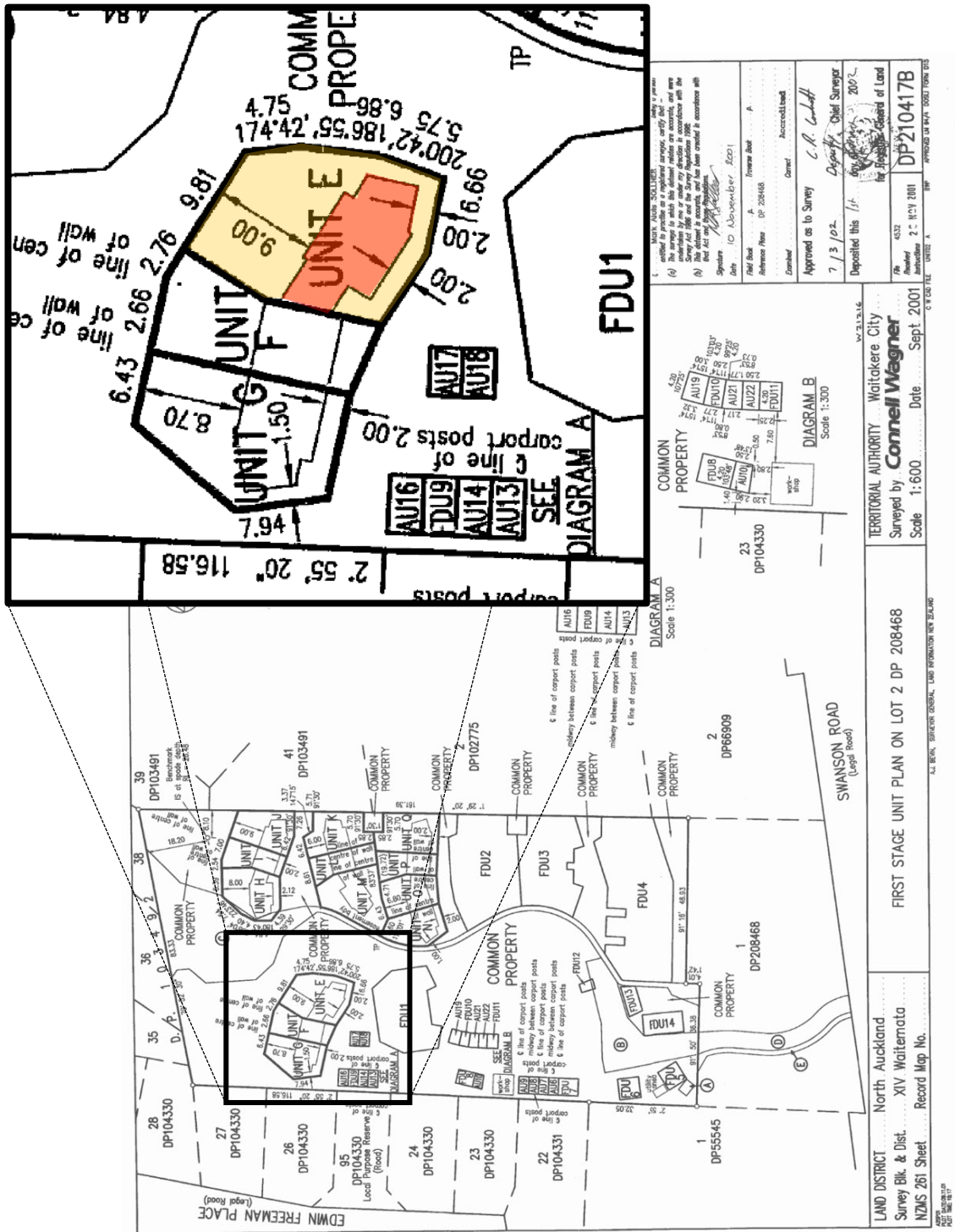


Figure 5.15: Earthsong unit title plan (Stage one). The magnified portion of the plan (inset) shows the extent of some of the 'Principal Units' within the unit title subdivision. For example, an owner holds an individual unit title to the area shown as Unit E. This ownership interest includes the physical building itself (highlighted in orange), as well as the front, side and rear yards surrounding the physical building (highlighted in yellow). Areas outside of the thick black lines without a 'Unit' name are (generally) areas of common property, where ownership is shared with all of the other unit title holders. This inset diagram also shows some of the individually-owned carparks, identifiable as Accessory Units (AU##) on the unit title plan.

The following seven sections each examine a principle of socially-based tenure and the ways in which those principles are embodied within the Earthsong development. These principles could be assumed in traditional, socially-based societies, but to date, their application in a contemporary context (and specifically, in a housing context) has not been documented. Insights from similar urban cohousing cases in Denmark and Sweden are also included throughout.

Similar to the previous chapter, each principle in this chapter concludes with a summary and a visual depiction (for example, as shown in Figure 5.16) of the extent to which that principle is perceived to be embodied within the Earthsong community. As discussed in chapter 4, this visual depiction (and the gauge level depicted for each principle) is not an objective measure. Rather, the gauge levels shown are merely a visual representation of a response determined subjectively by the author. This instinctive response is based on an informed personal synthesis of interview and secondary data content, as well as body language, pitch, tone of voice and other observations of participants and case study sites over the course of this research, much of which cannot necessarily be conveyed aptly in written form. Consequently, while readers may assess the levels differently to those shown, these diagrams are offered as a heuristic technique to guide the reader along the author's process of assessment.



Figure 5.16: Gauge diagram (example), diagram depicting the extent to which a principle is embodied in the community (e.g. this principle is displayed as being present to a high degree).

5.3 Principle 1: Rights are embedded in social relationships

Socially-based tenure principle #1:
Rights are embedded in social relationships

Codes: borrow economy | relationships with others | shared facilities | organisational structure | social connections | interaction | 'type' of resident

5.3.1 Social relationships derive from group membership

The first principle posits that in socially-based societies, rights to land and property are explicitly bound up with belonging to a social group. For Indigenous cultures, the unit of social belonging tends to be tribal, where shared ancestry would be a criterion for belonging. Individual rights then stemmed from one's membership of that group. At Earthsong, households typically do not share common ancestral ties, and so the conditions for membership are different. Those wanting to purchase a home in Earthsong must first be a full member of Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood. Criteria for full membership include: having paid a \$2000 membership contribution; attending two or more of the monthly full group meetings; attending a social event or common dinner; reading a cohousing book; and signing an initial agreement which specifies the rights and responsibilities of members (Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood, n.d.-c). Rather than holding a genealogical connection, membership in Earthsong is more codified and is generally available to any person who is interested and has the means to meet those obligations. While formal membership provides the right to purchase a home or live in Earthsong, various tangible outcomes of living in Earthsong on a day-to-day basis are supported and maintained through a number of other mechanisms, including the site design and layout, organisational structure, and the depth of relationships.

5.3.2 Social relationships are supported by design

The extent to which a community facilitates socialisation among residents can be attributed, at least in part, to whether the site design and layout is 'sociopetal' (encourages social interaction) or 'sociofugal' (discourages social interaction). Osmond (1957) coined the two terms from an environmental psychology context (relating to interior building layouts and seating arrangements), however the concepts could



similarly be applied to conversations on neighbourhood design. A sociopetal neighbourhood design would be one that encourages and facilitates interaction between residents of the neighbourhood, while a sociofugal neighbourhood design discourages interaction and social contact (or put another way, a sociofugal design encourages individualism).

A number of aspects of the site design at Earthsong tend to follow sociopetal aspirations, by deliberately encouraging and facilitating social relationships among residents. For instance, cars are kept to the western edge of the site rather than in private garages or parking attached to homes. Residents can access their individual units along a series of pedestrian pathways from the entrance and car park. As well as reducing the amount of the site area that needs to be dedicated to roading, the network of footpaths increases the chances of spontaneous interactions and encounters between residents which might otherwise be missed when residents can drive and park adjacent to their homes.

There's only one or two highways to walk down, so you just kind of run into people (Interview ES03, pp. 5-6).

Residents spoke of the footpaths as being a common 'bump point', or place for spontaneous or incidental interactions with your neighbours and that it was normal to run into other residents and stop for a conversation because of this.

We do a lot of talking on the pathways, that's a very common place to talk to people (Interview ES01, p. 13).

Similarly, the common house and gathering nodes such as the rotunda are generally located on the main pathways between the parking area and most units, encouraging a higher level of foot traffic to pass by the shared spaces (which in turn, may encourage residents to stop by and interact when other residents are present).

For me, who could be a bit of an isolate, it's really nice to just have a sense of...I can just sit in the rotunda somewhere if I need to talk to someone, and someone will turn up (Interview ES05, p. 4).



Earthsong also designed layers of zones of engagement into the layout and orientation of the private homes on site. Homes are clustered in groups (see Figure 5.14), nested within the wider development, and with a footpath providing pedestrian access to the homes within that ‘node’ or cluster. That footpath then connects to the main ‘highway’ footpath which loops around the whole site. This means that as residents exit their private homes, they transit through a zone or area of space which is shared with only a few other homes (typically five or six, but sometimes more). Beyond that shared space, they then enter the communal zone, or the area of the site which is frequented by any residents in the community. Residents can then enter the final zone or layer, which is to exit the site and enter the public realm. These zones smoothen the transition from private to public space (both physically, and socially for residents who may be seeking social interaction), which can be more abrupt with individualised homes (see Figure 5.17 and Figure 5.18).

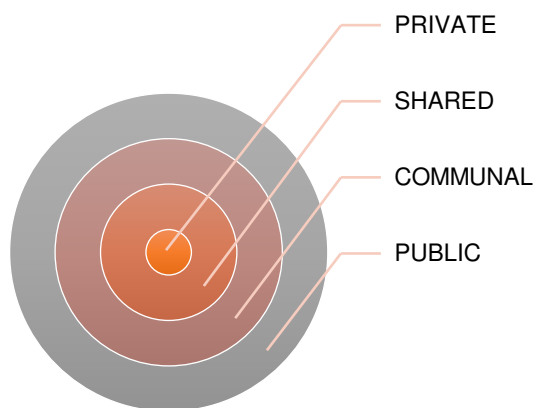


Figure 5.17: Zones or layers of engagement at Earthsong (and commonly evidenced in cohousing communities). Residents leaving the site typically transition through most if not all four zones.

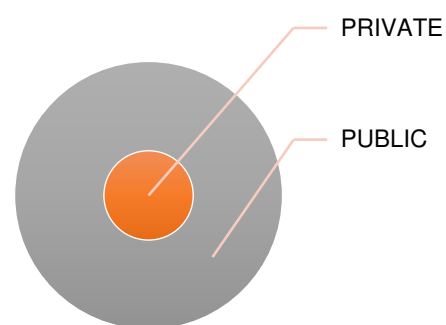


Figure 5.18: Zones or layers of engagement in typical suburban development. Residents typically only transition directly from privately owned land to the public realm.

The provision of various shared facilities on site offers residents planned or scheduled interactions. Most residents participate in the cooking groups which provide dinner for residents on Thursday and Saturday evenings in the common house. The groups work on a rotating roster, where they will plan and prepare dinner, as well as wash up, for all



residents for one evening. That cooking group can then enjoy the following seven night's meals, which will be prepared by other groups.

I enjoy that thing of cooking with other people, for a group of people. I think that's been a highlight for me...cooking for 50 people, with a million different diets is a challenge. But we just hummed together [i.e. like a well-oiled machine] (Interview ES05, p. 3).

As well as regular shared dinners, the common house hosts the monthly full group meetings for all residents, or it can be the setting for more informal or impromptu gatherings such as a movie night, to watch the rugby world cup or an election, or even if someone is just lighting the fire in the fireplace over winter. A resident might send out an email to other residents to say they are cooking their dinner on the common house barbeque, and invite any other residents to bring along their dinner and dine together. The common house also provides permeability to the wider community; outside groups can book the facility in a similar way to a community hall. Residents expressed that this helps to prevent Earthsong from becoming a form of 'gated community' that might be separated from the wider community it is located within (e.g. Interviews ES04, 06).

5.3.3 Social relationships are supported by organisational processes

While the physical design supports a range of social relationships, various social and organisational mechanisms also function to build and foster relationships between residents. Residents are expected to attend monthly full group meetings, as well as to participate in one or more focus groups (smaller resident groups which focus on particular aspects of community life, such as administration, site (i.e. physical site works), membership (including hosting tours), IT (technology), or the workshop). Focus groups tend to meet monthly (sometimes more frequently, sometimes less), with the intention that the smaller groups can attend to minor matters that do not need to be discussed and agreed upon by all residents. While some residents considered the processes involved to be quite prescriptive and complex (e.g. Interviews ES01, 05), others relished the challenge of working with and considering their neighbours (e.g. Interview ES03). Aspects of these elements are also expanded on in section 5.6 below.



5.3.4 Social relationships vary in depth

Residents tended to have a range of relationships with others in the community. A common misperception of cohousing communities is that all residents must be friends with one another, but in reality, if there are enough people in a community, residents can maintain a variety of friendship levels. Earthsong residents tended to describe having 'deep relationships' with a few residents whom they are close friends with, as well as many 'footpath relationships' which are cordial or friendly relationships with neighbours where they will acknowledge or greet one another on the footpaths, but are less likely to spend time together voluntarily.

I have less than a handful of deep relationships with people, and lots of footpath ones (Interview ES03, p. 6).

While residents frequently bump into one another around the neighbourhood (and often share meals together in the common house), visiting neighbours in their private homes was much less frequent, and reserved for those residents with whom they had those deeper relationships with.

Social relationships play an important role in reducing social isolation at Earthsong. Through the physical design and provision of shared spaces and activities, residents find it much easier to interact with their neighbours and have ready access to support than they have found in other homes or areas where they have lived. In an individualised household or development, residents mentioned that social interactions with friends or neighbours tend to take planning and effort: to schedule times or locations to meet; to plan activities; or perhaps to travel to each other. In Earthsong, those interactions happen much more easily and often spontaneously. While it could be expected that communal-style living might appeal to more extroverted people, a number of residents self-identified as introverted people who nonetheless placed high value on the ease with which they could socialise with their neighbours.

While socialisation was seen as a positive by many residents, the nature and frequency of neighbourly interactions may not suit everyone, or may not suit at all times, and so



socialisation was expressed as being both a positive and negative aspect of living at Earthsong.

The flip side of knowing people is that sometimes they drive you nuts (Interview ES06, p. 3).

There's one or two people that I'd like to shoot sometimes, but that goes [i.e. the feeling eventually fades away] (Interview ES08, p. 8).

5.3.5 Social relationships can generate tangible outcomes

Strong social relationships can have the benefit of producing tangible outcomes for residents of the community. Putnam introduced the concept of 'social capital' as an attribute of social life:

Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called "civic virtue". The difference is that "social capital" calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital (Putnam, 2000, p. 19).

The intangible notion of social capital, established and garnered through relationships, can produce various tangible outcomes to benefit both the individual and the collective, from access to resources through borrowing, to access to socialisation or interaction from those relationships (Katz, 2000). Earthsong residents reflected on how social capital from readily accessible social networks generated tangible outcomes:

If you want to borrow anything, you can borrow it from someone. If you want to do something with someone, there's always someone to go out with or have coffee with, or go and cry on their shoulder... (Interview ES08, p. 4).



5.3.6 Summary



Figure 5.19: Gauge diagram (Earthsong) – Principle 1 is demonstrated to a high degree.

Overall, the principle of rights being embedded in social relationships seems to be embodied to a high degree at Earthsong. Belonging to the social group is essentially voluntary, whereby anyone with the means can seek to join the group. Interested parties can follow a set process to opt-in to become members of the group. This is in contrast to traditional communally-based societies which tended to be grouped around shared ancestry. However, rights to home ownership explicitly stem from that group membership, which is a requirement of purchasing a house in Earthsong.

Beyond initial membership, to secure rights to a home there are ongoing obligations to the social group as well. While ongoing duties are not strictly policed, resident satisfaction or enjoyment tends to hinge on participating and maintaining cordial social relationships with the rest of the group. Aspects of the physical design and organisational structure provide a wide range of opportunities and facilities to support 'easy' relationship building, through both codified and planned interactions (such as full group meetings and common dinners), as well as spontaneous, impromptu gatherings (such as footpath conversations). This was a crucial difference for some residents when reflecting on how Earthsong compared to other homes they have lived in, or other ways of living. Where other properties might be desirable for different reasons, the distinguishing factor at Earthsong tended to be the ease of accessing social networks.

Recently, there was this property for sale up in the Hokianga. It was organic, established orchards, 19 chickens, a milking cow, a goat, and some lambs. A four bedroom villa with a fireplace, it had all that and it was only \$380,000.



It had water and solar energy, and I was thinking ‘oh my god’. I should just sell my house and go and live out there. I was having this beautiful dream about how I could do all of that, and then I remembered about the relationships with the people here, and that I couldn’t actually survive well without those. A couple have moved out of Earthsong recently and I saw one of them yesterday, and she was saying how they haven’t got a social network; they haven’t got the social network that they’ve had here and while they’re enjoying retirement and being in a beautiful place, they’re asking ‘where are my neighbours?’ (Interview ES03, p. 5).

Historically, the principle of rights being embedded in social relationships was rooted in a survival instinct. Membership of the social group meant cooperation for fighting and in times of need. In a contemporary cohousing context, the incentive is not quite the same. Residents typically secure their income from external workplaces and are not reliant on the community for survival, per se. Rather, group membership today offers the rewards of socialisation and the richness that can be gained from a strong social network. The incentive to maintain cordial relationships exists, but more from a level of comfort or satisfaction than survival.

5.4 Principle 2: Individual rights are subordinated to group rights

Socially-based tenure principle #2:
Individual rights are subordinated to group rights

Codes: individualism | rights and responsibilities | group rights |
power | privacy | community ideology | notion of the collective

The second principle posits that in traditional socially-based systems, individual rights are subordinated to group rights. That is, individual rights are nested within a wider system of group rights; the group comes first. Within the Earthsong community, this principle is evidenced through: notions of the collective; privacy; a duality of rights and responsibilities; power; and through expressions of individualism.

5.4.1 Groups can be strong where they have a binding factor

Earthsong residents subscribe to three founding aims or goals of the community, namely: environmental sustainability, social sustainability, and education (or raising



awareness of collective living). Those over-arching principles could be seen as binding the group. As described in the section above, generally, anybody can 'opt-in' to be a member of the group, but what binds the group and retains members as part of that collective is their active pursuit of those three goals.

A notion of the collective is reflected throughout the life-span of the community, from planning, design, construction, and now in day-to-day life. The original concepts for Earthsong were developed through collaborative cooperative of prospective residents, and that collective cooperation continued through the design and build process where the group worked in collaboration with the architect to design the houses, as well as to collectively fund the construction. With the construction completed, residents manage the ongoing community life as a collective as well. Residents meet on a monthly basis at full group meetings to discuss and decide on matters, with almost all decisions made based on consensus.⁵³

5.4.2 Groups should carefully consider individual privacy

While the notion of the collective is strong, that is not to say that everything must be shared and communal. Privacy and private spaces are also important to wellbeing, and need to be safeguarded. The two are not mutually exclusive, so long as an appropriate balance can be struck. At Earthsong, various measures help to protect and preserve individual privacy. For instance, social behaviours or cues can be used to signal to other residents if you do not wish to talk, such as walking with your head down.

You can walk to your home with your head down, for example, and people will understand that you just don't want to be talked to. Because it's the same for everybody, it works. You don't always want to talk (Interview ES02, p. 6).

Don't look at anybody. Just look at the ground, and they'll respect that you don't want to talk to anybody. So there's body signals and clues...if you put the blind down on your front door, then that indicates that you're not available to people...(Interview ES05, p. 5).

⁵³ If residents are unable to reach consensus, a decision can be made by a vote, requiring a 75% majority. This only occurred twice in the first 15 years of the project.



The houses are also designed to enable privacy for residents. Houses are generally clustered in groups with a central footpath from which each house gains pedestrian access. The side of the house which faces the footpath is the 'front yard', which is the more public space where residents can interact. The opposite side of the house is the 'back yard', or the private space at the back of the house. Residents generally recognise that if someone is in their back yard, it is a cue to respect their privacy and to not seek to engage with them.

If people are in that side of their house or that part of their property [the private side], you don't call out to them unless they indicate that they want to connect with you...I'm probably one of the more introverted of the people here. And there are times when I just really want my privacy, I just find that I get a bit overwhelmed with being in contact with people all the time, and I really like being able to just come in and get away from it (Interview ES04, p. 10).

5.4.3 Group membership balances rights and responsibilities

The notion of the collective realises that while residents gain rights from their belonging to the social group, there are also responsibilities or obligations that come with that membership. As a minimum, residents are expected to join a cooking team, to attend full group meetings (or send in apologies where they cannot make it), and to participate in at least one focus group. The requirement to return value to the community in these ways are part of keeping the community functioning, which in turn, secures individual rights; it is a cyclical relationship.

While new residents will often be excited at the collective lifestyle when they initially move in, the novelty can wear off and residents begin to encounter aspects or challenges as they begin to realise the reality of the rights and responsibilities relationship.

When people move in here, you go through a real honeymoon stage, it's all lovely and you really enjoy the people and you love the common meals...you bring all your friends and family in to show them it's such a gorgeous place. But as time goes by, people start coming up against things, and start to find that in with all the advantages of living in a collective way, that there comes some responsibilities with that. You don't have the same degree of autonomy that you do if you're living separately (Interview ES04, p. 10).

With private property and individualism, residents or owners can generally do as they please (within the limits of laws and local regulations). However, in collective housing, residents are more obliged to consider their neighbours. In Earthsong, if a resident wishes to make any changes to the exterior of their house or property, they have a responsibility to discuss it with their neighbours first. This invites a level of self-awareness; residents cannot just do what they individually want to do, they are obliged to consider the impact it might have on others.

If we wanted to put a garden shed out the back there, I wouldn't even start without making sure folks are aware of it and getting as much endorsement as I needed to get on with the job. Or to modify my thinking because people come back and say, here's five good reasons why what you're doing is not the right thing. So there's all sorts of opportunity for learning from that, I can tap into all that wisdom (Interview ES07, p. 8).

Rights and responsibilities are considered more collectively in terms of demarcation of space as well. For instance, boundary demarcation is not as rigid as it might be elsewhere. Some areas of the site are fenced, but most internal site boundaries (boundaries between different units and their use areas) tend to be 'fuzzy' or not well-defined (e.g. see Figure 5.20). The focus tends to be more on collaboration and building relationships with neighbours, so exclusionary attitudes of individualised tenure are not as prevalent. Similarly, while individual residents might hold responsibility for a shared garden or resource, that relationship is not individualised. The relationship is explicitly termed guardianship rather than ownership; that is, they are holding or caring for it for the good of the collective, not owning it themselves.

5.4.4 Collaborative groups can still exhibit forms of power

Conversations around power illustrate the relationship between the individual and the collective. As noted above, Earthsong residents make decisions collectively by consensus. In a formal sense, this means that there is no one person or authority who acts as the leader or the one in charge; Earthsong operates on a cooperative system based on equality. One resident described this as residents being 'functionless' in Earthsong (Interview ES02, p. 4). That is, irrespective of a person's position or occupation or social





Figure 5.20: Earthsong - 'fuzzy boundary' between a resident's private yard (left) and a shared garden (right), which is only approximately demarcated by a small, slightly trodden path.

class, all residents have an equal say in Earthsong and do not gain power or status from any external position or function. However, threads of power, conscious and unconscious, can still be present.

One resident described knowledge as power in Earthsong. Rather than considering if there is a person or people in charge, the question is more about information. If a resident is fully involved in the participatory processes of the community, and actively takes part in decision-making, they are more informed and aware of various matters happening within the community and can exercise their power within the collective by taking part in those participatory processes. Disengaged or disinterested residents who do not participate are the opposite. Their power is divulged through inactivity. The same idea perpetuates through length of tenure; residents who have lived in Earthsong longer naturally have access to more of that information.

I think that some of the newer [residents] have come in and seen that maybe some of the key people from the early days are hanging on to power. I don't actually see it that way. I see it as those early people are actually, they hold the information that was behind the whole philosophy and values of Earthsong (Interview ES04, p. 11).

Other residents held power unconsciously, where the source derived from admiration or respect that other residents held for them.

They didn't wield a lot of overt or unconscious power, but they were powerful because they made such a contribution, everyone admired them enormously (Interview ES01, p. 20).

5.4.5 Group membership includes sanctions and accountability

An important component of the relationship between the individual and the collective concerns sanctions and accountability. Individuals coming together in groups can create opportunities for conflict, and disputes can arise in a range of situations (Forsyth, 2006). For instance, disputes between group members can arise if an individual exploits a collective resource, does not contribute their share to the group, or does not follow agreed procedures. Different strategies exist for groups to manage that conflict, with varying results.

At Earthsong, strategies for dealing with interpersonal relationships (and any issues that arise from those) are well-documented. Earthsong residents have monthly full group meetings led by a resident facilitator, and which follow a specific process called a coloured card system. With the coloured card system, each resident has a set of cards, each of a different colour and each representing different types of hierarchical modes or responses. In discussion mode (i.e. when residents are discussing an idea or proposal), residents can hold up a card signalling that they wish to talk. Depending on the colour of the card, those presenting a card will all have the opportunity to speak in turn. In decision-making mode, residents use their cards to essentially vote on the matter or proposal. For instance, a green card would signal agreement with the proposal, while a red card signals opposition. The coloured cards system gives voice to residents who might not otherwise contribute in an open discussion-type forum, and residents noted that consensus-based decision-making broadens their individual perspectives and opinions to other ideas that they may not have necessarily considered.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ For a detailed description of the coloured cards process (including the colours of the cards and their meanings), see <https://www.earthsong.org.nz/about/decision-making>



Similarly, Earthsong members abide by a set of communication agreements (see Box 5.1) which prescribe how residents will try and interact with one another. For instance, if a resident enters into a problem with another resident, the seventh communication agreement encourages residents to talk directly with them.

Box 5.1 Earthsong communication agreements

1. I will respect others' rights to speak without interruption.
2. I will take responsibility for owning and naming my own feelings.
3. I will speak succinctly (short and to the point).
4. I recognise that we work best together when we remember to have fun!
5. I will use "I" statements, and speak for myself, not others.
6. I undertake to value and respect different contributions and perspectives of all individuals.
7. I undertake to keep my relationships within the group clear by dealing with my problematic issues directly with the persons concerned.
8. I undertake to respect other's privacy by not discussing outside the group other people's personal issues which may arise within the group process.

While the agreements may not be perfectly followed by all residents all of the time, they are a constant reminder that the social architecture of the community is always ongoing.

I like the hard stuff about this place [Earthsong]. I like that there's communication agreements in the dining room. It's a challenge, like if you have an issue with someone, you can't just ignore them and cross the street. That agreement says you've got to have a talk. It requires me to be a better person, and try and be in relationship with my neighbour (Interview ES03, p. 4).



5.4.6 Summary



Figure 5.21: Gauge diagram (Earthsong) – Principle 2 is demonstrated to a high degree.

Overall, the principle of individual rights being subordinated to group rights is perceived to be expressed to a high degree at Earthsong. Traditionally, in socially-based societies, shared ancestry was commonly a binding factor for communities. An eponymous ancestor might be used for tribal members to draw strength or inspiration from. In groups where social membership is not prescribed through ancestral connections, such as Earthsong, perhaps comparable bonds can be found in having a common purpose or philosophy. At Earthsong, residents find common connections through a shared pursuit of environmental sustainability, social sustainability and education. Individual use rights are enjoyed by subscribing to those collective goals.

Sometimes, by having individual rights subordinated to group rights, residents are obliged to accept a trade-off. For example, the car-parking at Earthsong is kept to the western boundary of the site, with footpath networks connecting carparks to individual homes. Residents trade the right to drive closer to their own homes and to have secure parking closer to their house, for a predominantly vehicle-free development. This was generally accepted by all residents; the importance of the pedestrian-focused model was more important than the individual right to park closer to home.

While notions of the collective are prioritised at Earthsong, privacy is equally recognised as being of importance. Various social norms and behaviours have been developed and espoused by residents to protect and preserve individual privacy, such as avoiding engaging if residents are in their private back yards. Residents are encouraged to participate in the community, but there is no policing if any residents are not actively



involved. In that instance, the trade-off appears to be a loss of power. While formally, the power structure at Earthsong is cooperative and consensus-based, an informal, hierarchical system also seems to exist, founded on knowledge, information and contribution. This is at odds with how power structures might be seen to exist in other organisations or workplaces.

In most organisations, you have an explicit hierarchical power system and you have the informal and cooperative system, but here it's the other way around (Interview ES01, p. 21).

5.5 Principle 3: Work gives rise to belonging and creates effective rights

Socially-based tenure principle #3:
Work gives rise to belonging and creates effective rights

Codes: jobs, work | processes | participatory design | equality |
amount of work | ebbs and flows | personal input | policing

The third principle extends on the notion of the collective, and a duality of rights and responsibilities to recognise the benefits of personal contribution in fostering a sense of belonging and self-worth. It could be assumed in socially-based societies that taking an active role in shaping ones living environment could generate a sense of attachment or belonging to that place, as well as affirm rights in that area. At Earthsong, this principle is demonstrated through: participatory design; work practices (belonging and equality); ebbs and flows; and policing.

5.5.1 Work includes participatory design

Early stages in the design and conception of Earthsong centred on participatory processes. A core group were initially responsible for establishing some of the foundational legal and organisational frameworks eventually used once the village was constructed. The group was also actively involved in the design and layout of the site. The balance of the group's input with the architect's skills worked like the slow tipping of a see-saw (see Figure 5.21). The core resident group had the most input at the start of



the design process. They held four weekend hui to become familiar with the site and to prepare the architectural brief, as well as some initial house and layout concepts. Once the architect was engaged, the work (and to an extent, the decision-making) was increasingly left to the architect, working in consultation with a smaller, representative resident group. This allowed for resident participation in devising the overall concepts and vision, while leaving minor, cosmetic details to the architect to resolve. Importantly, the future residents collectively designed the houses without knowing which house would eventually be their own. This kept a collective focus on ensuring every house was as good as it could be.

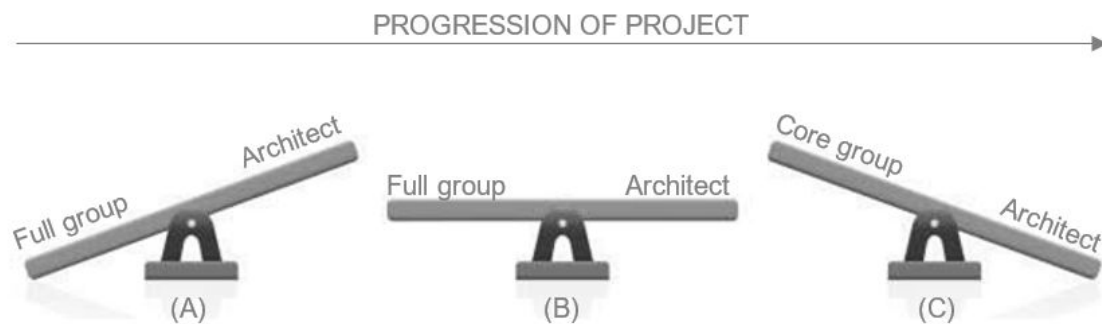


Figure 5.22: Earthsong - diagram of resident-architect relationship as the project progressed. As designs became more detailed, the balance of input or autonomy between the Earthsong group and the architect shifted. At the beginning of the design (A), the full Earthsong group had full input and control over the design and brief provided to the architect. As design plans began to formulate, the architect worked in conjunction with the group to refine major details (B), and as the smaller details began to become finalised, more work was left to the architect in consultation with a smaller, representative group from Earthsong (C).

Being able to 'speak the language'⁵⁵ was an important component for the success of the design and construction phase. Earthsong was the first urban cohousing development to be constructed in New Zealand. To make matters more complex, the homes included rammed earth walls which was not a widely adopted building technique at the time. As a result, it was critical for the Earthsong group to be able to clearly communicate their vision and ideas to both development and building professionals, as well as the regulatory bodies (Waitakere City Council at the time). There was no New Zealand standard, precedent, or template to work from; Earthsong was a new and novel project. As an architect herself, Robin was able to work as an intermediary, translating the

⁵⁵ That is, the 'language' of the built environment professionals and local authorities.



group's wishes effectively in a way that meant the consultant architect could understand the vision. Arguably, completing the project would have been significantly more difficult without that expertise to bridge the gap (for example, if no members in the initial group were familiar with design, or building, or reading plans and drawings).

As mentioned earlier, during the construction of the homes at Earthsong, the initial building company went into liquidation prior to the completion of the first stage of 17 houses. In order to fund and complete the development, any non-essential items were removed from the construction budget so Earthsong could engage new builders. As a result, some items of the building and construction were left for the residents to complete themselves such as oiling and painting the houses, forming and planting the stormwater swales, and paving the driveway. While this placed both physical and financial pressure on those residents at the time, it gave those residents the opportunity to 'get their hands dirty', and physically engage in building and shaping their future home. Although the process was intense, it was described as incredibly strengthening for the group and the act of having to work together through these challenges set a strong foundation for the community to succeed.

They'd bonded over the mud, the dramas, it nearly folded once and all that stuff. So...intense bonding (Interview ES06, p. 19).

While the construction period was highly stressful and demanded a significant amount of work on the part those residents at the time, it raises the question of how newer residents, who were not part of Earthsong during the construction and who moved in after construction was complete, can form comparable bonds, both with each other and with the physical environment. These notions are explored in sections 5.6 and 5.7 below.

5.5.2 Work practices can be ongoing

With the construction phase of development being completed several years ago, work practices at Earthsong are markedly different now. As a minimum (and as highlighted earlier), it is expected that residents will be on a cooking team (cooking a common dinner once a month, and being able to attend the other dinners), attend monthly full group meetings (or put in apologies), and participate in at least one focus group. Other



jobs within the community include gardening and manual labour (such as working bees), babysitting, site maintenance, cleaning the common house, locking the common house in evenings, mowing lawns, organising and running site tours, or managing the financial aspects.⁵⁶

The variety of jobs carried out at Earthsong enables all residents to participate and contribute in some way. For example, one resident is not interested in gardening but takes an active role in duties to look after and maintain the common house. On the other hand, another resident is a keen gardener and would prefer to look after the gardens than be involved in administrative aspects. Older residents who are less able to contribute manual or physical labour at working bees contribute by babysitting children or by cooking lunch for other residents. There are jobs for everyone depending on their skill, capacity, or their interest in taking up the task.

I don't have the strength I used to have, so I don't try to do the actual work in the working bee but I always cook if I'm here...each of us is contributing in different ways but none is more important than the others really. That allows for people who are aging or people who are unwell or whatever to each contribute in their own way (Interview ES04, p. 7).

Most people are contributing something in some way to the community, whether it's doing accounts, whether it's managing the cooking roster, most people are doing something (Interview ES10, p. 5).

Being able to contribute work to the collective has the benefit of producing feelings of belonging for residents as well as combatting social isolation. Residents expressed feelings of belonging and being needed, because of particular jobs or roles they held within the community (for example, see Figure 5.23).

⁵⁶ For instance, Earthsong receives a combined electricity bill every three months which is then divided up internally by residents based on individual, metered household use.





Figure 5.23: Earthsong - seasonal table centrepiece created for a full group meeting in April 2018. Each month, a resident prepares a seasonal table centrepiece for the full group meetings, from plants and trees in the community. Creating the monthly centrepiece has become one of the ways for that resident to contribute something to the collective.

Increasingly, social isolation and loneliness are recognised as health concerns, and are even considered mortality factors (e.g. Elovainio et al., 2017; Holt-Lunstad, Smith, Baker, Harris, & Stephenson, 2015; Holt-Lunstad, Smith, & Layton, 2010; Steptoe, Shankar, Demakakos, & Wardle, 2013). Based on an analysis of 70 independent, quantitative, longitudinal studies, Holt-Lundstad and others found an increased risk of death in the order of 26-32% from social isolation, loneliness and living alone (Holt-Lunstad et al., 2015). Similarly, researchers have found measures of social isolation and loneliness can be associated with higher blood pressure or reduced immunity (e.g. Grant, Hamer, & Steptoe, 2009; Hawkey, Thisted, Masi, & Cacioppo, 2010), as well as a greater risk of heart disease (Eng, Rimm, Fitzmaurice, & Kawachi, 2002), stroke (Nagayoshi et al., 2014; Valtorta, Kanaan, Gilbody, Ronzi, & Hanratty, 2016), and Alzheimer's and dementia (e.g. Hsiao, Chang, & Gean, 2018; Sutin, Stephan, Luchetti, & Terracciano, 2018; Wilson et al., 2007). Socialisation (such as working on cooking teams at Earthsong) enables individuals that could be at greater risk of social isolation (such as older residents who live on their own) to come together and engage and interact with other residents in a relatively easy and unconscious way.

[Interviewer question: What do you like the most about living here?] I like the feeling of belonging. I like feeling like I have a place here, that I belong here (Interview ES03, p. 4).

...through things like the cooking teams, people who would be at risk of social isolation...are not. My cooking team comprises people who are older women, as well as others; many live on their own, they're single...and once a month we do pantomimes where we get together and seek to produce a meal as a team (Interview ESR06, pp. 8-9).

Engaging in the variety of jobs on site enables residents to try new things and push personal boundaries. As an example, two residents spoke about their experiences chairing meetings in the common house (Interviews ES06, 07). Both initially felt some scepticism having not done jobs like that before, but were now relishing the challenge and enjoying new ways of being able to contribute to the group.

While the scope and number of jobs enables residents to participate and contribute in a variety of meaningful ways at Earthsong, it can be difficult to strike an appropriate balance of work with the resources available. If the number of jobs needing to be done is disproportionate to the capacity of residents, residents may begin to resent those tasks or the collective itself. For instance, some residents were finding the demands of maintaining the swales particularly high, and had begun to outsource some of that work by paying an external gardener or landscaper. The amount of work that is outsourced may need to be carefully considered to ensure residents maintain a reasonable amount of input themselves, and preserve the opportunity to stay connected with one another and with the site that the various tasks offer.

We've started paying somebody to come in and do work in the swales...but I do have some concerns that if we keep on paying people to come in and do things that we could be doing ourselves at working bees, that we might lose that whole feeling of ownership that is part of living here. It's not just a neighbourhood that you buy a house and move into, it's actually one that you come in because you want that feeling of belonging and that shared ownership, with all the advantages that come from that. So it's a fine balance really, between getting the work done and enjoying the connection that that gives you with people, versus having too much work to do that it becomes overwhelming (Interview ES04, pp. 6-7).



5.5.3 Work (or participation) ebbs and flows

The amount of work that residents are involved in fluctuates over time, depending on personal circumstances. There is a general recognition that residents are at varying stages of life, and so they have different abilities or capacities to participate in the community. For instance, one woman used to participate regularly but was working through some health issues, and so she was not participating as much. Other residents are involved, 'boots and all' (Interview ES08, p. 6). Similarly, while Earthsong is home to a small number of teenagers or adult children who have moved in with their parents, often they are not overly interested in aspects of the community such as meetings, but most residents tended to be accepting of that.

Everybody's got different capacity to contribute at different times for different reasons. They might have ups and downs and health changes, personal need, family circumstances change...life goes on and it comes and goes (Interview ES06, p. 7).

I feel that I'm not pulling my weight, but then I keep thinking there's plenty of time for that (Interview ES07, p. 3).

5.5.4 Work is not actively policed

At Earthsong, there is no active policing of residents that may or may not be contributing as much to the community. If residents are not carrying out tasks that they would usually do, other residents might check in to see if everything is okay, or what one resident termed 'gentle neighbourly inquiry' (Interview ES06, p. 7). Residents recognise that the contributions of their fellow residents to the community can ebb and flow over time, and as long as those fluctuations are communicated, then other residents can offer help. Generally, it was about expectations; residents who intentionally choose not to participate or contribute will miss out on the benefits of collective living. For example, a few residents do not like meetings, and have not attended a full group meeting for several years. The implication of non-attendance is that those residents then have to live with any decisions that the rest of the community makes at those meetings.

I would say a main consequence for people who aren't participating in the community is that they don't get the benefits of the social capital, essentially (Interview ES06, p. 7).



5.5.5 Work from another perspective: São Paulo, Brazil

As an alternate perspective, various work processes at the Prestes Maia occupation in São Paulo, Brazil, illustrate how work can contribute both to home rights as well as strong community bonds between families in a community (see Box 5.2 and Figures 5.23 and 5.24 below). Comparatively, the occupation finds basis in resident-led work processes but differs from Earthsong in that those work responsibilities at the occupation have an explicit and direct tie to potential property rights. Work at Earthsong relates more to intangible, ‘feel good’ benefits and is instead policed by expectation.



Figure 5.24: Prestes Maia building, São Paulo (photo credit: Fórum Centro Vivo, 2006, p. 71).



Figure 5.25: Prestes Maia building – inside of a communal stairwell for cleaning (photo credit: Caulkins, 2018, p. 83).



*The Prestes Maia occupation*⁵⁷

The current occupation of the Prestes Maia building (see Figure 5.23) in central São Paulo began in 2010, and is thought to be Latin America's largest occupation (Santandreu, 2018). Approximately 400 families reside in the previously abandoned building, which has been the subject of an organised and coordinated occupation. Families obtain rights to a private space, similar to a private apartment building, and share common areas such as stairwells (see Figure 5.24), hallways, and bathrooms on each floor. Strict rules are in place, prescribing acceptable behaviours and management of the commons (for example, residents are not permitted to walk shirtless in hallways, or make loud noise after 10pm) (Caulkins, 2018, pp. 79-80).

A distinct feature of the occupation is the points-based system which operates in the building. Families can earn points for their contributions to the collective movement, for instance, by undertaking activities such as cleaning the common spaces (hallways, stairs, or the shared bathroom on each floor), or participating in protests at the municipal offices⁵⁸. The standard approach to managing social housing in the city is to remodel a building, and then offer remodelled apartments to residents in a private property model of ownership. Herein lies the incentive for the points-based system, where the more points a family has obtained, the greater the chance residents have of securing a refurbished apartment in the building (Caulkins, 2018, pp. 81-83).⁵⁹

Working together creates relationships between residents as they work towards a collective goal or solution of trying to clean the communal areas for residents. Their word for the practice is *mutirão* – a Brazilian word meaning “any collective voluntary work that benefits the group itself” (Caulkins, 2018, p. 83). Standard practice is to allocate social housing by a lottery, and in doing so, residents lack the relationships that they have forged through working together in pursuit of a common goal (Caulkins, 2018). Arguably, this is also the case in private development where the only criterion for securing a home is the ability to service the mortgage.

⁵⁷ For more information on Prestes Maia including a detailed analysis of the occupation and its relationship to notions of property, see Caulkins (2018).

⁵⁸ Protests are necessary to maintain pressure on local authorities to avoid issuing eviction notices, as well as to pressure local government to eventually purchase the building and convert it to social housing (Caulkins, 2018, p. 82).

⁵⁹ Refurbishment increases the values of the home, and begins to act counter to principle 6 (that land and housing is not negotiable wealth). While beyond the scope of this principle, Caulkins argues for the need to consider the occupation as a viable property arrangement to avoid the risks of formalisation. Validating the occupation as a legitimate property arrangement respects the system that residents have made work, and avoids gentrification (Caulkins, 2018, pp. 78-79).

5.5.6 Summary



Figure 5.26: Gauge diagram (Earthsong) – Principle 3 is demonstrated to a very high degree.

Overall, the principle of working imparting a sense of belonging and creating effective rights seems to be implemented to a very high degree in Earthsong. From the conception of the development through to life today, a span of over twenty years, resident contribution has been central to Earthsong life, whether through the collaborative site design process, physical labour in completing the build, or undertaking the wide range of tasks in maintaining community life today. There have been (and are) a wide variety of opportunities for residents to engage with each other and with the site, particularly through physical labour such as digging swales, oiling houses or gardening. This has enabled residents to forge direct relationships and connections with their environment, both physically and socially.

While recognising that residents will be able to participate and contribute to different extents throughout their lives, one of the challenges is ensuring that an appropriate balance in the workload can be struck to ensure work is not burdensome, but enables residents to invest some of their own time and efforts (and reap the satisfaction and benefits of belonging that appear to be produced from that investment). An avenue for further research could explore the benefits and drawbacks of a ‘time economy’. In such a system, residents could offer a particular number of hours per month which they have available to contribute to the community, as well as sharing the skills and interests they hold. Other people or groups within the community could ‘buy’ or bid for residents’ time to carry out individual jobs or tasks.⁶⁰ If residents were required to offer at least a

⁶⁰ Though the symbolic ‘pay rates’ in such a time economy become complicated by inherited wealth, different pay grades and so on. Interestingly, at Sættedammen (see Box 5.3), individual



minimum amount of time, any remaining work after all the time has been allocated or expended for the month could justifiably be contracted to an external group, or retained in a collective job pool for the following month. Such a system could potentially offer benefits in balancing resident investment in the community with the need to prioritise or complete particular jobs.

Cohousing literature is clear about the need for the participation of future residents in the design and construction of housing. Citizen participation is seen as a fundamental component which distinguishes cohousing from other models of housing. Future research could usefully compare how a work principle is manifested in other communities which share similar community aspirations but have not had the same level of resident involvement in design and construction, such as the Bernoulli apartments in Hobsonville. Those communities share some physical similarities with cohousing (for instance, the Bernoulli apartments include a common lounge and some shared facilities), but tend to lack the same social infrastructure. Residents moving into those developments will not have been as intensely involved in the development; a developer has designed and built the project and then sold apartments from the plans. There is evidence that more time and attention is needed in order to enable residents to coalesce as a group when they move in, therefore a middle ground, co-development model which offers the professional expertise of a developer but remains driven by the resident group would be a preferable approach.

5.6 Principle 4: Communities are self-determining

Socially-based tenure principle #4:
Communities are self-determining

Codes: jobs and work | processes | self-determination, autonomy | community
stage of life | adaptability | innovation

fees paid into a collective maintenance fund are set at 0.5% of a resident's personal income in an attempt to set more equitable fees. Future research could assess the relative success of alternative pay structures such as this.



The fourth principle posits that a key tenet of socially-based societies was the important role of autonomy and self-determination. Residents (and communities) had agency to determine their own futures, including the built environment within which they live. While resident involvement is critical in the design and build process for cohousing, over the lifetime of the community, undoubtedly there will be a turnover of residents over time. This raises questions around how those residents, who have not had the ability to contribute to the design and build, can take part in new forms of work and foster similar connections and feelings of belonging. In a contemporary context, within Earthsong, this principle is demonstrated through participatory design mechanisms; community adaptability; collective decision-making; and flexible homes.

5.6.1 Self-determination is applied through participatory design

As discussed in the previous section, many Earthsong residents were part of a collective which established the architectural brief for the development, and worked in conjunction with the architect to shape and design the physical layout of the buildings on site. After placing an offer on the site, residents spent four weekends on the property in the late 1990s, preparing site analyses, discussing ideas and brainstorming concept designs for the development. This form of resident-led development, where residents are explicitly involved in the planning and design stages of the community (and make collective decisions on the final designs) is a defining component of the cohousing model (McCamant & Durrett, 2011, p. 25).

I can't stress enough how much the cohousing by-line of 'designed and managed by the residents' is true. It's totally up to those of us that have been here, been involved, and everyone as they come along. There's no developer, there's no boss. It's up to us (Interview ES10, p. 7).

A similar concept has emerged in the form of 'half-build' homes, such as the Quinta Monroy development in Chile (see Figure 5.27 and Figure 5.28). Homes were only partially constructed, with basic rooms and services provided, with the potential for residents to self-build the second half of the homes over time. Units could be expanded up to double their original size, as and when household budgets allowed (Aravena, 2010). Similarly, research by Napier (2002) explores the evolution of core houses in



Africa, which follow a similar self-build process. Future research in these areas could yield valuable insights to more accurately quantify the potential economic, social and emotional gains that can be valued from personal, physical investment in housing.



Figure 5.27: Quinta Monroy development, Chile – before and after, showing half-completed houses (left), and completed houses (right) (photo credit: Cristobal Palma, <https://arcSPACE.com/feature/quinta-monroy/>)



Figure 5.28: Quinta Monroy development, Chile – before and after (2). Units develop uniqueness and character as individual families develop their homes over time (photo credit: Cristobal Palma, <https://arcSPACE.com/feature/quinta-monroy/>)



Direct involvement in the design, planning and through the construction has the ability to empower residents to collectively shape the living environment in ways that suitable for themselves, and can contribute to ensuring that completed homes and neighbourhoods are fit-for-purpose. However, not all residents involved in the design phase will live in the homes for ever. Over time, residents will leave or pass away and new residents will join the community, without having had the ability to participate in the initial design or construction. This begs the question: are there means of citizen participation in a post-development context?

5.6.2 Self-determination can be through making physical changes

Earthsong residents have some ability to shape their living environment in a post-development context. Residents (those that are homeowners, at least) can generally make internal cosmetic or structural changes to their homes as they see fit (in accordance with relevant building regulations). For any changes to the exterior of individual homes, residents are expected to liaise with their immediate neighbours or potentially raise the idea at a full group meeting if a change is considered significant enough that it could affect the community as a whole. Similarly, suggestions for changes to shared or common areas would be raised in focus groups or at full group meetings for all interested residents to be able to discuss and debate proposals. The following quote was introduced earlier in this chapter, but is repeated here as a reminder of the consideration for other residents in making physical changes.

If we wanted to put a garden shed out the back there, I wouldn't even start without making sure folks are aware of it and getting as much endorsement as I needed to get on with the job. Or to modify my thinking because people come back and say, here's five good reasons why what you're doing is not the right thing. So there's all sorts of opportunity for learning from that, I can tap into all that wisdom (Interview ES07, p. 8).

Similarly, residents have some flexibility to adapt their homes as life circumstances and households change over time. Several current residents in Earthsong have lived in more than one of the homes onsite, having shifted to larger or smaller homes (as they become available) as their circumstances permit and as the need or demand for different homes requires.



We bought a three bedroom house, and it often happens in cohousing that houses swap, people size up, size down...and there was a situation where people wanted [larger] houses, and so we moved from a three bedroom to a one bedroom studio...(Interview ES10, p. 3).

The homes themselves, though, are quite fixed or rigid, and do not easily lend themselves to easy structural changes. In particular, one resident expressed that the opportunity of including more flexible physical spaces which could more easily accommodate changing demographics (without requiring house swapping) would be particularly valuable (Interview ES08).

At the extreme end of community adaptability, a Danish cohousing community called Sættedammen incorporates modular architecture or what residents sometimes refer to as “lego for adults”, where residents can configure and reconfigure walls of their homes based on need and preference (see Box 5.1 below, with the associated Figures 5.29 – 5.32).

[continued overleaf]



Box 5.3: Sættedammen – flexible homes

Sættedammen is a cohousing community located in the provincial town of Hillerød, approximately 35km north-west of Copenhagen, Denmark. Built in the early 1970s, Sættedammen is the oldest cohousing community built in the world.

The development originally comprised 27 one and two-storey homes constructed in roughly a diamond layout, with a central parking area and common house (see Figure 5.30). The homes are constructed with central structural beams, connected with interchangeable wall panels which residents can move and change over time, or use to subdivide larger homes into two smaller homes based on necessity. For instance, two residents of 32 years had extended their home to 180 square metres when they had younger children, and as the children grew up and moved out, they subdivided their home into two smaller homes of 70 and 110 square metres respectively, as discussed below:

The demographic changes when children grow up and move out and so forth. And houses are subdivided. As far as I know, it has only left one house which is unchanged. Some [houses] have, for a period, been enlarged when it was necessary. And then after some years, when the children moved out, this larger house has then been subdivided. This is thanks to a building system, modular coordination, that all parts can be exchanged for other parts. You see two windows there? [(see Figure 5.32)] One could be taken out and a door put in. So all parts here are like...Lego. Our house is nothing like it was originally (Interview with Sættedammen resident, p. 2).

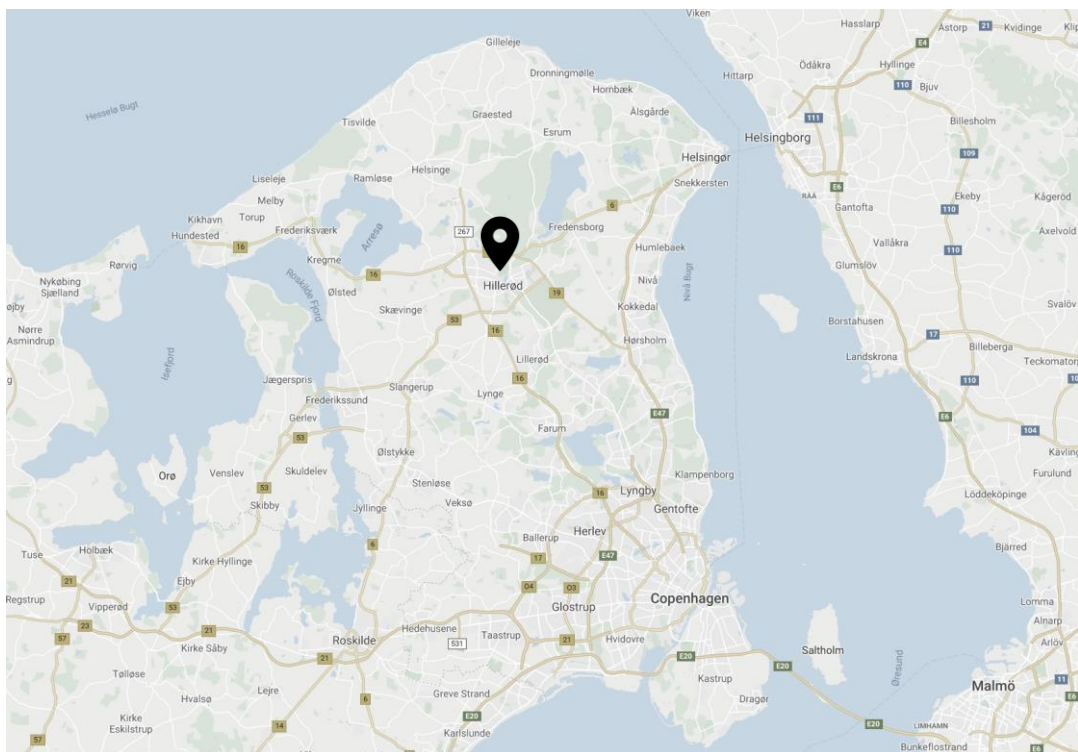


Figure 5.29: Map showing Hillerød, Denmark, north-west of Copenhagen.





Figure 5.30: Sættedammen – aerial photo, with cohousing community shown in colour (north oriented to top of page). The community is located in a suburban village approximately 35km north-west of Copenhagen or 40 minutes transit by train. Other homes surround the development on two sides, with a small lake to the north and a golf course to the west of the site.



Figure 5.31: Sættedammen – main 'street' within the development. Car parking is located centrally to the site, with individual homes connected by a network of footpaths. Note the concrete bearing walls separating the units, as well as the post and beam construction (for instance, the closest unit has extended their first floor living area further forward than the adjacent unit to the right, where a beam is more clearly visible) (photo credit: author).



Figure 5.32: Sættedammen – interchangeable wall and window panels (shown here with black edging), depending on the residents' preferences. As noted in the quote in Box 5.3 above, the window panel could be exchanged for a door panel, for example (photo credit: author).



Figure 5.33: Sættedammen - four ground floor configurations. Residents have opted for different panels (i.e. walls, doors, windows or no panels) depending on their preferences, creating enclosed courtyards, additional rooms, or storage space (photo credit: author).



5.6.3 Self-determination includes collective decision-making

While physical changes to private or shared areas are possible with consultation and discussion, cultural changes are less visible and therefore could be considered to be more complex. Earthsong was established with a vision statement and ideals in place promoting environmental sustainability, social sustainability and education. The community operates under a democratic, cooperative, consensus-based, decision-making system, where residents are (or can be) actively involved in making decisions about the community. Reaching consensus often requires residents to cast individual preferences aside and consider what is best for the collective, often based on how a proposal accords with those overarching visionary principles. As a consensus-based system, new members arriving at Earthsong post-development have an equal say in decision-making processes (if they choose to participate).

The culture or social environment is somewhat flexible and open to change, both through current decisions and potentially revisiting historic decisions. While decisions are continually being made at Earthsong, residents are able to revisit and reconsider past decisions which provides a mechanism for newer members to help reshape the community, if appropriate. The dynamic of the group changes every time residents leave and new members arrive, which could have a bearing on different decisions that have been made before and whether they could be considered differently within a different group dynamic. To revisit a past decision, at least half of the current residents must agree to revisit it. While the mechanism to do this exists, it remains to be seen how often or how effective revisiting decisions has been.

5.6.4 Summary



Figure 5.34: Gauge diagram (Earthsong) – Principle 4 is demonstrated to a high degree.

Overall, resident autonomy and self-determination is embodied in the Earthsong development to a high degree. Residents are able to participate and have input into the future of the community regardless of the life stage of the community. Residents co-created the design and layout of the buildings on site, co-constructed elements of the development and can take part in collective decision-making on a regular basis. While cohousing literature tends to place greater emphasis on resident-led planning and design (e.g. McCamant & Durrett, 2011), there is some tension between these and later phases of the project and in particular, how the community functions in a post-development context (or what could be termed, the shift from 'building to being').

While present residents have an equal say in current decision-making processes, long-term residents who were involved in the planning and construction (the 'pioneers') could be seen to have a greater stake in the community by virtue of being involved in the community longer. The construction phase was particularly challenging for the residents involved at the time (for instance, the first building company went into liquidation part-way through the build). The challenges faced by residents at the time served as an intense bonding exercise for that group, something which later residents are not privy to.

I never had to wear gumboots once. Like there's these big sort of violin stories⁶¹ about 'when we were pioneers in here', and 'we wore our gumboots for years' (Interview ES03, p. 14).

I mean the group who did it were so close (Interview ES04, p. 8).

This begs the question of how comparable bonds could be formed or enabled for newer residents who were not involved in the community from the beginning, and will be explored further in chapter six.

[Interviewer question: How have you found that transition from moving here, in terms of...people who were here from the start, or at different stages-] Yes, there is a tension there. Some of the people who were here early feel, I think, that they set up a community with a particular vision and that

⁶¹ In reference to the phrase 'playing the violin', a term in popular culture used to indicate a sarcastic expression of sympathy.



anybody who comes after that signs up to that vision and is kind of committed to that...most of us who are more recently here, we have an active respect for those who came before us and set the place up and established what's here. We don't want to disrespect that, but at the same time, we want a stake in the future of our home and community as well. So there's give and take required there. Generally speaking, it happens pretty well (Interview ES06, p. 6).

5.7 Principle 5: Humans form links with places

Socially-based tenure principle #5:
Humans form links with places

Codes: duration of tenure | tangible links | intangible links |
utopia | architecture | community connections

The fifth principle conceives that people can hold an emotional attachment to the land and the environment grounded in community continuity. Within Earthsong, this principle is conveyed through duration of tenure; architecture; community connections; and personal investment.

5.7.1 Links can be strengthened by duration of tenure

Residents interviewed at Earthsong have lived in the community from as few as 6 months through to the full 16 years following the completion of construction. Of the ten households, the average length of residence was nine years. While residents generally did not attribute a greater sense of proprietorship or ownership with a greater length of time spent in the community, those residents who had lived at Earthsong longer have had the opportunity for more involvement in the community and on the property. As discussed in the sections above, those opportunities to exert personal effort or investment in the property help to create a sense of attachment, belonging and connection to the site and the community. Residents who have lived at Earthsong for longer have had more time and opportunity to form bonds. Newer residents tended to recognise that they have not had the same chance to form those same links to people and place, (particularly in comparison to residents who had been involved in the



construction process), with one resident who had lived at Earthsong for only two years considering himself a 'recent immigrant' (Interview ES06, p. 6).

We take an enormous amount for granted that is purely the result of a huge amount of blood, sweat and tears. Tears of other people, and I can say that really glibly because I have no real understanding of it (Interview ES07, p. 7).

5.7.2 Links can be forged through architecture

Some residents expressed connections to Earthsong through the architecture. Residents shared their appreciation for the effort and workmanship that had been involved in constructing the homes, and while more conventional building techniques and methods may have made the build process easier, residents would be unlikely to enjoy the houses and architecture as much. The end result was commonly reflected on as high-quality and homely, even with power to transport residents to other places:

I feel like I could be in rural France or Italy somewhere (Interview ES07, p. 11).

5.7.3 Links can be non-physical

Residents' attachments to place were often expressed as attachments to a social or ideological construct as opposed to a physical attachment to place. That is, residents may have been wedded to the idea of collective living, of living more sustainably and in more socially-connected ways rather than having attachments to the physical land itself.

Arguably, when the community was first conceived and the Ranui site was found, the place-based links may have been largely founded on pragmatism; the land available best met the group's criteria for size, zoning, price, topography and access to public transport and amenities among others. Over time, residents may have begun forging specific place-based links once the land was purchased. As stated earlier, residents camped on the site over the first Christmas after having the offer accepted on the land. The site still had elements of the previous orchard, and residents mowed the pathway



of the main figure eight shaped footpath to conceptualise what would be developed in time.

As Earthsong developed and shifted from 'building to being', residents started to form more meaningful relationships and connections with the cohousing ideology, with their neighbours and with the physical aspects of the community as well. One resident spoke of her attachment to Earthsong being energetic; that rather than physical connections, she felt connected to the energy of the place and the energy of the people in that place (Interview ES01). Other residents reflected similarly how the site had taken on a deeper meaning for them and truly felt like 'home'.

Every single day since I've lived here, when I walk over that concrete path I kind of do a little karakia and say 'thank you God'...I was away for a month over Christmas and I was in a country that was dry and dusty and dirty, and I got back to Auckland and of course it was raining. Mid-summer. Of course it was raining and cold. But you know, I came down the drive, and stroked the leaves of the trees and it was just like, 'I'm home'. Mitimiti is my heart, the Hokianga, but this is a pretty good second place to be (Interview ES03, p. 4).

You come home here and you drive in when you've been away...and it's very much home, it really is. You feel, 'ah' (Interview ES08, p. 15).

5.7.4 Summary



Figure 5.35: Gauge diagram (Earthsong) – Principle 5 is demonstrated to a moderate degree.

While attachment to place is a highly subjective characteristic, residents expressed their attachments to Earthsong in ways that suggest place-based links are present to a moderate extent in the community. Although residents may express connections to

physical aspects of the site such as the architecture or the landscape (particularly having had invested time and effort in constructing and maintaining elements of the site), ‘invisible’ links seemed to be expressed much more strongly by residents. On the whole, Earthsong residents seem committed to the principles and ideas of the cohousing community, such as environmental sustainability and living in connection with your neighbours. Linkages to the physical context of the community, a site in Ranui, at least at the beginning of the project, seemed to be more of a pragmatic decision. After securing the site in the late 1990s, residents were then able to develop relationships with each other and with place, over time.

5.8 Principle 6: Land is not negotiable wealth

Socially-based tenure principle #6:
Land is not negotiable wealth

Codes: money matters | motivations for moving in | other bottom lines |
renting | markets | sale process

Stemming from an Indigenous relational worldview, this principle promotes a perspective of land and property which is resistant to commodification. Within Earthsong, this principle is expressed through: motivations for moving in; selling processes; capital gains; and the role of renting.

5.8.1 Wealth was rarely a motivator for moving in

Almost universally, residents’ primary motivations for moving to Earthsong were rarely financial. For the majority of residents spoken to, it was the attraction of living in closer relationship with neighbours, and having ready access to a social network.

It ticked a lot of boxes. It had a social network, you didn’t have to make friends; the philosophy really appealed to me. I used to live in Israel for a year, in a kibbutz, and I really liked the lifestyle...everyone had a place and everyone had a job and everybody looked out for each other (Interview ES03, p. 2).



A number of residents had previously lived in communities which have had a similar focus on community, but sometimes not the same level of privacy, and so the balance of community with privacy and autonomy had appeal (Interviews ES03, 04, 05). Others described the opportunity to live at Earthsong as an adventure, with the challenge of living in community (Interviews ES01, 04, 07). They spoke highly of the value in living around others, and especially around those whose ideas and opinions they did not always necessarily agree with. Those instances, of disagreement and discussion, allowed residents to grow: “it rubs your corners off” (Interview ES04, p. 2).

Similarly, aspects of environmental sustainability were a drawcard for potential residents (explored further in section 5.9.1 below). Interestingly, but perhaps unsurprisingly, these motivations align with the Earthsong vision statement and aims.

5.8.2 Wealth is a factor in the sale process

While the sale prices of houses are not fixed or set at a particular rate or scale at Earthsong (i.e. residents are able to ask any price), the market is somewhat restricted given that purchasers must be Earthsong members before they can purchase a home. Future residents are buying into the community, not just a house, and so that process of becoming an Earthsong member includes imparting information to potential residents to ensure they are well-informed of the expectations, and how it differs to other places that they might have lived.⁶² Apart from the potentially restricted pool of potential purchasers, the sale and purchase process from that point on is generally typical of residential sales; it becomes a financial transaction between the seller and the purchaser. Other options for sales are evident and in use internationally. For instance, Ibsgård in Denmark fixes their sale prices to remove the financial aspect (including capital gains) as a motivation for selling (see Box 5.4 and Figures 5.35 – 5.37 below).

⁶² Dupuis and Dixon (2006, p. 237) stress this prior education as an important factor for facilitating a better quality of living for future residents in developments that have aspects of communal ownership.



Box 5.4: Ibsgården, Denmark

Ibsgården is a cohousing community in Roskilde, Denmark (approximately 35km west of Copenhagen). Established in the early 1980s, Ibsgården is currently home to approximately 55 residents in 21 two to four bedroom homes.

Ibsgården residents fix the sale prices of the apartments in the community (along with any adjustments for inflation and so on). This means the community can decide who can purchase the home as it makes no difference to the seller (they receive the same purchase price regardless). This way, residents can select future residents based on social profile (i.e. typically there is higher demand for younger adults, and those with children), as well as who the existing residents think will best fit within the community from a social perspective.

In many places, it's the people who sell decide whom to sell to. But here, it's everybody but the people who sell. It's only the people who stay who decide who the seller is allowed to sell to. The price is fixed so there is no negotiation. To the seller, it doesn't really make any difference (Interview with three Ibsgården residents).

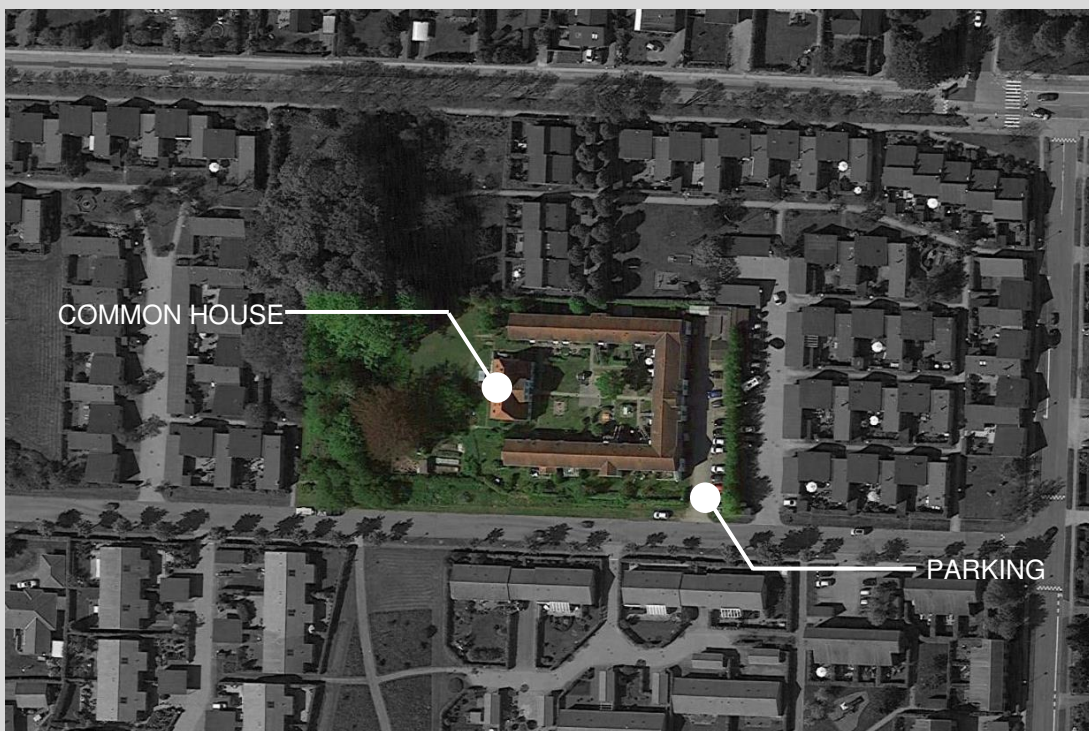


Figure 5.36: Ibsgården – aerial photo (site shown in colour, north oriented to top of page). The community is located in Roskilde, a city of approximately 50,000 residents approximately 35km west of Copenhagen or 40 minutes transit by train. The development is surrounded by suburban homes on all sides.





Figure 5.37: Ibsgården – apartments and courtyard (looking from the common house). The apartments are constructed in a continuous U-shape around a central courtyard with several playgrounds and play areas for children. The layout offers a high degree of passive surveillance of the common space (photo credit: author).



Figure 5.38: Ibsgården - common house is a repurposed farmhouse located centrally on the site and includes a shared kitchen and dining area (upstairs), children’s room, teenagers room, movie room and multipurpose rooms (ground level), and a shared laundry and workshop (basement) (photo credit: author).

5.8.3 Wealth distribution remains individualised

At present, the sales process at Earthsong means that sellers are rewarded with any capital gain on the property. Potential purchasers of homes in Earthsong are made aware of the rights and responsibilities attached to living in the community, and while they must be members of Earthsong before they can buy a home, as noted above, the sale process after that point tends to revert to that typically seen in an individualised system. It is well-recognised in cohousing more generally that the commons (common facilities such as the common house or the workshop, as well as common areas such as the orchard and shared gardens) are an extension of the private home. However, the financial aspect of any sales are primarily between the seller and the purchaser, and so none of the capital gain (if any) is returned to the community for the commons when in fact it probably should. This aspect was not considered in the original planning and establishment at Earthsong, and so it becomes difficult to factor in now the community is functioning and many sales have already occurred.

We were so focussed on just getting ourselves built the first time that we didn’t really put any attention into thinking ‘okay, when some of these people leave and sell on, how is that going to work?’ ...like when somebody sells their house, they sell it for whatever price they choose to whoever they want. And that’s fine, but in Auckland for instance, house prices have risen hugely since we finished these houses and basically the individual is reaping

the benefit or the whole of that increase in value, whereas some of the value of that house is in our common facilities. The share of the common house, the share of the gardens...all of us have funded and paid for those, and continue to maintain and improve them but the whole of that increase in value goes to the individual household...from quite early on, I realised that but it was too late already. It's very hard to change that kind of thing once it's in place (Interview ESR09, p. 4).

5.8.4 Wealth-generation limits aspirations for diversity

Cohousing communities typically have aspirations to be diverse, and in particular, to attract residents of all ages (this brings vitality as well as a broader skill base to the collective). Young families are often needed in cohousing communities to achieve balanced demographic representation, and as a general rule at Earthsong, offering rental homes tends to be the easiest or most successful way of enabling young families to move in who might otherwise struggle to purchase a home themselves. Residents who have also owned rentals (i.e. they own their own home, but also own additional homes to be rented) in Earthsong have found it to be a useful strategy to help younger families live in the community, though various residents have sold their rentals over time (often because they have had offers to sell to incoming residents in search of a home to purchase). To date, the provision of rental homes at Earthsong has been made available by specific individuals purchasing homes and offering them as rentals (i.e. there is no collective vision or obligation to maintain a set number of rental homes to enable that succession planning). That is, it is up to the individual to fund it, rent it as they wish and that includes selling as well. Potentially, the community could explore purchasing one or more units (as they become available), to own collectively for the explicit purpose of making them available as rental homes. This may remove the financial incentive to sell rather than rent, where the individual gains would be much smaller when shared across the collective.

Conversely, while rentals may be a more affordable option to enable or encourage young families to move into cohousing communities, a rental home may engender less commitment to the community in general. In New Zealand, rental housing is typically seen as transitional or intermediary housing before home ownership, rather than a long-



term housing choice (James & Saville-Smith, 2018, p. 5). As a result, rental tenants tend to express a lack of a sense of belonging, of permanence and autonomy, as well as financial insecurity (e.g. James & Saville-Smith, 2018, p. 12). Lessons could be gleaned from Swedish cohousing communities, many of which entirely follow a rental model. For example, Sjöfarten (see Box 5.5 and Figures 5.38 - 5.43) comprises 47 apartments which are all rented. While this requires a different legislative framework and political motivation, the end product is a cohousing community which, at least on the surface, seems to operate in much the same way as any other cohousing community.

Box 5.5: Bogemenskapen Sjöfarten, Hammarby Sjöstad, Stockholm, Sweden

Bogemenskapen Sjöfarten is a collective housing development located in the suburb of Hammarby Sjöstad in Stockholm, Sweden. Completed in 2008, the development comprises 47 apartments (1.5, 2 and 3-bedroom apartments) all with their own kitchen, bathroom and balcony, plus extensive shared facilities including a common kitchen, dining room, library, guest rooms, indoor bike parking, sauna, gym and multipurpose room.

The building is owned by Familjebostäder (a housing company owned by the municipality), which leases the apartments and common spaces to the non-profit Sjöfarten cohousing association. The association then rents all individual apartments to residents. Residents pay rent to the association, who then pay one group rent to the landlord. Socially, the development operates in much the same way as any other cohousing community: residents join cooking teams on a roster to prepare common dinners, as well as cleaning common areas and working on focus groups.

Sjöfarten could also offer lessons for a potential mixed development model, where residents who lack the capital funding to undertake projects themselves could partner with a housing or development company to help finance the project, while retaining a level of control over the shape and outcome of the development. Further, the operation of a socially-functioning cohousing community within a building built by a standard municipal housing company offers hope for collective housing lessons. These notions are explored further in the following chapter, chapter six.





Figure 5.39 (left) and Figure 5.40 (right): Sjöfarten - exterior of building showing balconies and shared cycle path running alongside apartments. The development is located in an area of medium to high density apartment buildings in Hammarby Sjöstad and is 'anonymous' in the sense that the size and architecture of the building is no different from the neighbouring properties (photo credits: author).



Figure 5.41 (left) and Figure 5.42 (right): Sjöfarten - common dining room, lounge area and library. Physically, these spaces resemble other cohousing community developments (photo credits: author).

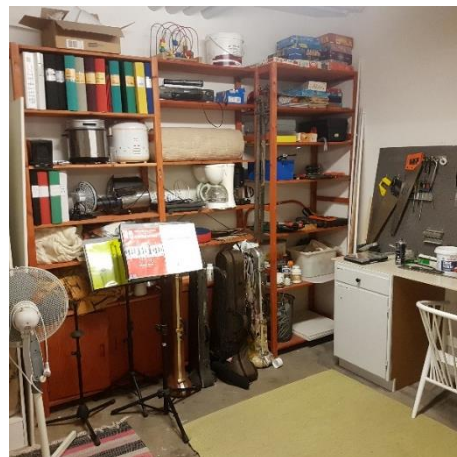


Figure 5.43: Sjöfarten - communal kitchen constructed to a commercial standard, as is common in many cohousing communities (photo credit: author).

Figure 5.44: Sjöfarten – communal hobby room, where residents can store tools and equipment which other residents can borrow (photo credit: author).



5.8.5 Summary



Figure 5.45: Gauge diagram (Earthsong) – Principle 6 is demonstrated to a low degree.

Overall, the principle of land and property not being negotiable wealth is embodied at Earthsong to a low degree. While some aspects of the financial architecture perpetuate attitudes about the commodification of housing (for example, sale prices are not fixed and subject to capital gains), resident attitudes suggest that the social capital in cohousing communities outweighs the financial capital. However, greater gain could potentially be added through a financial architecture which more closely aligns with socially-based tenure and removes the financialisation of housing and property. Here, lessons from community loan funds and community land trusts with capped sales could offer valuable lessons and perspectives. Insights from these and other approaches are explored further in chapter six. Ultimately, though, whether it is through personal motivations for moving to Earthsong, the challenges of living in community, building deeper relationships with neighbours or cooperating and working collectively, the community holds a high level of intangible value that cannot be expressed in terms of a financial cost or financial benefit.

5.9 Principle 7: The very long-term is recognised

Socially-based tenure principle #7:
The very long-term is recognised

Codes: permanence | personal stage of life | community stage of life |
environmental sustainability | succession planning

The seventh principle encompasses a long-term perspective of community including ancestors as well as future generations to come. Within Earthsong, this principle is demonstrated through: environmental sustainability; permanence of residence; and succession planning.

5.9.1 A long-term view considers sustainability

Through their vision statement, Earthsong places an explicit focus on environmental sustainability and living with a low impact on the environment. The Brundtland Report popularised the term 'sustainable development':

Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 41).

That is, the term 'sustainability' encompasses a long-term, multi-generational perspective for the betterment of the planet and its future inhabitants. As such, the Earthsong vision statement explicitly aspires to recognise and action a very long-term perspective in the development.

While initial costs to build (or purchase) a home in Earthsong were high and the build process was challenging, the long-term benefits of those earlier decisions are generally perceived to outweigh the costs. For example, as described earlier, homes include rammed earth walls as a mechanism for passive solar design (the walls moderate the internal temperature of homes by absorbing heat during the day and slowly releasing the heat overnight). This method of construction was more complex, required specialist builders and proved challenging during the build. While conventional building techniques would have been simpler (and therefore, more cost effective), the long-term benefits are being realised now, after completion. Residents consider their homes to have very low operating costs, which is often attributed to elements of the design that may have had a higher time or financial cost at the outset. While this was raised earlier in this chapter, it is a salient reminder of the long-term perspective adopted early in the design phases, by considering the whole-of-life running costs of different building decisions. Similarly, environmentally friendly behaviours such as an emphasis on



recycling and composting has meant that the community of 32 households typically only produces around three or four rubbish bags for kerbside collection.

Future sustainability efforts could continue to be incorporated into the development. Residents have raised the possibility of purchasing a shared electric vehicle. Many households in the community have two cars (a main car, and a secondary car when they need it). Shared vehicles might reduce the need for families to have two cars, further reducing their environmental footprint and taking advantage of the shared economy.

5.9.2 A long-term view considers succession planning

Earthsong residents are currently working through the transition from 'building to being'. Initially, there was a significant focus on the project design and build; the project was a first for New Zealand and meant a number of barriers needed to be overcome. However, more work could have been done on the 'being' stage of community life, or life in a post-development, post-construction context. While structures and frameworks were generally established for how residents would behave, meet and make decisions collectively, there was less focus on what would happen as residents leave and new residents arrive. How are sales managed, and how is any value in capital gain returned to the commons or the collective? How rigid or agile is the culture, and to what extent are new residents able to mould and shape the community into the future? Residents in the first stage of 17 homes and who were involved in the design and construction generally thought they would all live at Earthsong forever, while now, there are few remaining.

Similarly, succession planning could consider how better to attract and enable young families to move into cohousing communities, which is recognised as a challenge for cohousing communities worldwide.

I would like to see more young families here, if that was at all possible, but it just hasn't happened. We're supposed to be intergenerational and we've all wound up my age, so I would like that to be a bit different. The conversation about getting old gets very tedious (Interview ES08, p. 7).



Furthermore, Earthsong is reaching an age now where some of the first children who grew up in the community have become adults and are starting families of their own.

I love that my grandson is growing up in community and that my son and daughter-in-law moved back. That's probably the most gratifying part of living here really. My two boys were 10 and 6 when I started wanting to build a community, because I wanted them to grow up in a communal setting, but of course they were teenagers and leaving home by the time we moved in here. So it's absolutely wonderful that he has now chosen to move back and now another generation is coming in. It's a wonderful place for children (Interview ES09, p. 7).

Longitudinal research could valuably provide insights on the long-term benefits of community-based living for children, in comparison with those growing up in perhaps more individually-focused housing situations.

5.9.3 A long-term view is expressed through permanency

The majority of residents, when asked, perceived Earthsong to be their permanent home and had no intentions of moving in the near future. This was true for both newer residents and 'pioneers'. Importantly, the original design of the site included accessible units within the development (for example, ground floor only units), as well as accessible design features such as keeping footpath gradients low to be usable by wheelchairs and mobility scooters.

I don't really want to go into a rest home or anything. The good thing about this particular unit is that it's accessible. The whole thing is accessible, so that was something which I was pleased about (Interview ES01, p. 35).

[Interviewer question: Do you see this as your permanent home?] Ideally, I would like to die here. Put it that way (Interview ES04, p. 15).



5.9.4 Summary



Figure 5.46: Gauge diagram (Earthsong) – Principle 7 is demonstrated to a moderate degree.

Overall, a long-term approach is demonstrated to a moderate degree at Earthsong. Aspects of environmental sustainability were imperative in the design and in how the community operates on a day-to-day basis today. In some instances, the pioneering group had opted for more complex and expensive building and construction techniques with the long-term in mind, meaning the homes have relatively low running costs. However, those early residents recognise that more planning could have been put into how the community was going to function post-construction; the shift from building to being.

One resident offered the analogy of a garden. With a garden, you cannot just plant the seeds and then harvest for the rest of the year; the garden needs constant and continuous attention and energy. You need to pull out the weeds, to trim and prune, to fertilise. It is never finished. The same applies to the cohousing community; it is not complete when the construction is finished. In fact, the community is never really complete. Resource and training and energy needs to go into the facilitation of the group, to build and train the members of the community to keep it going. While the physical architecture has clear benefits and strategies, the social architecture is less visible but just as critical.

Certainly one thing that I would and do suggest to people is that, that social architecture is just as important as the physical. And it's ongoing. It needs resources and it needs energy, because when you're living next door to somebody else, it can be really horrible if relationships go sour (Interview ES09, pp. 10-11).

5.10 Concluding remarks

This chapter began with a quote from Jane Jacobs' seminal book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*:

Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody (Jacobs, 1961, p. 238).

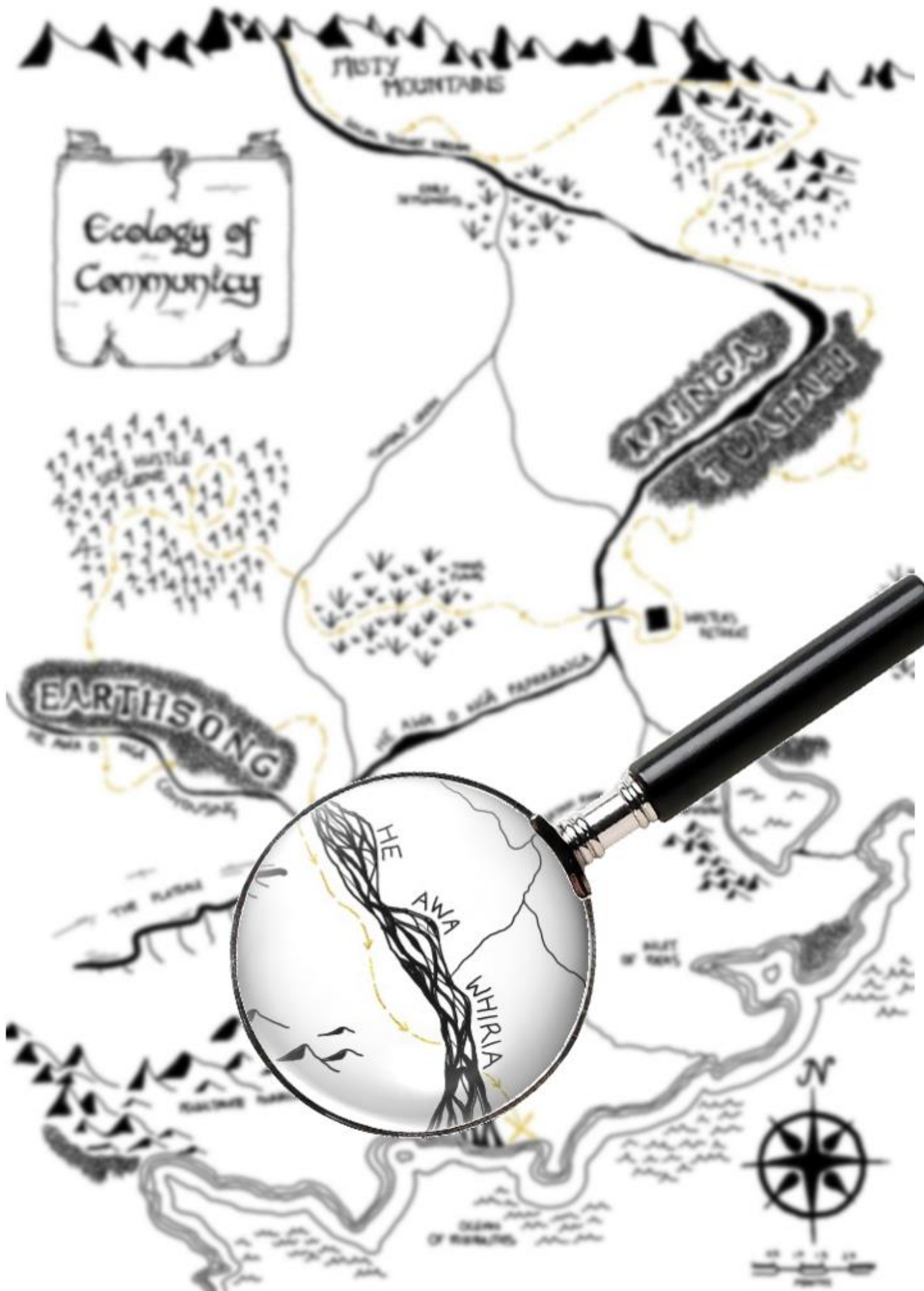
This quote exemplifies one of the foundational aspects of the cohousing model; that when residents are involved in decision-making and have the tools and frameworks to exert agency over their own futures including that of their living environment, communities can flourish. Through the lens of the Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood, this chapter further explored different ways in which principles of socially-based tenure are embodied and demonstrated in contemporary development from the perspective of the cohousing model. Supplemented with insights from cohousing communities in Denmark and Sweden, as well as other relevant cases internationally, this chapter further advances our knowledge on the variety of ways that different communities exhibit elements of socially-based tenure, across a range of settings, to different extents, and with different outcomes.

The following chapter seeks to merge understandings from chapters four and five, by exploring similarities and differences between papakāinga and cohousing, in relation to social tenure. While the two models stem from markedly different contexts, the next chapter considers whether there are commonalities or synergies between papakāinga and cohousing which could suggest universal applicability of any principles. Conversely, the chapter will examine where the two models deviate, and posit whether those differences could suggest any principles or their applications which may be culturally-bound in the underlying model. The chapter concludes with transferable lessons that both models could offer housing development more generally, in building more socially sustainable communities.





Chapter Six



Chapter 6 – Whiria: Comparisons and discussion

Parapara waerea a ururua, kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu ō te harakeke.⁶³
Clear away the overgrowth, so that the flax bush will put forth many new shoots.
(Māori proverb).

In chapter two, I argued that an important value set had been lost in the transition from communally-based Māori society to new, individualised norms. In an attempt to understand how those principles are being (and could be) reintroduced in a contemporary context, chapter four explored how the principles are applied in modern urban papakāinga, largely viewed through the lens of the Kāinga Tuatahi development. Principles underlying traditional Māori forms of development seem to have parallels with cohousing models, and chapter five similarly explored how those principles are manifested in urban cohousing, mainly through the Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood.

This chapter is a culmination of chapters four and five, and seeks to compare and contrast applications of socially-based tenure principles across different cases. The title of this chapter, 'Whiria' (meaning weaving or braiding) provides a useful analogy for considering how this chapter represents the journey from seemingly isolated elements of analysis to a more cohesive sense of understanding. In this chapter, and as depicted on the thesis map, the different rivers of knowledge meet and begin to diverge and converge. The swirling and churning of the water as the rivers meet corresponds with the many ideas and applications introduced in the preceding chapters as they begin to come together. As the rivers braid, the waters begin to calm and flow forward as one collective body of water. This represents the key elements of the thesis starting to coalesce and make sense, and leads onto the concluding chapter, chapter seven.

⁶³ Harakeke (flax) is a common metaphor for Māori, often to symbolise whānau, given that the flax fans do not grow in isolation but in groups with their roots intertwined. The rito (new shoot) is the central growth point for the whole flax bush. When weavers cut flax, they cultivate it carefully by taking the outer leaves and leaving the central leaves so the bush can continue to put out stalks. This careful cultivation ensures the flax bush retains enough resource and space to continue to grow. This whakatauki also captures the essence of this chapter: to coalesce elements and findings of the thesis in a way that becomes coherent and allow for future growth.



This chapter begins with a brief summary of the main case study sites from chapters four and five. Drawing from the findings from each site, the chapter then compares the different ways in which each of the seven principles have been applied, and considers how these similarities and differences might usefully inform housing development more generally by emphasising community building (or at least, putting it on an equal footing with building design and urban planning). The chapter also comments on the different ownership models and the inherent strengths and weaknesses that those models offer in facilitating socially-based development. Finally, the chapter concludes with four key findings for enabling socially-based tenure principles in contemporary housing development.

While this chapter seeks to compare and contrast the application of socially-based tenure principles in papakāinga and cohousing models, it is important to note that this is not a comparison of ‘which model is better’. Rather, they are two different models setting out to achieve different outcomes, for different groups of people. The purpose of this chapter is to examine both models, specifically through a lens of socially-based tenure, to shed light on their successes as well as areas which could stimulate new thinking or ideas from that perspective. I liken the relationship between Earthsong and Kāinga Tuatahi in this research to the tuakana-teina concept.⁶⁴ While papakāinga is by no means a new model of development, the establishment of papakāinga in our modern urban centres is. Urban cohousing in New Zealand has been in place for almost twenty years, and for almost fifty years internationally. Cohousing experiences could helpfully direct and support fledgling papakāinga, and similarly, the papakāinga experience might offer lessons to the cohousing approach.

⁶⁴ A tuakana-teina relationship is a customary Māori concept based on responsibility and reciprocity, and typically refers to a relationship between an older and younger sibling (or cousin) of the same gender (Mead, 2003; Winitana, 2012). Sometimes, the tuakana-teina relationship is based on experience or training, rather than a familial connection, as is applied here. The tuakana-teina model is commonly applied in a contemporary context to mentor/mentee and peer-support programmes (e.g. Farruggia et al., 2011; Oetzel et al., 2019; Winitana, 2012).



6.1 Comparing contexts

In chapter four, I argued for ‘the situatedness of knowledge’; that is, the lessons and findings from this thesis are implicitly bounded in a set of socio-cultural, temporal and contextual conditions unique to each site and the collection of people inhabiting each community at the time. It is for this reason that case studies were chosen as a method of inquiry; the findings cannot be separated from their context.

There are a number of contextual similarities and differences between Kāinga Tuatahi and Earthsong. A summary of some key contextual factors are provided in Table 6.1. While both communities are physically located within the extents of urban Auckland and have similar numbers of residential units, Earthsong is located on a slightly larger area of land and contains units which are generally smaller (both in terms of floor area and number of bedrooms) than at Kāinga Tuatahi. This reflects a common approach in cohousing, which is to reduce the size of individual units and to enable the site to accommodate a common house (which acts as an extension of the private home). Kāinga Tuatahi does not have a common house onsite⁶⁵, which possibly accounts for individual units being larger. The population within Kāinga Tuatahi is almost double that at Earthsong, perhaps a reflection of larger homes as well as the presence of more young families (a criterion for giving applicants preference for a home in Kāinga Tuatahi was if the prospective residents had children who would be living in the home as well, to maximise the number of hapū members who could benefit from the development). The homes at Earthsong were completed between eight and fourteen years in advance of the homes at Kāinga Tuatahi, justifying the tuakana-teina relationship or approach taken in this chapter. Earthsong also contains a greater number of shared spaces and facilities than those present at Kāinga Tuatahi.

⁶⁵ The marae (Ōrākei Marae) could be considered a common house, but is located offsite, approximately 500m north of the development.



Table 6.1: Summary of Kāinga Tuatahi and Earthsong contexts

Factors	Site	
	Kāinga Tuatahi	Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood
Location	Ōrākei, Central Auckland	Ranui, West Auckland
Land area	9,123 m ²	12,901 m ²
Number of dwellings	30	32
Number of residents	Approx. 120	Approx. 65
Ownership model	Leasehold	Unit title
Completion of construction	2016 (Both stages)	2002 (Stage 1) 2008 (Stage 2)
House typologies	Standalone (3) Attached (27)	Attached (32)
House sizes	2, 3, 4 and 5 bedroom homes (92m ² - 160m ²)	Studio, 2, 3 and 4 bedroom homes (56m ² - 122m ²)
Shared spaces	Māra kai, kids play areas, laneways	Common house and kitchen, rotunda, laundry, guest room, multi-purpose room, orchards, gardens, kids play areas, pond, workshop
Developer	Hapū as developer	Residents as developer

While Earthsong and Kāinga Tuatahi are unique in their own ways, a key commonality between these two sites of inquiry are their aspirations to challenge the status quo. In a country where single-storey, detached homes still dominate housing patterns (e.g. Boon, 2010, p. 297; Dixon & Dupuis, 2003, p. 353), Earthsong and Kāinga Tuatahi demonstrate innovative, alternative forms of development. Both are firsts in their respective domains; Earthsong as the first urban cohousing community in New Zealand, and Kāinga Tuatahi as the first urban papakāinga, and it is this innovation that warrants their inclusion in this study and could help to shift these models of housing from a novelty to a mainstream housing option.

6.2 Comparing ownership

The ownership structure varies between the two sites, with a summary of the key similarities and differences between each shown in Table 6.2 below. As noted in section 5.2.3, residents own their units through a unit title ownership structure at Earthsong.



On the other hand, at Kāinga Tuatahi, unit ownership is through leasehold subdivision (see section 4.2.3). The primary difference or implication between the two structures relates to the ownership of land and common areas. The leasehold subdivision enables Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei to retain collective ownership of the land that the Kāinga Tuatahi development is located on. Residents merely attain a long-term lease over the area that their unit sits on. In contrast, at Earthsong, individual unit owners own the land which their house is located on, as well as an undivided share of the common property.

Table 6.2: Comparison of the leasehold and unit title subdivisions.

Factor	Site	
	Kāinga Tuatahi	Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood
Ownership model	Leasehold subdivision	Unit title subdivision
Rights – to physical structure of private homes	Homeowners own the physical structure of their homes	Homeowners own the physical structure of their homes
Rights – to land on which private homes are located	Leased: homeowners pay a ‘ground rent’ (i.e. nominal yearly rent to lease the land on which their home sits)	Owned: homeowners own a ‘compartment of space’, which is typically the area encompassing the house, along with private yard areas around the house
Rights – to the land parcel as a whole	Not limited to private unit owners within the development. Collective hapū ownership of the underlying land parcel.	Limited to private unit owners within the development. Common property is owned by the body corporate (unit owners collectively make up the body corporate).
Management / governance	‘Cuzzy corp’ (a private arrangement, modelled off the formal Body Corporate structure established under the Unit Titles Act 2010)	Body Corporate

The leasehold option holds two main benefits for Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei. First, it allows the land to stay in collective tribal ownership. A unit title subdivision at Kāinga Tuatahi would relinquish ownership of the land from the hapū as a whole and place it in the hands of the collective unit owners instead, which is only a subset of the hapū. Second, the leases contribute to ensuring the homes are more affordable for owners. Unit owners



pay only a nominal fee to the tribe for their leases, meaning their mortgages are only required to cover the cost of the build. This and similar approaches (such as Canberra's land rent and Community Land Trusts discussed in section 4.8.3 above) could offer lessons to other papakāinga and housing developments more generally, particularly with regard to housing affordability, by removing the land from the housing equation.

Innovations similarly exist in the development of Māori land more generally. Two cases of adjacent Māori land in the Far North offer perspectives on the viability of a socially-based legal solution to managing multiple ownership of land. In the first case, *Heta – Taiharuru 4C3B*, Judge Ambler created what he termed a 'hybrid partition'.⁶⁶ The hybrid partition combines elements of legal partitions, occupation orders and Trust orders to remedy two prevailing needs: an owner required a level of individual property rights to the extent that would allow him to obtain mortgage finance, but the wider whānau's acceptance of granting him individual rights was conditional on the land not being able to be sold out of the whānau in future. Judge Ambler was reluctant to award a standard partition (granting individualised property rights) as follows:

Partition represents the final severance of collective ownership of the land. It is a terminal step. While partitioning Māori land into individual ownership may have become commonplace in the past, it had little in common with Māori custom and merely reflected the legislation and policies of the time. I do not accept that in the twenty first century we should be hamstrung by historical approaches to ownership of land, particularly when the 1993 Act offers innovative tools to achieve owners' aspirations (*Heta – Taiharuru 4C3B* [2010] 13 Taitokerau MB 203 (13 TTK 203), at [29]).

The hybrid partition offered a solution to both objectives. Logistically, the hybrid version combines elements of the approaches in both Earthsong and Kāinga Tuatahi. Like Kāinga Tuātahi, the underlying ownership of the land is retained in the collective, with individual occupation orders granted over different portions of land to the different owners (like Kāinga Tuatahi's lease areas). However, like Earthsong, the collective ownership comprises those individual owners (i.e. the 'whole' is the sum of

⁶⁶ *Heta – Taiharuru 4C3B* [2010] 13 Taitokerau MB 203 (13 TTK 203).



its parts) rather than at Kāinga Tuatahi, where the collective ownership is with the tribe at large (i.e. the ‘whole’ comprises more than just Kāinga Tuatahi residents).

A factor in achieving the hybrid partition described above was a sense of unity on the part of the wider whānau. This was potentially a latent factor which was not observed until a similar sized block of land adjacent to that in the Heta case came before the Māori Land Court. In this second case, the Court “took the rare contemporary path of ordering the partition of the land” (Toomey, Finn, France-Hudson, & Ruru, 2017, p. 138).⁶⁷ The inability of the hybrid partition to work in this case was largely attributed to “insufficient unity of purpose or support for establishment of a trust amongst the owners” (*Neal – Taiharuru 4C3C [2016] 132 Taitokerau MB 97 (132 TTK 97) at [39]*). This tentatively offers some reinforcement of the importance of a strong cohesion factor or commonality binding residents in socially-based communities that can guide collectives through challenging decisions, and while whakapapa can provide strong bonds, in some instances such as this, it will not be enough on its own.

6.3 Comparing participants

Comparisons can also be drawn in relation to the interview participants from each case (see Table 6.3 for summary data). Case participants were self-selected by the communities, so while the interview samples are not claimed to be representative of their respective resident populations at large, the residents interviewed represented a diverse range of households.⁶⁸ As a result, meaningful comparisons between each case can nonetheless be considered. To preserve resident anonymity as far as possible, the homes where interviews took place have not been identified but in both locations, there was a spatial spread of residents from across both communities (i.e. interviews were with a few households from within each cluster, rather than with households from only one cluster).

⁶⁷ See: *Neal – Taiharuru 4C3C [2016] 132 Taitokerau MB 97 (132 TTK 97)*.

⁶⁸ For example: single adult households, single parent households, couples with and without children, multi-generational households, and all with or without flatmates or boarders.



Table 6.3: Participant interview metadata (“int.” = interview/s).

Factors	Site	
	Kāinga Tuatahi	Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood
Number of household interviews (number of individuals)	10 (16 individuals)	10 (12 individuals)
House size (number of interviews)	2 bedrooms (1 int.)	Studio (0 int.)
	3 bedrooms (2 int.)	2 bedrooms (3 int.)
	4 bedrooms (6 int.)	3 bedrooms (6 int.)
	5 bedrooms (1 int.)	4 bedrooms (1 int.)
Interviews per household size (number of interviews)	1 resident household (1 int.)	1 resident household (2 int.)
	2 resident household (0 int.)	2 resident household (6 int.)
	3 - 4 resident household (6 int.)	3 - 4 resident household (2 int.)
	5+ resident household (3 int.)	5+ resident household (0 int.)
Length of residence (number of interviews)	1 - 2 years (10 int.)	0 - 1 year (1 int.)
		1 - 2 years (1 int.)
		3 - 5 years (2 int.)
		6 - 10 years (1 int.)
		11+ years (5 int.)

Of those interviewed, Earthsong households tended to be smaller. Most interviews were with residents of one or two-person households, whereas most interviews at Kāinga Tuatahi were with residents of three or more person households (often couples with young families). Residents of the smaller Earthsong households are perhaps at greater risk of social isolation than larger households, and therefore might have a greater reliance or dependency on the elements of socialisation within the community that have been discussed in the preceding chapters.

Interview participants also varied in their length of residence in each community. The construction of Kāinga Tuatahi was completed in 2016 (the East Block was completed in approximately February 2016, with the West Block completed approximately six months later). All whānau interviewed had resided in their homes since completion, being generally two years at the time of the interview. Homes at Earthsong, on the other hand, were completed between 2002 and 2008. Since then, some families had moved out and new families moved in, so there was much wider spread of duration of residence. The newest resident spoken to had moved in to Earthsong only two months previously,



while some others had lived there for the full 16 years since the first homes were built. The diversity in length of tenure of Earthsong residents again justifies the tuakana-teina relationship alluded to above and may offer insights for Kāinga Tuatahi in future as households change over time.

While the context, ownership structure and profile of participants underpinning each community differs (and can be expected to in case study research), this thesis does not seek to observe direct imitations or reproductions of socially-based tenure principles across both cases. Rather, the aim is to find *theoretical replications* (that is, the outcomes may be different but stem from similar reasons, in this case, principles of socially-based tenure) (Yin, 2012, p. 8). With this in mind, the chapter now shifts to explore the comparative ways in which each of the socially-based tenure principles are demonstrated in papakāinga and cohousing.

6.4 Comparing the principles

6.4.1 Principle 1 – Rights are embedded in social relationships

Chapter two outlined how, in traditional kāinga, rights were explicitly bound up with membership of a collective group. That is, rights were usually derived from being a member of the tribe. Historically, this membership was important for things such as survival. Tribal members could utilise the wider tribal resource for collective matters such as defence, and in turn, were granted use rights to particular resources by virtue of belonging to the tribe:

...rights to land for shelter, for cropping, and for food-gathering were contingent upon the acceptance of the obligations of membership in the particular community owning the land (Kawharu, 1977, p. 39).

In a contemporary context, this principle was considered to be demonstrated to a high extent in both Kāinga Tuatahi and Earthsong (see Figures 4.14 and 5.18), though for the latter, membership is not tribal.



Membership is largely an administrative matter

Membership of the collective has largely become an administrative matter in both cases. At both Earthsong and Kāinga Tuatahi, formal registration as a group member is a prerequisite for purchasing a home, and the option to formalise group membership in either case is essentially voluntary. Chapter four explained how, at Kāinga Tuatahi, residents can only buy their homes if they whakapapa to Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei. This accords with those traditional notions of rights deriving through membership of a collective, in this case, a tribal grouping. However, the modern recording of whakapapa (typically through rolls and registers) has eroded some of the traditional notions of whakapapa relationships which encompass a wider set of rights, responsibilities and protocols, as the main condition for participation in the tribe is to choose to register as a member. Similarly, chapter five described how rights to purchase a home at Earthsong derive from a person's name being recorded on a list or register of Earthsong members. Any person who is interested and has the necessary resources can apply and become a member of Earthsong. While the membership process at Earthsong perhaps more clearly sets out membership expectations (such as setting minimum participation requirements in terms of joining a cooking group and at least one focus group), rights tend to be more widely recognised and understood than responsibilities.

New developments could benefit from forming an overarching body or group, from which residents draw membership. Arguably, the establishment of an 'in-group' which residents must be a part of in order to gain residency rights is an essential pre-cursor to group cohesion; the boundaries defining who is inside and who is outside the group are thus important. To some extent, group establishment already exists in other development models, though this often occurs *after* members have secured their residence.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ For example, in a unit title development, a body corporate is formed and principal unit owners become members of that body corporate. In that case, membership is based on ownership rather than vice versa.



Design can facilitate sociality

The design and layout of a site can play a significant part in whether socialisation occurs unconsciously, or if it needs to be consciously actioned. In Kāinga Tuatahi, with its roughly circular layout (section 4.2), residents reflected on enjoying a sense of enclosure and security and having passive surveillance of children when they are playing in the shared areas. The shared spaces such as the māra kai (Figure 4.9) also offered opportunities for residents to gather and work together. However, while Kāinga Tuatahi exhibits some sociopetal design components (as introduced in section 4.4), some aspects of the layout are more sociofugal, placing more emphasis on individualism. Section 4.4 described how the provision of laneways through the site generally enables residents to park their cars adjacent to their homes. In addition, Kupe Street acts to bisect the development into two blocks, which more easily allows for subgroups to form within the wider Kāinga Tuatahi site. At Earthsong, on the other hand, the car parking is kept to the western edge of the site in a common parking area, rather than in parking attached to homes. This provides opportunities for unplanned and unconscious socialisation by forcing residents to walk between their cars and their homes, increasing the chances that residents might ‘bump into’ a neighbour.

Cohousing communities may have an advantage in their ability to incorporate more sociopetal design elements into their developments. A growing body of literature exists, much of which is specifically centred on the design of physical elements of cohousing communities such as the layout, car parking patterns, and the visual and spatial linkages between individual buildings. For instance, section 5.3 described how prospective Earthsong members are required to read a seminal cohousing text⁷⁰ before applying for membership, and this and other texts are likely to have influenced the early design processes from the community. Many of the design features articulated in cohousing literature could valuably inform urban development such as papakāinga, as well as development more generally. A body of papakāinga-specific design literature is

⁷⁰ “Cohousing” by McCamant and Durrett.



emerging through documents such as the *Ki te hau kāinga* design guides, and will continue to grow as more urban papakāinga projects are realised.

It is important to note, though, that good design cannot *create* a sense of community in and of itself (Kearns, Witten, Kingham, & Banwell, 2017). Rather, good design can help *facilitate the creation* of a sense of community by providing the conditions for neighbourly interactions and engagement. For example, designing pathways from car parking areas to private homes might cause residents to walk past one another but it does not guarantee that they interact when they do pass one another. While Earthsong demonstrates several sociopetal design elements aimed at facilitating both planned and unplanned social interactions between neighbours, the functioning of the community as a whole is also underpinned by a strong social architecture: communication agreements, focus groups, full group meetings, and general expectations around behaviour and community involvement, all of which work with the physical architecture to foster strong social connections.⁷¹

Sociality = social capital

Similarly, that is not to say that social interaction cannot occur in developments with a tendency toward sociofugal elements; it just makes it easier. If sociality is hardwired into the design (as is the case with sociopetal design elements), it can enable social interaction to happen unconsciously. A more individualised design, on the other hand, may require a more conscious approach to sociality; residents need to purposefully interact or engage with one another rather than spontaneously running into one another. As communities become more mobile and access to other, non-local (or even virtual) communities becomes easier (and therefore, as humans become less dependent on geographically-based communities), the spatial arrangements of neighbourhoods are likely to become increasingly important for forming neighbourly relations and social

⁷¹ Similarly, I do not suggest that a strong social architecture can *create* a sense of community either. Instead, a conscious and well-designed social framework can only hope to *encourage* better social relationships between residents living closely to one another (Dupuis & Dixon, 2006, p. 228).



cohesion, if the personal and social motivation is no longer dependent on the geographic community for survival.

Cohousing communities tend to have relatively codified or formalised social architecture, while the papakāinga approach is less prescriptive (perhaps more ad-hoc or 'as-needed' in character). Findings from Earthsong suggest that informal, unplanned interactions cannot be relied upon alone, though. Regular, formal gatherings such as group meetings, common meals or working bees provide the structure to build trust and the network of social relations, to then produce the tangible benefits of 'social capital' as discussed in section 5.3. This takes ongoing investment, beyond the time and resource spent on planning and construction, and because it is intangible (unlike the very tangible physical architecture), it can be easily overlooked in new developments.

Equally, while social interaction and cohesion is important, common advice from Earthsong residents was that residents are not obliged to be best friends with every other resident in the community. New developments could benefit from an understanding of both the strengths and the challenges of socialisation and living in community.

6.4.2 Principle 2 – Individual rights are subordinated to group rights

The first principle outlined how rights are embedded in social relationships; that is, individual use rights exist and are maintained by virtue of belonging to a collective. The second principle posits that those individual rights are subordinated to group rights. A system of reciprocal rights and obligations ensured that the collective remained strong (particularly important for fighting and defence), and individuals were supported in the interests of the survival of the group. In a contemporary context, the notion of the collective was perceived as being demonstrated to a moderate extent in Kāinga Tuatahi and a high extent at Earthsong (see Figures 4.15 and 5.20).

Belonging by whakapapa or belonging by kaupapa

Earthsong and Kāinga Tuatahi both exhibit strong cohesion factors, whether that common connection is whakapapa-based or kaupapa-based. As discussed in chapters



four and five, the binding is different for each community. In Kāinga Tuatahi, group cohesion stems from a relational basis (i.e. shared ancestry), whereas in Earthsong, the group is held together through common interests and aspirations (i.e. residents share a desire to live in a particular way, in relation to one another and in relation to the environment). Both are examples of group formation based on a common connection or philosophy, and align with what Metge (1995) describes as whakapapa-based (genealogically-based) whānau and kaupapa-based (purpose-based) whānau. The Kāinga Tuatahi community demonstrates whakapapa-based whānau based on shared descent or ancestry, whereas the Earthsong community could be described as a kaupapa-based whānau, unified for a purpose (in this case, environmental and social sustainability). While they do not share ancestry, the common kaupapa of Earthsong residents binds them as a whānau, and many of the values of a whakapapa-based whānau (such as individual rights existing because of the collective, and therefore the individual having responsibilities to the collective) can be applied (Metge, 1995). For cohousing and non-papakāinga development, this gives rise to the hope that similarly strong bonds may be possible between residents of different backgrounds (i.e. where they do not share ancestral connections).

New developments could be strengthened by seeking to establish some significant commonality capable of binding new residents. While this thesis does not specifically explore a community without a strong cohesion factor (though this could provide a useful future avenue for comparison), similar research on communities may offer helpful perspectives on the importance of a cohesion factor. For instance, Barry (2019, p. 208) explores shared housing for residents over 65 but ultimately finds dissatisfaction with the concept of “sharing a household with four people I do not know well and may have little in common with”. In her study, the motivations for people trialling the housing initiative seemed to be driven by a need for affordable housing. While residents may share that in common, it lacks the strength otherwise found in common values or principles (such as Earthsong’s common aspirations for environmental sustainability as a binding factor) which can be used to guide a community through critical decisions and even conflict.



Groups operate at different spatial scales

A key difference between Earthsong and Kāinga Tuatahi relates to the spatial scale of the 'group' in each case. At Earthsong, the group largely corresponds with the spatial extent of the Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood site itself.⁷² As a result, Earthsong members' responsibilities tend to be carried out in relation to the spatial extent of the village proper. Group membership at Kāinga Tuatahi, on the other hand, tends to blur across spatial scales, and individual responsibilities are carried out with respect to both the Kāinga Tuatahi site as well as the wider Ōrākei community and tribal level. As a result, while Kāinga Tuatahi residents may do less physical work in relation to the site itself, this has to be balanced against work and obligations expected in the wider context such as for the marae, the urupā, and the tribe (which is perhaps less frequent or evidenced by most Earthsong residents). The notion of whakapapa permeates the boundaries between whānau, hapū and iwi, and needs to be considered in the context of housing development. For example, Kāinga Tuatahi might benefit from a form of neo-marae or small, multi-purpose building on site to encourage Kāinga Tuatahi residents to come together more frequently, but such a concept would need to be carefully balanced to complement the role and function of the marae proper, rather than conflict or detract from it.

A survival incentive imparted accountability

Traditionally, individual use rights were conditional on fulfilling responsibilities to the collective group. Not doing so could run the risk of exclusion or ostracism from the collective. In a contemporary context, the ability for individuals to access voluntary social support networks (such as through sports clubs or church groups) beyond the bounds of the physical community has reduced individuals' dependency on place-based communities for survival and for social connection. As a result, the risk of exclusion from the community does not have the same 'teeth' or carry the same threat as it may have had in traditional communities. While being ignored by other members

⁷² By and large, the Earthsong membership comprises actual residents at the site but some people can be members of Earthsong without actually living on the property (such as those who support the concept, or have intentions to pursue a home at Earthsong if one became available).



in the neighbourhood or community may be unpleasant, it may not be a strong enough deterrent to change behaviours of unengaged or disinterested residents. Without the clear link between sociality and survival, perhaps other incentives could better encourage all residents to 'toe the line' of the community. This could be as simple as making visible some of the intangible or invisible benefits of active participation and involvement in the community (such as flow-on benefits for wellbeing and identity, particularly in a cultural context for whānau Māori). Future research could helpfully explore motivating factors or disincentives that would encourage or improve compliance.

6.4.3 Principle 3 – Work gives rise to belonging and creates effective rights

The third principle posits that a personal contribution to the home and neighbourhood can contribute to belonging and self-worth, and creates effective rights for residents. Buck describes this from a tribal context:

Co-operation in labour took the form of working bees which were termed *ohu* and they were frequently organized for clearing bush land for cultivations. Sometimes they were arranged to promote social intercourse between two tribes. The tribe owning the land sent out an invitation to another tribe to clear the land for them. The home tribe provided the food and entertainment and the visiting *ohu* put forth their best efforts to gain the approval of their hosts. Such exchanges gave pleasure to both sides and served to maintain friendships between the two tribes...The system of the *ohu* co-operative labour prevailed throughout Polynesia. The spirit of the *ohu* exists among the Maoris to-day but the shift to a money economy and the exchanges in food and occupation render it difficult to recapture the full atmosphere of the past (Buck, 1949, pp. 378-379, italics in original).

In a contemporary context, this principle was demonstrated to a low extent in Kāinga Tuatahi and a very high extent at Earthsong (see Figures 4.16 and 5.25).

Physical work and symbolic work

A key finding from the previous two chapters is the distinction between physical work and symbolic work, and how each mode may affect residents' attachments to place in different ways. Physical and symbolic work differ on a relational basis. With physical work, the residents themselves have a direct relationship with the work being carried



out. In contrast, that relationship is interrupted with symbolic work, typically by money. For instance, a resident who maintains the shared compost bin is carrying out physical work for the community. A resident who pays someone to maintain the shared compost bin is carrying out symbolic work, by contracting out that physical work to a third party. This relationship is visualised in Figure 6.1 below. As residents become increasingly separated from the work, cohesion decreases. Work at Earthsong is characterised by a high level of physical work; residents engaged in building swales and constructing pathways during construction, and on an ongoing basis, they partake in quarterly working bees, have an annual 'deep clean'⁷³ of the common house, and they maintain the common areas and gardens. Physical work for Kāinga Tuatahi residents, on the other hand, tends to be limited to work maintaining private dwellings and areas. Work on the shared areas tends to be symbolic; residents often pay a fee for external contractors to carry out maintenance work. This is a level removed from where bonds of solidarity can create strong and enduring ties.

A challenge for both Earthsong and Kāinga Tuatahi centres on striking an appropriate balance of work: enough to foster bonds and connections between residents, but without becoming a burden. Kāinga Tuatahi residents offered mixed views on whether they would be willing to take on some of the maintenance of the shared areas for the collective. Some were enthusiastic, and could see the potential for occasional working bees to bring the community together and ensure the work is carried out to a quality they are satisfied with. In contrast, other residents were happy to continue paying an external contractor. Payments were simple and reduced the burden on residents balancing work and family commitments. Earthsong residents generally valued the ability to contribute work to the collective, but as the community ages, the onus of physical labour is beginning to put a strain on residents. The site has extensive gardens and green spaces, and require constant upkeep (particularly the stormwater swales). Residents are beginning to contend with ideas of contracting some of the physical labour

⁷³ i.e. a 'spring clean'.



out to contractors to ensure the work can be done, but are conscious of the need to retain some of the work themselves because of other, intangible benefits that work can elicit.

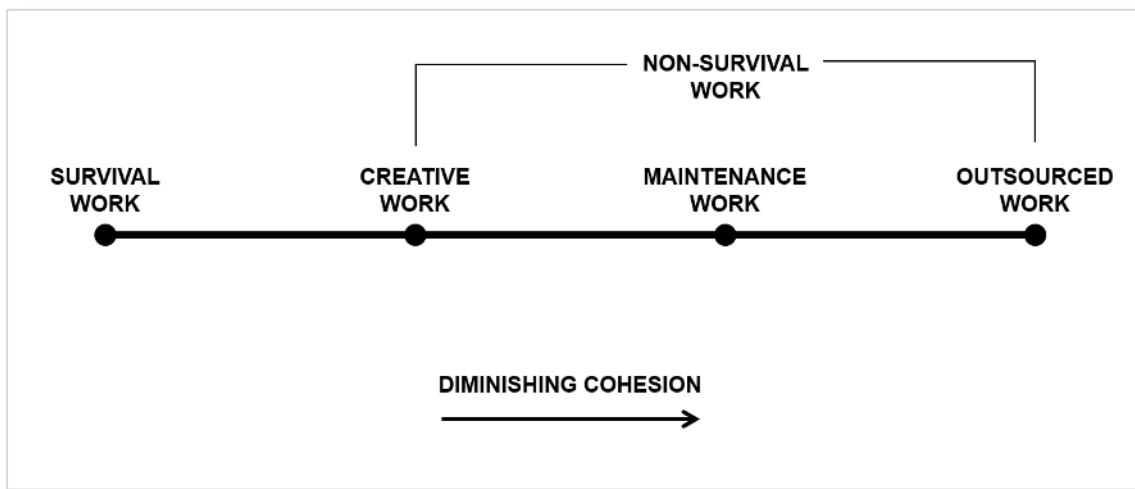


Figure 6.1: Spectrum of types of work producing diminishing levels of cohesion as you move right along the spectrum. At one end, work undertaken for survival tends to engender strong group bonds. At the other end, symbolic or outsourced work produces lower levels of group cohesion (diagram drawn by author, based on concept from D. Goodwin (personal communication, December 19, 2019)).

The benefits of work extend beyond the work itself

The differences between physical work and symbolic work are clarified when considering the outcomes of each. Regardless of who does the work, the outcome of both physical and symbolic work is that the work itself is completed. An advantage of physical work though, in terms of a community-building perspective, are the bonds and relationships forged as residents work together towards a collective goal. Forsyth (2006) describes the pursuit of a common goal as one of the key mechanisms for forging bonds between members of a group. Further, Goodwin stresses the intangible bonds supported through decision-making processes, beyond just making the decision:

Traditionally, if there were any disputes these would be teased out at a sort of village court or *dare*. Elders might guide but everyone, including women, had a voice and no one had the final say. The process of reaching consensus would have revitalised community links. People would have met, eaten together and talked and laughed. Consensus building is not just about the



decision, it is about the process by which the decision is reached... (2007, p. 359).⁷⁴

Earthsong residents similarly reflected on this notion. Residents typically attend monthly meetings, and while meetings are often the forum for discussing and deciding community-wide matters, the meetings are equally about community building. Each meeting starts with a 'check-in' process, where residents take a moment to share how they are prior to addressing any community matters or issues for the day.

The other aspect of our [monthly] meetings is that there's always a big check-in.⁷⁵ Sometimes that will take up the whole meeting...and that sort of community connection stuff does end up being the most important (Interview ES10, p. 14).

Intangible benefits such as these support an argument for aspects of work being critical components of the social milieu, but due to their intangible nature, they can often be overlooked in development processes.

Work occurs at different spatial scales

Following from this, the majority of the work in each community occurs at different spatial scales. At Earthsong, resident-based work is typically carried out for the collective (i.e. at a site level), whereas at Kāinga Tuatahi, resident-based work is more commonly carried out for the collective at the hapū or wider Ōrākei neighbourhood level. While the 'site' spatial context was intended as the main level of analysis for the thesis, Kāinga Tuatahi residents demonstrated how, through whakapapa, whānau is inseparable from hapū and iwi. While Figure 6.2 shows concentric circles representing the spatial layers, for Kāinga Tuatahi, the boundaries between layers are much more permeable. As a result, while work and responsibilities are less evident at the Kāinga Tuatahi site, in reality, those responsibilities are spread across a wider spatial domain.

⁷⁴ See also: (Holleman, 1958, pp. 251-257).

⁷⁵ As the name suggests, the check-in process is where, prior to the formalities of the meeting commencing, each person who is present has the chance to 'check-in' on a personal level. That is, they can each take a moment to speak, share and reflect on how they are doing. This helps to build trust and friendships within the group, and residents suggest they make better decisions after this check-in process as they can better understand the basis for other residents' opinions (Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood, n.d.-b).



At Earthsong, individual work or responsibilities tend to occur mostly at the household and site levels.

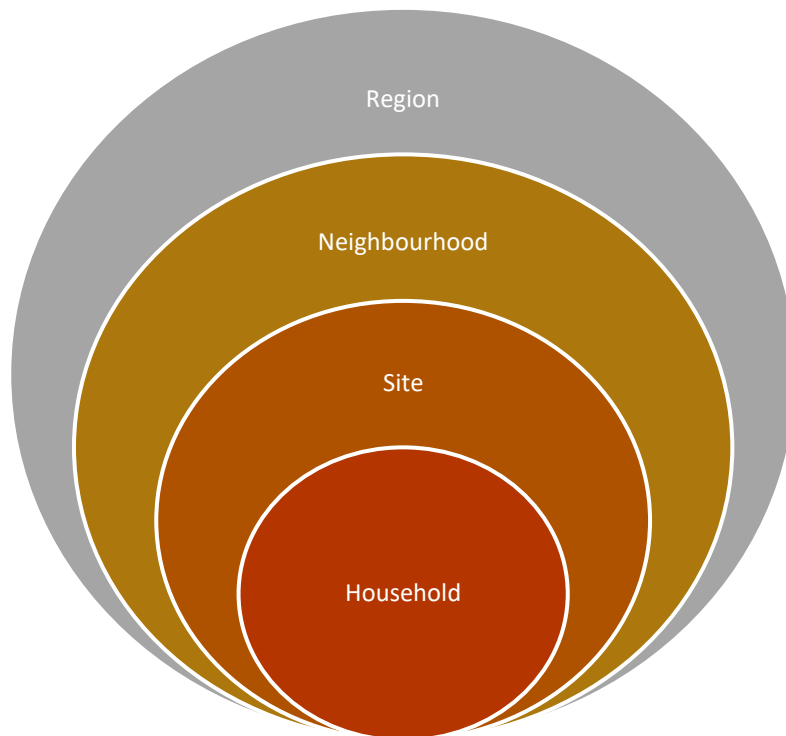


Figure 6.2: Diagram of the nested spatial scales of work processes.

6.4.4 Principle 4 – Communities are self-determining

A key feature of socially-based societies is autonomy and self-determination. Residents and their collective communities have agency to determine their own futures, including the shape of their living environments. In a contemporary context, this principle was demonstrated to a moderate extent in Kāinga Tuatahi and a high degree at Earthsong (see Figures 4.23 and 5.33).

Resident-led design

Kāinga Tuatahi and Earthsong took two different approaches to the design and build. At risk of over-simplification, it may be helpful to frame the two approaches in relation to Arnstein's ladder of participation (see Figure 6.3).⁷⁶ Arnstein posits that citizen participation (or resident participation, in these cases) is ultimately about power, and

⁷⁶ Recognising that while Arnstein's ladder is framed as a discussion of power, there are many facets or layers of power that remain invisibilised in such a simplified model.



the level or extent to which power is redistributed to the citizens or residents themselves. Arnstein uses the metaphor of a ladder, where each rung moving up the ladder reflects an increasing level of citizen participation and therefore citizen power (Arnstein, 1969, pp. 216-217). The two lowest rungs on the ladder of participation (manipulation, therapy) reflect 'nonparticipation', where those in power make decisions to 'fix' the powerless. The middle rungs (informing, consulting, placation) reflect 'degrees of tokenism', where citizens or residents are provided with the opportunity to be included and to express their opinions, but any decisions remain with those in power. The top three rungs (partnership, delegated power, citizen control) reflect increasing levels of citizen-based decision-making, where citizens have full power and control by the top rung (Arnstein, 1969, p. 217).

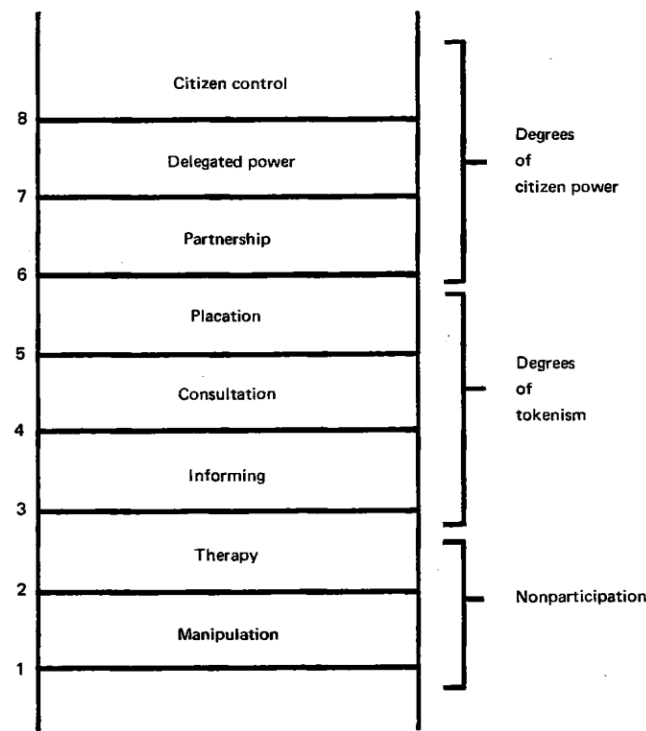


Figure 6.3: Arnstein's ladder of participation (image credit: Arnstein, 1969, p. 217).

The conception and development of Earthsong could be seen to occupy the top rungs of the ladder of participation. The idea for the development was resident-led (i.e. a 'bottom-up' approach), including the strategies to recruit members, locate an appropriate site and prepare the initial concept layout and designs. Earthsong partnered with various consultants to provide the technical skill to complete the detailed design,



consenting and construction, but the resident collective maintained the decision-making power throughout. That is not to say that the citizen group (or in this case, the residents) are homogeneous. Individuals within the collective may hold different perspectives and priorities, but these can be managed through some of the strategies (such as the coloured cards discussion system) introduced in the earlier sections of this chapter.

On the other hand, the Kāinga Tuatahi approach could be seen as more of a top-down approach. The development was led and managed by Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei Whai Rawa Ltd (the commercial branch of Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei) in consultation with the future residents. While the development demonstrates rangatiratanga (self-determination) for Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei (the upper rungs of the ladder), this has perhaps been at the expense of resident or member self-control or agency (and perhaps occupies the middle rungs of the ladder).

The different approaches could be influenced by professional capacity. As a commercial development body, Whai Rawa is arguably better resourced to progress housing developments than resident iwi members alone. Earthsong, on the other hand, had the benefit of having Robin and a number of other residents in the group with expertise in housing and land development (such as landscape architects) to manage and monitor the design and build. This ensured the resident group had the expertise to ‘speak the language’ of the consultants and regulatory bodies, and ensure their vision was not being diluted. Hapū and iwi Māori could benefit from access to Māori practitioners who can ‘speak the language’ both literally and metaphorically; practitioners with the appropriate balance of both cultural competency and technical understanding to advance Māori aspirations in ways that are uniquely Māori.

Innovative approaches to building could also offer a middle-ground approach to enable and encourage resident self-determination. Models such as Sættedammen’s modular construction (box 5.3), Chile’s half-houses (section 5.6), Southern Africa’s ‘core



housing⁷⁷ or the United Kingdom's Naked Housing⁷⁸ offer a valuable starting point. These examples all include an initial standardised approach to the build⁷⁹, but with a long-term perspective factored in (see principle 7) to enable residents to complete or rearrange homes over time. This could allow for expressions of human agency and self-determination by encouraging people to make choices for their own individual homes and their futures, as well as engaging in physical work (see section 6.2.3) which arguably provides a stronger foundation for group cohesion and connection. Such an approach might require a significant culture shift. While New Zealand has a strong 'DIY (do-it-yourself) culture', developers may be reluctant to provide such half-builds which compromise their profit margins and highly regulated societies may raise objections on grounds of health and safety. Similarly, cost-savings from sweat equity and having residents complete homes themselves may be compromised if rework is needed. However, with the appropriate support in place, innovation such as this could be worth pursuing. Research by Napier (2002), as well as forthcoming research from Goodwin, explores the processes and resultant products of core housing in Southern Africa over several years following the initial setting up of the core homes, and could valuably offer lessons and perspectives to future incremental housing approaches.

From 'building' to 'being'

As noted in the work section above, housing communities make an important transition following the completion of construction as residents move from 'building' to 'being'. While the physical construction comes to an end, residents can still help to shape and influence the form of the community moving forward, but the focus tends to shift from the more tangible aspects of the physical architecture to more subtle nuances within the social milieu. This coincides with the notion of "housing as a 'verb'" (that is, housing as

⁷⁷ A form of incremental or gradual housing, where a habitable core is initially built but has provision for residents to add more spaces over time (e.g. Napier, 2002).

⁷⁸ 'Naked' homes are minimalist houses which provide a basic habitable shell or core of a home including a kitchen sink, bathroom, heating but excluding other finishes, partitions and fittings (see www.nakedhouse.org).

⁷⁹ For instance, the shell or core of a 'naked' house could be built to comply with the New Zealand Building Code E2 (requiring buildings to be constructed to prevent external moisture entering buildings and causing damage), with the flexibility to arrange and rearrange internal walls and so on (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2019, p. 3).



an ongoing process and state of being) rather than “housing as a ‘noun’” (i.e. a product) (Napier, 2002, p. 9).⁸⁰ Earthsong offers a number of lessons in this regard.

To date, residents in Kāinga Tuatahi are largely still the original homeowners and tenants. All whānau interviewed were the first ones to move into their homes, and had all lived in the kāinga since construction was completed. Earthsong residents, on the other hand, included residents who had lived there from the beginning as well as more ‘recent immigrants’ (see section 5.7). Over time, Earthsong has developed relatively robust induction processes to help new residents as they move into the community. The induction processes are significantly more involved than just the transfer of the title to the property. As well as the various activities required before Earthsong members can purchase a home (such as attendance at a common dinner and full group meetings as noted in section 5.3), Earthsong runs a buddy system where new residents work with more established residents to learn and understand the processes in the community more easily. While the practicalities are often described as easy to follow, inductions help to enable new residents to begin to forge unwritten threads that bind them to place and to community. Understanding the ways of the community (e.g. “this is how we do things”), can be a potent factor in encouraging certain behaviours and standards, and is another element of the social milieu of the community.

Similarly, chapter four outlined how residents at Kāinga Tuatahi have hosted a variety of events and celebrations such as birthdays and seasonal parties, though formal gatherings (such as community meetings) are held less frequently (residents typically do not hold a meeting unless there are community issues to resolve). However, there may be unseen benefits to formal meetings and other gatherings; they might help anchor people in the neighbourhood, they are mechanisms for residents to air concerns, as well as connect with others. More research is needed on the necessity and importance of community gatherings that act to support a wide range of secondary purposes and benefits, over the primary function of the event or activity itself.

⁸⁰ See also: Turner (1972), who argues for housing to be considered in relation to activities or processes, rather than housing as a product (i.e. a noun).



As alluded to above, new developments could benefit from an enhanced focus on how the community is expected to function or operate once construction is completed; what does the social architecture or social milieu look like? Arguably, the social architecture is just as important (if not more so) than the physical architecture, but it can easily be forgotten, particularly in disparate development processes (e.g. in land-based subdivision, where the residents or home builders are only brought into the development process once sections are constructed and sold). A more holistic all-of-development approach could engender better architectural outcomes and social outcomes for new housing.

6.4.5 Principle 5 – Humans form links with places

In a contemporary context, notions of place-making were demonstrated to a very high degree in Kāinga Tuatahi and to a moderate degree at Earthsong (see Figures 4.25 and 5.34). The decision to locate the Earthsong community where it is seems to have been based more on pragmatism rather than an inherent connection or relationship with the site, whereas Kāinga Tuatahi is on ancestral whenua meaning residents held and felt an immediate connection to place: the decision was made in the past. Place-based links could also be attributed to different worldviews, though moving forward, both sites can foster even stronger links to place over time.

Different worldviews

Papakāinga on ancestral land benefits from an almost immediate connection to place. Residents who whakapapa to an area have a relationship to place through that ancestry, and those connections will only grow stronger over time. This could be partly attributed to a Māori worldview. While Māori worldviews are not homogenous, notions of whakapapa typically extend from a cosmogony that animistically recognises that everything has a soul, right down to a pebble. As such, humans descend from the whenua: ko au te whenua, ko whenua ko au (I am the land, the land is me). Chapter four illustrated how that intimate connection is reinforced through cultural practices such as the burial of placenta, and of having line of sight to cultural landscapes and geographical features. Those features “are reference points of a cultural value system”, like a social or cultural compass (Kawharu, 2009, p. 326). The location for Earthsong, on



the other hand, was pragmatic; it is in the city, has ready access to local shops and amenities, and is close to public transport links. Rather than an immediate innate connection, place-based links at Earthsong are likely to form and solidify over time.

Links by length of tenure

That is not to say that non-Māori do not or cannot share the same emotional attachment to land that Māori often do. Long occupation can establish an emotional attachment to place or to land in a similar vein to the Indigenous experience (e.g. Kearns & Collins, 2012). Deloria Jr (1991) argues, however, that time itself cannot foster an emotional attachment. Indigenous experiences tend to be predicated on Indigenous worldviews: the world is alive, holistic and relational, and if the non-Indigenous view does not align with that premise, the attachment is likely to only be aesthetic or intellectual:

It is apparent that the Indian relationship with the land is one brought about by prolonged occupation of certain places. Non-Indians can work toward this condition, but it cannot be brought about by energetic action or sincerity alone. Nor can mere continued occupation create an attitude of respect, since the basic premise – that the universe and each thing in it is alive and has personality – is an attitude of experience and not an intellectual presupposition or logical conclusion (Deloria Jr, 1991, p. 40).

Once in residence, households may build connections with each other and with the site over time. Over a period of four years in the late 1990s, Cross (2001) interviewed residents of Nevada Country in the United States, and ordered residents' place-based connections into six broad categories (see Table 6.4). This categorisation suggests place-based links can come from a range of aspects introduced in this and previous chapters, such as a shared ideology, an intangible or spiritual connection to the land, or links developed over time.



Table 6.4: Relationships to place (adapted from Cross, 2001, p. 3).

Relationship	Type of bond	Process
Biographical	Historical, familial	Being born in and living in a place, develops over time
Spiritual	Emotional, intangible	Feeling a sense of belonging, felt rather than created
Ideological	Moral, ethical	Living according to moral guidelines (e.g. may be religious, secular)
Narrative	Mythical	Learning about a place through stories, including creation myths, family histories, political accounts
Commodified	Cognitive	Choosing a place based on desirable traits and lifestyle preferences, comparison of actual place with ideal place
Dependent	Material	Constrained by lack of choice, dependency on another person or economic opportunity

For new developments, this may mean allowing future residents to access and visit the site as early as possible in the development process to start to ‘visualise the dream’ and begin the process of establishing those biographical links with place. This was both important and highly valued by the residents at Kāinga Tuatahi (who visited the site several times during construction), and those at Earthsong (who camped on the site prior to construction commencing).

6.4.6 Principle 6 – Land is not negotiable wealth

In a contemporary context, the principle of land not being negotiable wealth was demonstrated to a moderate degree in Kāinga Tuatahi and a low degree at Earthsong (see Figures 4.26 and 5.44).

The commodification of housing

Chapter four (section 4.8) argued that in socially-based tenure, societies tended to hold a non-commodified view of housing. That view largely stemmed from a whakapapa connection to land and the indivisibility of individual rights to collective resources. To



an extent, this notion has been erased in contemporary society, particularly in relation to housing and property. Chapter four noted how a primary motivator for establishing Kāinga Tuatahi was to enable whānau to attain home ownership and potentially move up the property ladder. Importantly, though, the houses themselves have been managed separately from the land, which is retained in tribal ownership in perpetuity. Residents are also subject to capped sale prices, at least in the first 15 years, in an attempt to limit residents from exploiting potential capital gain. Chapter five explained how at Earthsong, on the other hand, while residents tend to value the social capital more so than the financial capital from their homes, sale prices of units are not capped and are open to market influences. Residents, on reflection, suggested that perhaps more thought could have been given to the financial model and how it would operate on an ongoing basis, but at the time (i.e. planning and construction), priorities were firmly set on being able to complete construction.

New models of ownership

New models of ownership could valuably inform an alternative approach to housing which places less emphasis on the commodification of resources. Recent legislation in Aotearoa New Zealand such as Te Urewera Act 2014 set a global precedent in granting Te Urewera legal personhood, recognising Te Urewera as having an identity (Ruru, 2014). Three years later, Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017 did the same, granting the Whanganui River legal personhood with two appointed guardians to act and speak for and on behalf of Te Awa Tupua (Ruru, 2018). Matunga (2017) suggests the same principle could be applied to land and papakāinga, where the whenua could also assume personhood. In a practical sense, the land could have representatives who act on behalf of the land. This could potentially foster a significant mindset shift from ownership to kaitiakitanga or stewardship, if the land is recognised as having its own personality.

However, establishing or incorporating new models of entitlement and ownership alone are not enough: change also needs to affect how entitlement and ownership are justified, facilitated and validated. Fraser uses the terms 'affirmative remedies' and



‘transformative remedies’ to explain the difference between changing an outcome alone, or changing an outcome by changing the processes underpinning it:

By affirmative remedies for injustice I mean remedies aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying framework that generates them. By transformative remedies, in contrast, I mean remedies aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes precisely by restructuring the underlying generative framework. The nub of the contrast is end-state outcomes versus the processes that produce them (Fraser, 1995, p. 82).

Individual or private ownership is typically seen as a panacea. The ownership model tells us that private ownership is ‘good’, and those who are not in private ownership (such as renters, homeless and those in social housing) are treated with suspicion (Blomley, 2004). Similarly, financial structures are often established in ways which perpetuate an ideal of utopianism being individualisation. While collectivism as an outcome offers a range of useful benefits as outlined in the sections above, the institutional and organisational structures supporting them must also change for them to be successful. The necessity for change extends beyond financial frameworks, and also includes ownership models and cadastral structures. Section 6.2 introduced the example of the hybrid partition, a conglomeration of legislative tools used to enable a whānau development which accords with socially-based principles. These and other legal workarounds could be helpfully collated for use as viable tools in other developments. Similarly, ownership models for collectives including unit title subdivision, leasehold subdivision, cooperatives, company structures, Community Land Trusts and more could be collected in a central database. Simplifying the wide range of options available and being able to easily identify the inherent strengths and benefits of each could usefully reduce the challenge of this complexity to facilitating collective developments.

6.4.7 Principle 7 – The very long-term is recognised

In a contemporary context, a long-term perspective was considered to be demonstrated to a moderate degree in both Kāinga Tuatahi and Earthsong (see Figures 4.28 and 5.45). Each community displayed a long-term perspective in different ways. At Earthsong, it



tended to be through residents' aspirations for environmental sustainability and limiting their environmental footprint. At Kāinga Tuatahi, while some environmentally-focused solutions were incorporated into the development (and residents liked those aspects, such as stormwater swales), these were largely prescribed by local authorities. Resident-led applications of a long-term perspective centred more on decision-making processes and the general reasoning behind most decisions was based on the children and future generations. In either case, be it Earthsong's environmental focus or Kāinga Tuatahi's intergenerational thinking, both communities shared an altruistic mindset, where decisions paid particular consideration to other things or other people, rather than themselves.

Long-term thinking was also strongly applied in one of the supplementary cases, Sættedammen (see Box 5.3), where homes were built with the foresight to enable physical household changes over time. New developments here could benefit from this kind of innovation in long-term thinking to ensure residents can continue to build strong community relationships over time, particularly after the majority of the construction is completed.

6.5 The critical success factors

The aim of this thesis is to find out how principles of socially-based tenure are applied in modern housing developments, and how they could be applied even more. Based on literature on communal tenures, seven principles were posited and provided the framework for analysis of contemporary developments. The previous section, along with chapters four and five, considered how these principles are applied and facilitated in different ways in papakāinga and cohousing developments, with insights from other communities and models nationally and internationally. Data from residents' lived experiences, as well as the comparisons outlined in the previous section, were then iteratively coded to deduce four key themes or lessons which are seen as critical to the successful application of socially-based tenure principles in modern development. These are framed below, drawing on a metaphor from Māori cosmogony.



6.5.1 A metaphor: He rākau whai hua (The social tenure tree)

The successful application of socially-based tenure principles could be framed using a metaphor of plant growth, drawing from Māori cosmogony. Many Māori creation narratives describe the creation of life as a transition from darkness into light. The starting point, Te Korekore, literally translates as ‘the nothing’ or ‘the void’, but perhaps is more aptly described as ‘the realm of potential being’:

Te Korekore is the realm between non-being and being: that is, the realm of potential being. This is the realm of primal, elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seed-stuff of the universe and all created things gestate. It is the womb from which all things proceed (Marsden, 2003, p. 20).

From Te Korekore comes Te Pō, the realm of becoming where life is conceived and begins to grow, before the emergence into Te Ao Mārama, the world of light and the realm of being (Marsden, 2003). Different whakapapa describe the transition from darkness to light to convey ideas of cause and growth, often employing metaphors such as plant growth (e.g. Buck, 1949, p. 435; Reed, 2004, p. 7), birth (e.g. Marsden, 2003, p. 21), or the emergence of conscious thought (e.g. Reed, 2004, p. 5). Here, I have adapted Buck’s (1949) interpretation of the plant growth metaphor as a way of framing four key themes or lessons from this thesis, to encapsulate the ideas of cause and growth as they relate to elements of socially-based tenure. This feeds into the overarching premise and title of this thesis, being that communities can be conceptualised in ecological terms.

While sources vary as to the exact steps or stages within the different metaphors, Buck (1949, p. 435) is clear that variations and additions are possible when he lists the following five stages in his plant growth metaphor: Te Pū (root, case); Te Weu (rootlets); Te More (taproot); Te Aka (vine); and Te Tipuranga (growth). I have adapted the first four stages to frame four key lessons or findings from this thesis (see Figure 6.4 below), on the premise that their application will then enable the fifth stage, Te Tipuranga (growth) to occur. Collectively, these elements are shown in my conceptual model, *He rākau whai hua*, to mean the social tenure tree.



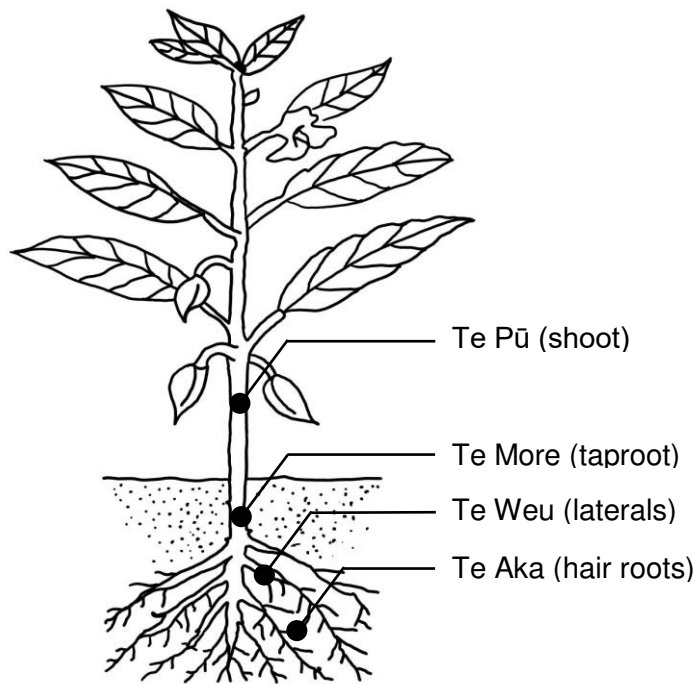


Figure 6.4: He rākau whai hua (the social tenure tree)⁸¹, illustrating four key components of applying principles of socially-based tenure in contemporary development, draws on the metaphor of plant growth from Māori creation narratives (drawing: author).

6.5.2 Stage one: Te Pū (the shoot)

In the first stage of growth, Te Pū, represents the source, base or foundation of growth and potential. In the context of socially-based tenure, this reflects the need for the group or collective to have a strong core throughout the different stages of community development. First, the group needs a strong core in the sense of a cohesion factor, whether that is whakapapa or some other common bond, vision or ideology to bind the group. Alongside this is a core set of values or principles which guide the group. If residents share these same values or principles, then often smaller conflicts or disagreements within the group can be resolved more easily. Importantly, those values or principles need to be made explicit so that new residents are aware of the priorities of the group they choose to join.

Second, the group needs a core group of residents that are wedded to the values, principles or ideology. That strong core can then act as a driving force in the community

⁸¹ *He rākau whai hua* more closely translates to 'the fruit bearing tree'. I have adopted the phrase to the context of socially-based tenure, whereby the fruits produced by the tree are the many benefits of socially-based development outlined in this thesis.



and support less enthusiastic members. As different residents move in and out over time, the dynamic of the community is constantly in a state of flux. If there is a strong core group of residents, the original values, principles or ideology are more likely to survive and persist.⁸² That is not to say that the community must not be adaptive; rather, that there needs to be a core connection or commonality to bind individuals in the group so that if the values or principles or ideology changes, that it can only really change collectively.

Third, the core group requires access to an equally strong or capable core network of consultants and professionals. Both papakāinga and cohousing are seen as novel or alternative models of housing, and as such, there is a limited network of professionals with experience working on and facilitating approaches like these which challenge the status quo. Without either a strong core resident group (almost to the point of being dictatorial) or a strong consultant group in support of alternatives, the development risks falling into 'typical' and common development processes, diluting the innovation or uniqueness in either model. Upskilling more professionals to be experienced and knowledgeable in alternative modes of development would be a positive implication, such that these alternatives can eventually become part of a new status quo.

6.5.3 Stage two: Te More (the taproot)

The second stage of growth is represented by Te More, or the taproot. While Te Pū (the shoot) signified the basis or foundation for growth, Te More represents the main root of the plant. In the context of socially-based tenure principles, Te More signifies mahi, or work. In particular, the ability for residents to invest physical work into their homes and communities helps to anchor residents in that community, similar to how the taproot anchors a plant to the ground. While other forms of work can also provide an anchor

⁸² Belich (2007, p. 414) uses the analogy of sandcastles to conceptualise this idea of a strong core from the context of European settlers establishing communities in New Zealand: "People struggled to build communal sandcastles against the repeated ebb and flow of both arrivals and departures, which often washed away their embryonic efforts."



for residents (such as creative or symbolic work), physical work offers stronger cohesive bonds and therefore can more strongly bind residents to place.

Primarily, the work principle suggests that if homes and neighbourhoods are left unfinished to some degree, this can create opportunities for residents to invest physical work in order to complete them, as well as chances to build bonds with their homes and fellow neighbours. As discussed in chapter five, during the construction of Earthsong, the first building contractors went into liquidation. Importantly, this meant that the residents at the time had to physically construct portions of the shared infrastructure such as the swales and driveways in order to complete the development. This proved to be a particularly strong team-building aspect of the development, and is perhaps one of the closest modern interpretations of a return to a 'survival incentive': residents had to build the infrastructure themselves or the development would not be completed and they would not be able to move into their new homes.

6.5.4 Stage three: Te Weu (the laterals)

The third stage of growth is represented by Te Weu, or the lateral roots. Lateral (or secondary) roots tend to grow horizontally from the primary root. Like the taproot, laterals similarly serve to anchor plants to the ground. In the context of socially-based tenure, Te Weu posits that the community is not completed when construction is finished. Rather, there should be a variety of mechanisms that allow for community members to continue to build and strengthen their roots in the community on an ongoing basis. This relates to elements of both the physical architecture and social architecture (see section 6.3.5 below).

Attachment to place involves the development of roots, connections that stabilize and create a feeling of comfort and security...(Rivlin, 1987, p. 13).

Physical work can provide opportunities through the upkeep of homes and shared spaces after construction to enable residents to continue to strengthen roots linking them to the community. As noted in section 6.4.3, residents at Earthsong describe their monthly meetings as being just as much about building friendships and trust as they are about attending to practical community matters. This is particularly important for



residents who join the community after construction is completed, and who have not had the ability to input to the design and build of the community (and therefore, have not yet developed the initial anchor roots). Initiatives such as Sættedammen's modular construction (and others noted above and in prior chapters) could provide inspiration for enabling residents to have greater input in shaping and re-shaping their homes post-construction, over and above minor cosmetic or decorative changes, or aspects of symbolic work (paying someone such as a builder).

6.5.5 Stage four: Te Aka (the hair roots)

The fourth stage of growth is represented by Te Aka, the hair roots. While the taproot and lateral roots help anchor a plant, the hair roots absorb water and minerals in order to help plants grow. This signifies what I term 'the social mortgage', which relates to the social milieu of the community and which helps the community to grow and thrive. The social milieu (or social architecture) includes the framework for formal gatherings (such as full community meetings, shared cooking evenings, or a working bee), as well as informal interactions (such as running into a neighbour on the footpath). These elements are often intangible, particularly in comparison to the physical architecture, and so are easily missed or overlooked.

The term 'social mortgage' seeks to modernise the traditional notion of a duality of rights and responsibilities in communities. Traditionally, individuals were required to contribute to the collective or risk exclusion from the group. Exclusion was a strong threat to members of proximity-based communities. In a contemporary context however, exclusion from the group does not carry the same threat as it did previously as individuals can secure membership of non-geographic groups such as sports clubs or church groups. Rather than the threat of exclusion as was the case in the past, residents today can make social 'payments' to fulfil their responsibilities in order for *gain*; for access to social capital, to shared resources and to socialisation.⁸³

⁸³ Although unlike financial mortgages, the social mortgage is not expected to lapse after, say, 25 or 30 years.



A strong social mortgage or social architecture on its own cannot create community. Instead, similar to the physical architecture, a social mortgage can help *facilitate* community. This could be by providing the conditions to enable community building, as well as working to make socialisation and elements of trust and friendship building occur unconsciously. This demands a whole-of-life planning (particularly for the settlement phase of a community, beyond construction and beyond the 'honeymoon period' after residents first move in), rather than planning centred only on design and construction. Examples of social architectures which have developed at Earthsong and Kāinga Tuatahi introduced in chapters four and five included:

- Social norms, cues and behaviours to more easily manage the appropriate or desired levels of socialisation;
- Communication networks, mainly through Facebook or email;
- Meetings (formal and informal, with the full group or portions of the group);
- Events, such as birthday parties, Halloween and Christmas; and
- Earthsong's communication agreements.

6.5.6 Stage five: Te Tipuranga (growth)

The final stage is called Te Tipuranga, and represents the plant or tree growth. In the context of social tenure, I suggest that incorporating the four stages above has the potential to enable social sustainability in a community to thrive and flourish. However, as alluded to in section 6.2.6 above, while the internal community elements can be strong, wider institutional frameworks and structures must be able to facilitate alternative development modes (that is, the environment in which the social tenure tree is planted). Financial structures, planning regulations and insurance frameworks are just some examples of the wider housing development system that may need changing to support and encourage alternative forms of development. In particular, a kaitiakitanga or stewardship approach (rather than ownership) has the potential to realise and strengthen relationships with land and places, in contrast to a perspective based on commodification. A secondary property market which removes the financialisation of housing and explicitly focuses on relationships (with land and with people) could offer a distinctly Aotearoa/New Zealand approach to housing.



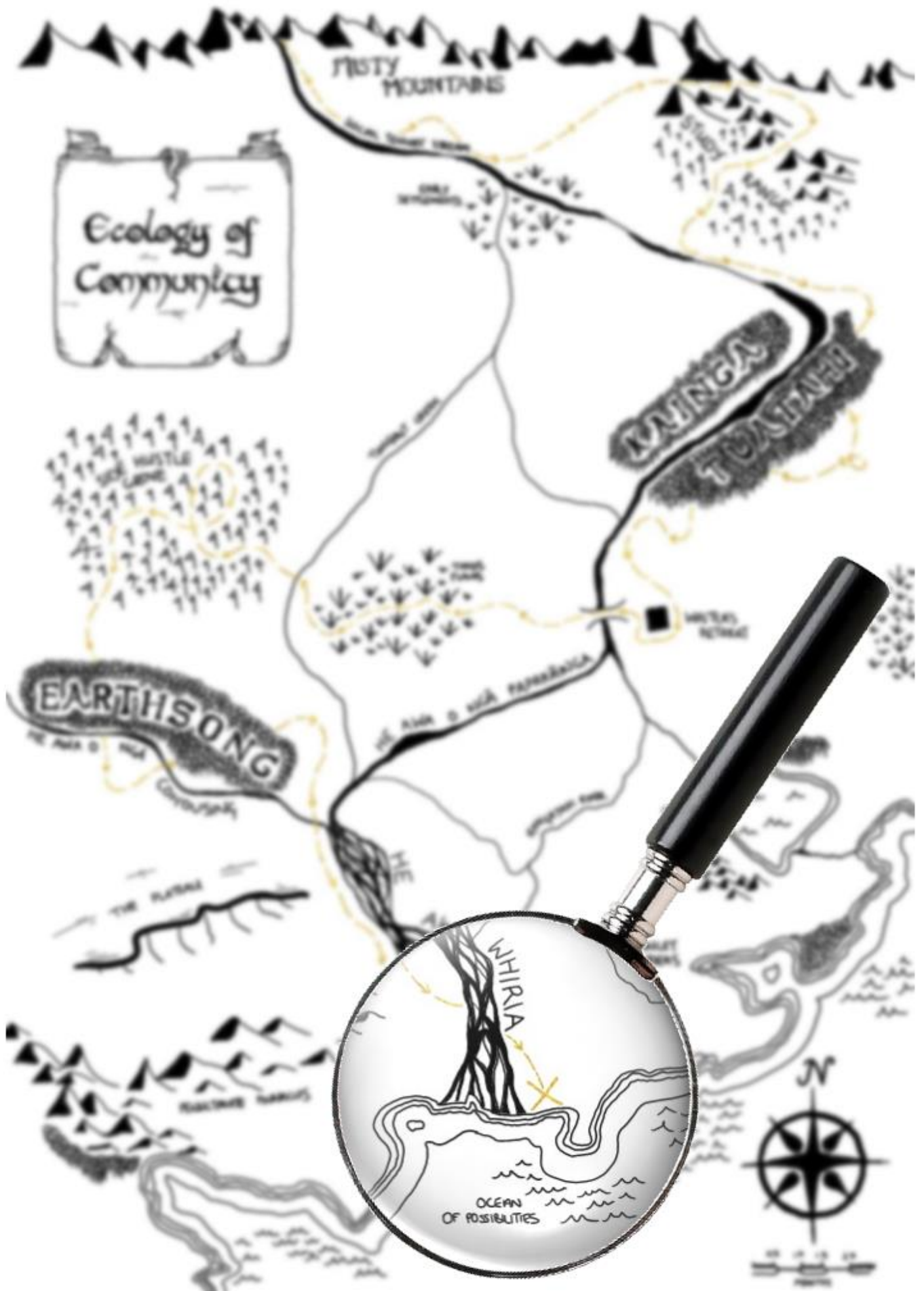
6.6 Summary

This chapter compared and contrasted applications of socially-based tenure principles in contemporary, urban papakāinga and cohousing communities. The two models shared similarities across a number of principles, such as their emphasis on group membership and a recognition of the long-term. The two also exhibited contrasting approaches to some elements of social tenure such as the different types of work undertaken, and the time and intensity of place-based links. Synthesising those comparisons, as well as the observations in the previous two chapters, this chapter concluded with a conceptual model: *He rākau whai hua*, or the social tenure tree. Based on a metaphor from Māori cosmogony, the tree encompasses what I perceive to be the most critical elements of a contemporary approach to housing that incorporates principles of socially-based tenure. In combination, these elements have the potential to bear the fruits of success of socially-based systems. This leads to the following and final chapter, where this conceptual model is distilled into concrete recommendations for day-to-day planning and administration.





CHAPTER SEVEN



Chapter 7 – Whiria: Beyond the braiding

Mā te rongō, ka mōhio; mā te mōhio, ka mārama;

Mā te mārama, ka mātau; mā te mātau, ka ora.

Through perception comes knowledge; from knowledge comes understanding;

From understanding comes wisdom; and from wisdom comes well-being (Māori proverb).

The previous chapter compared and contrasted applications of socially-based tenure in papakāinga and cohousing cases. Metaphorically, the chapter signified the braiding of different knowledge streams in this thesis and brought elements of analysis together for a more collective understanding.

This final chapter represents the river beyond the braiding where the sometimes chaotic converging and diverging of the different knowledge streams has ceased and the awa begins to flow forward as one collective body of water. This signifies the key elements of the thesis beginning to be understood as part of a unified whole. As the river opens to the broad expanse of the ocean, so too does this chapter reflect on the wider implications of the research, as well as potential future research directions, in the hope that any or some of these ideas can contribute to meaningful change for Māori collectives, as well as housing communities more generally. The whakatauki beginning this chapter encapsulates the evolution that this thesis hopes to contribute to: from perception to knowledge, to understanding, to wisdom and ultimately, to wellbeing.

This chapter begins by revisiting the aims and objectives of the thesis, followed by a synopsis of the preceding seven chapters and how those chapters address the aims and objectives. Next, the chapter outlines the key findings from this thesis, distilling the conceptual model of *he rākau whai hua* into concrete policy recommendations as an outcome of this research. Finally, limitations and delimitations of the findings and associated recommendations are discussed, as well as areas for future research.

7.1 Retrospective summary

7.1.1 Research aims and objectives

The overarching aim of this thesis has been to explore principles of socially-based tenure and how these are manifested in contemporary developments nationally and internationally. From this aim stemmed four research objectives:

1. Identify principles of socially-based tenure.
2. Examine how (and to what extent) socially-based tenure principles are realised in urban papakāinga and cohousing developments nationally and internationally.
3. Identify and assess existing mechanisms used to facilitate socially-based tenure principles in contemporary developments.
4. Consider the implications of socially-based tenure principles on the wider urban housing spectrum in New Zealand.

The following synopsis outlines how the preceding chapters each contributed towards the research objectives.

7.1.2 Thesis synopsis

Chapter two described the evolution of Māori housing and society from traditional communally-based settlement through a period of land loss, urbanisation and individualisation following contact with European settlers. This background contextualised the contemporary state of Māori housing and justified the current backlash of Māori housing initiatives being observed. Building on Goodwin's argument that individualisation has separated the strands of socially-based tenure, this raises the question of whether tradition-based principles can be reintroduced to strengthen contemporary communities. On this basis and in response to the first research objective, I offered a list of seven principles considered to underpin socially-based societies (and particularly, traditional Māori kāinga). This provided the framework for the study: how do those tradition-based principles inform modern developments led by Māori? Given that such developments invited parallels with alternative housing models such as cohousing, a comparative approach was justified.

In order to understand how best to proceed with this research, chapter three explained my understanding and assumptions concerning the nature of reality, and knowledge. These assumptions have shaped the approach that I have taken to shed light on the research objectives, and identify the limits and the potential reach of any findings. The chapter introduced *he awa whiria* as the conceptual model for my methodological approach, as a blending of Western and Indigenous streams of knowledge. This braided river concept supported a mixed-methods approach to collecting data about residents' relationships and lived experiences in urban papakāinga and cohousing communities, and formed the basis of the next two chapters, which explored each of the two models.

Chapter four represented a journey down the first awa, examining contemporary applications of socially-based tenure principles in relation to papakāinga. This chapter addressed the second and third research objectives by exploring how (and to what extent) principles of socially-based tenure are applied in urban papakāinga, and the mechanisms by which papakāinga can be facilitated. Kāinga Tuatahi, a recent development in central Auckland provided the main lens of analysis for this chapter, with supplementary ideas from other relevant urban papakāinga from around New Zealand to further support (or question) claims. The seven principles in chapter two provided the framework for this chapter. While each principle was observed to an extent in a modern papakāinga context, it was still unclear as to whether socially-based principles were notably enhancing contemporary communities.

Chapter five followed a similar template to chapter four, representing a journey down the second awa by exploring applications of socially-based tenure principles but in relation to cohousing communities. This was also in response to the second and third research objectives, but from the perspective of urban cohousing (and some other related models). Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood was the main vehicle of analysis, supplemented with comments from international cohousing communities and other relevant housing models where appropriate. This second awa demonstrated many of the principles in a different light (perhaps attributed to a wider body of literature dedicated to cohousing principles and practices from which contemporary developments had been able to draw), and offered potential value for comparisons, both

to offer lessons to newer urban papakāinga but also to tease out any cultural nuances that may be unique to the cohousing or papakāinga models respectively.

Chapter six embodied the braiding or blending of the two case study chapters, contributing to the second objective by comparing the papakāinga and cohousing approaches to socially-based tenure, as well as the third objective by comparing the ownership models by which each is facilitated. The two models shared similar approaches to a number of principles such as their requirements for group membership and a recognition of the long-term, but differed on matters such as the type and frequency of work undertaken, and duration and intensity of place-based links. The chapter concluded with *he rākau whai hua*, a conceptual model positing four key findings or critical success factors for fostering community building in housing, returning to the notion of residential development as an ecological system.

This chapter, chapter seven concludes the thesis and responds to the final objective, in considering the implications of socially-based tenure principles on housing development generally, along with recommendations and suggestions for future research.

7.1.3 Applied findings

This research led to four main findings, described as the critical success factors for applying socially-based tenure principles in modern housing projects. The four factors included a strong core, ongoing community building, a work principle, and a social mortgage, and together, these elements were conceptualised as *he rākau whai hua* or the social tenure tree. This tree sits within a legislative, financial and political environment within which housing and development operates, and these features have practical implications for housing and communities at a local, national and international scale.

In greater detail, the first theme to emerge from the analysis was the need for a strong core. While whakapapa is a strong binding factor for papakāinga communities, the findings suggest that comparable bonds may form among residents who do not share a common ancestry through shared ideology, aspirations or other commonalities

(although these may require a deliberate strategy to promote group cohesion). Similarly, the 'older' cohousing developments demonstrated that if at least a core group of residents are wedded to a shared ideology or commonality, that binding factor can persist over time and even survive residents leaving and new residents arriving.

The second theme to emerge was the idea that a community is always a 'work-in-progress'. While a strong binding factor was important, the notion that the community is never finished was also expressed strongly in the research findings and analysis. Often, housing and land development is perceived to have concluded at the completion of construction, but in socially-based communities, the community is never at an end.⁸⁴ The design and implementation of the social architecture of the community is less tangible than that of the physical architecture, and can therefore be overlooked. A lesson from cohousing communities is in danger of being overlooked: the importance of ongoing investment to consciously implement, develop and improve the social milieu.

The third theme to emerge from the analysis was a work principle. Findings, particularly from the cohousing communities, suggest that physical work was perceived as a major influence on building strong interpersonal relationships within the community, as well as forging strong personal links to place. This follows the notion above, that the community is not finished after the construction is finished. An ongoing investment in physical work motivates residents to connect with each other and contribute to shaping their living environment into the future.

The fourth theme to emerge was described as the 'social mortgage'. The term draws on a generalised understanding of the term 'mortgage' from a financial basis, where ongoing payments are required for an asset. Similarly, a social mortgage requires ongoing 'payments' by residents to retain and foster their rights within the community. Those obligations can range from contributing physical work, contributing to collective

⁸⁴ For example, in the context of Communal Areas in Zimbabwe, Goodwin (2007, p. 332) describes how lobola (bride-wealth) is a mechanism for creating reciprocal obligations: "*Lobola* is often drawn out for as long as possible, to prolong reciprocal ties (*italics in original*). Also, "Where there is a debt there is a relationship" (Vijfhuizen, 2002, as cited in Goodwin, 2007, p. 332).

duties, or simply by maintaining cordial relations with others through the use of social norms and behaviours. Unlike a financial mortgage though, the social mortgage does not lapse after, say, a 25-year period; it is indeterminate.

He rākau whai hua posits that when these four key themes are present, the tree has the necessary conditions for growth (and for producing ‘fruit’ or socially-based benefits). That being said, the tree is rooted in a financial, regulatory and political environment in which housing and development operates, which also has implications on the ability of the tree to flourish. In this thesis, I have predominantly focused on internal applications of socially-based tenure principles in communities and the ways in which communities themselves allow (or inhibit) those principles to function. Further research into socially-based tenure principles might usefully focus on the influence of the ‘environment’ surrounding the tree, including more factors external to the community.

7.2 Research contributions

Beyond the practical findings outlined above, this thesis also offers conceptual, methodological and scholarly contributions to the field of papakāinga development, cohousing, and housing in general. This thesis offers the first in-depth study directly comparing papakāinga and cohousing communities. In particular, the thesis contributes residents’ lived experiences and accounts from the two housing models. The limited literature that does exist for both models tends to be provided from an aspirational or visioning perspective, rather than a reflection or evaluation of material accounts.

The thesis also offers a conceptual contribution by applying *he awa whiria* (a model originating from an educational context) to a study of the built environment. In its original context, the framework links Indigenous and non-Indigenous approaches to education, but can similarly be applied to housing (as is trialled here), or other contexts where an Indigenous and non-Indigenous comparison has value.

Furthermore, this thesis offers scholarly contributions on notions of home-making, community membership, as well as the opportunity for ‘conceptual export’ of many of these ideas. These contributions are noted in more detail in the subsections below.

7.2.1 Membership and its relationship to property, land and housing

The thesis raises the question of membership (and of belonging to a specific group or intentional community), and how that membership relates to property, land, and housing. In papakāinga, membership stems from an ingrained identity based on kinship and ancestry. On the other hand, membership in cohousing and other intentional communities is by application and a group identity can form, over time, based on the pursuit of common ideals, values, or kaupapa. Despite these differences, the findings of the research suggest that comparably strong bonds could be forged between kaupapa-based whānau and whakapapa-based whānau.

The importance of membership and belonging creates a unique dynamic for those whose bonds to place are perhaps not as strong as other members in the community. This could be the case for taura here, or domestic migrants who are living away from their ancestral homelands (for instance, partners or spouses who themselves, are from a different home place), or for whānau Māori who had lived away from their rohe and were in the process of returning (and therefore reconnecting or re-establishing those bonds that may have weakened from their absence). Similarly, length of tenure can influence how strong membership bonds may be, as was seen with the ‘pioneers’ at Earthsong compared to newer residents moving in. Identity and belonging are fluid, unique, and subjective. The many ways and means of belonging should be recognised, supported, and enacted in a range of ways to build shared ontological relationships among members (such as pairing new residents with a ‘buddy’ household when they move in, or annual celebrations to mark the hard work of the original residents).

7.2.2 The many ways in which place becomes home

Notions of home and home-making are grounded in deeper conceptualisations of place. Indigenous place-based relationships are tied up in cultural landscapes and narratives which stand as markers or indicators of identity, and which are inherently linked through time (both to the past and future). This speaks to the importance of understanding whakapapa and of cultural landscapes as mechanisms of identity in a housing context. Importantly, non-Indigenous people can belong or feel a sense of place in resonant ways to Indigenous peoples. The notion of home being a ‘safe haven’, where

residents have autonomy and are free to do and act as they wish is explicitly linked to identity. Housing, then, has a distinct opportunity for all communities to not just provide physical shelter, but to act as a vehicle for social, cultural and psychological shelter as well.

7.2.3 Housing: subverting or perpetuating the status quo?

At face value, both papakāinga and cohousing models seem to perpetuate the status quo. The two models are hedged within a wider system of property and settler-development patterns which expressly prioritise a different set of values (primarily, individualism). As a result, the potential for cohousing and papakāinga to subvert the system is somewhat constrained and both models largely succeed in being created by adapting or moulding their processes to fit within established systems and frameworks (such as resource consent processes, building certification standards and so on). They rely on architects, planners and other built environment professionals throughout planning and construction processes, and given that there is not yet a pool of established professionals working with alternative housing models, such developments are inevitably consciously and unconsciously perpetuating elements of the status quo. Cohousing also tends to be systems-maintaining about commodification of housing, often allowing individual homeowners to reap any capital gain. Despite this though, both models do appear to subvert some aspects of dominant property regimes.

Papakāinga and cohousing are subversive in the sense that both models place emphasis on networked relations (both with other people and with place). Conventional property development typically recognises the owner and the subject (e.g. the land) as being in a relationship of belonging. Papakāinga and cohousing communities, on the other hand, legitimise social, temporal, and cultural relationships as being equally (if not more) important. Specifically, papakāinga housing has the potential to act as a vehicle for re-affirming cultural identity and an ontological sense of place. This subversion is covert; it exists outside of the networks and relations of property recognised by dominant development regimes. However, the potential exists for these and other alternative development models to continue to incrementally challenge what is seen as 'conventional' development.

7.2.4 The opportunity for 'conceptual export'

This study is based primarily on two case studies, both located in Auckland, New Zealand. Nevertheless, some of the findings have wider relevance and could inform developments in other urban centres and in rural settings. This section outlines the possibilities for extending the research findings, first for papakāinga and then for cohousing.

For Kāinga Tuatahi, the potential for transferring the lessons depends in part on whether or not papakāinga are located on ancestral land. Many of the benefits of Kāinga Tuatahi related to tribal members connecting and re-connecting with their ancestral lands and wider cultural landscapes, and these themes of connection and re-connection could reasonably apply to papakāinga located on ancestral land anywhere. For urban Māori whose ancestral lands are not located in an urban centre – as was the case for Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei – one option for reconnection would be to relocate, but there were also lessons about the notion of papakāinga as a way of living together and of living as Māori that could apply to urban Māori living away from their ancestral land. For example, spouses who were taura here, or domestic migrants, showed that it is possible for Māori to embrace a papakāinga style of living on their 'kāinga rua', or home away from their own ancestral home. Engaging with mana whenua, learning their stories and narratives, and getting involved in the local marae community can help to 'centre' taura here in areas they do not hold a whakapapa connection to.

Lessons from Earthsong, where there is no prior whakapapa connection to land or landscapes, could also reasonably translate to cohousing communities located elsewhere. Often the land for cohousing communities is selected pragmatically, based on factors such as parcel size or proximity to public transport. As a result, many of the lessons from Earthsong (such as the importance of a binding factor or the dynamics of length of tenure) are not site-specific and could reasonably transfer to groups and communities in other contexts.

Overall, the findings are generally compatible with existing literature on cohousing and papakāinga development (viewed separately), although my study provides evidence

for further comparative studies with the potential for similar models to learn from one another. By encouraging other “alternative models” to consider the suite of socially-based tenure principles, and in particular, those highlighted by *he rākau whai hua*, these lessons could improve the nature of housing more generally, and in ways that focus more explicitly on community and social sustainability.

7.3 Limitations and delimitations

This study has a number of limitations and delimitations that must be considered, further to those already discussed in section 3.4 above. For example, resident interviews concentrated essentially on a snapshot in time at each community or case study site. As such, some of the findings are affected by any matters affecting the particular community at that time. To balance this, other aspects of development are inevitably only explored retrospectively, such as the design and construction phases. Such retrospective research places reliance on participant recall, as well as the availability and accessibility of project documentation. With the availability of time and funding, and the ability to liaise with communities earlier in the development process, longitudinal studies could perhaps more accurately track resident perspectives throughout the life of the community and more precisely map areas of strengths and weaknesses.

Similarly, case study research often results in a trade-off between breadth and depth of inquiry. In this instance, I have taken a more extensive rather than intensive approach to canvas a wider range of housing models, as opposed to studying one case in isolation. Likewise, I opted to explore socially-based tenure principles generally as opposed to focusing on one principle in isolation. As a result, the findings may present more of a superficial view than an intensive, isolated study. This was a conscious decision to explore multiple models and multiple principles. As noted earlier, a cross-case approach was considered beneficial for its potential to more easily discern patterns which may be overlooked or taken-for-granted in a case in isolation. For instance, a latent or covert finding in one case may present more obviously in a different context, and which then renders the finding visible in the first. Further, this research sought to advance knowledge in relation to socially-based tenure principles holistically. Subsequent

research might now delve further into individual principles with a clearer understanding of how those principles relate to the wider social tenure framework.

Logistically, this thesis presented challenges by virtue of my location in relation to the primary case study sites. I have been based in Dunedin (in the south of New Zealand) for the majority of this research, whereas Kāinga Tuatahi and Earthsong are located in Auckland (in the north). While accessible via a direct flight of less than two hours, being based in a separate city to the case study site has made it more challenging to build and foster relationships with participants. In a way, this resonates with those research findings describing the physical community design (sociopetal and sociofugal), in that neither creates relationships itself, but a sociofugal design requires a more conscious approach to relationship building. Similarly, while it has not been impossible for me to foster a sense of whanaungatanga with research participants, it has required significantly more forward-planning to schedule flights and visits than if I were located in the same city and could visit more frequently. The flipside, however, is that a level of separation from the sites and the region generally has allowed me to approach the main case study sites with some level of objectivity.

Beyond limitations of the research, this thesis also has delimitations, or boundaries within which the research is relevant. Mostly obviously, the thesis is delimited by the spatial context of these sites (i.e. urban contexts). Given the high proportion of Māori residing in urban areas, I considered a specific urban focus to be justifiable, despite the abundance of papakāinga existing in rural contexts. While some findings relating to the social architecture of communities may translate, design aspects in particular will differ in rural settings with respect to density and provision of space and are worthy of dedicated study themselves. Tane (2018) generously contributes to the evolving discussion including rural papakāinga, and further research can helpfully work to resolve to 'reclaim the pā' across all spatial contexts.

Similarly, while this thesis focuses on the urban setting, resident units were typically restricted to medium-density homes (up to six storeys). Arguably, taller buildings (i.e. where units are ordered predominantly in the vertical dimension than the horizontal

dimension) are subject to a different set of design challenges to encourage community building living above one another rather than next door. Taller buildings and developments such as 8 House in Copenhagen⁸⁵ are helping to reconceptualise the notion of the street in higher density buildings but further research is required to understand how sociality and socially-based tenure principles could enhance (or be enhanced in) higher density development.

7.4 Recommendations

This section outlines the main recommendations and policy implications to come out of this research. The section presents recommendations in four parts: for Māori collectives, for housing collectives generally, for built environment professionals, and for future research.

7.4.1 For Māori collectives

Recommendation: Disseminate learnings more widely

It has become apparent that there is a lack of appreciation of other communities that could be improved by better sharing of lessons (see section 4.6.5, for instance). Interviewees also expressed a desire for the learnings from Kāinga Tuatahi itself to be shared with other Ngāti Whātua whānau, who perhaps did not realise the work and sacrifice taken by residents to secure a home. While this happens to an extent (for instance, Auckland Council produced a series of videos documenting the planning and construction of the development), these tend to focus on the technical elements of the build.

Similarly, Māori collectives could benefit from establishing working relationships with built environment professionals, as well as other Māori collectives. For instance, an informal spinoff from this research has seen Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei Whai Rawa Limited being introduced to the parties involved with the Hamilton Kaumātua Village. Such

⁸⁵ The building gradually increases in height, with the sloping aspect enabling a cycling path to be constructed running from ground level to the penthouses, winding in the vertical dimension as it would around a standard urban block. For further information, see <https://www.archdaily.com/83307/8-house-big>

connections could be helpfully formalised in more instances like this. In this case, the relationships have enabled reciprocal lessons and processes to be shared. Whai Rawa are currently implementing some of the lessons from the Kaumātua Village with respect to their own kaumātua housing project. Similarly, lessons from Kāinga Tuatahi are being adapted by Te Runanga o Kirikiriroa with a new housing project in Hamilton East. This whanaungatanga is reminiscent of the tuakana-teina relationship described between cohousing and papakāinga, and formalising mentorship opportunities such as these could help to further strengthen new Māori housing builds and to streamline the process for the development of new urban papakāinga.

Recommendation: Train in-house iwi practitioners

Following on from this, recommendations for Māori collectives include exploring the potential to upskill tribal members in the built environment professions. A selection of Māori practitioners with the cultural competency to engage with Māori collectives could further streamline processes. The Kāinga Tuatahi development was fortunate to be led and managed by Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei and their commercial development arm. For whānau-led papakāinga (more of a bottom-up approach) without access to the same resource base, whānau could potentially benefit from access to iwi-trained built environment professionals who can act as a conduit combining cultural competency and technical skill to support whānau, hapū and iwi Māori aspirations.

7.4.2 For housing collectives generally

Recommendation: Consciously establish a common bond

Chapter six explained how a cohesion factor such as whakapapa or shared ideals is a critical core factor for group cohesion. This shared commonality has the effect of creating a purposeful collective of individuals, rather than an 'accidental aggregate', which has both short and long-term benefits for the collective. Resident collectives should spend time at the beginning of a project to clarify and make explicit what that collective vision or factor is to bind the group together moving forward and guide their decision-making into future. The collective binding could be whakapapa (such as at Kāinga Tuatahi), or some other strong motivating factor such as an environmental ethic (like at Earthsong), or even a combination of both. Importantly, and distinctively, the whakapapa bond is

not voluntary. A non-whakapapa cohesion factor needs to be similarly strongly weighted such that residents cannot easily opt-out as preferences or moods change.

Post-construction, explicit attention needs to be given to the culture of the community on an ongoing basis. Shared and communal aspects of living like this can require a mindset shift for some people, particularly those who have lived in more individualised settings. Sufficient time and energy should be focused on support and ‘initiation’ processes for new residents (e.g. assigning new resident whānau a ‘buddy’ whānau whom they can ask any questions of, and who checks that they are settling in), particularly if they are not accustomed to this particular type of living.

Recommendation: Provide ongoing opportunities for work and for strengthening ties

Housing collectives could benefit from leaving aspects of physical work incomplete, for community members to finish off themselves. The scope of work would need to be balanced by the level of risk that is acceptable (for instance, impediments to overcome would include achieving compliance with Building Codes and ensuring future workmanship is carried out to an acceptable standard). Incorporated successfully, physical work practices could have the potential to produce strong social bonds between community members that cannot be achieved with other forms of work. Ongoing opportunities such as working bees, community events, and contracting collective maintenance tasks (such as lawn mowing) to residents can have significant benefit on multiple bottom lines.

Recommendation: Provide opportunities for residents to shape their environments

Top-down developments such as Kāinga Tuatahi could benefit from greater consultation or input with and from future residents. While there is the need to balance resident-based input to achieve economies of scale, lessons from the Kaumātua Village suggest more resident-led development can achieve homes that are fit-for-purpose and which residents occupy with a greater appreciation or attachment. Earthsong residents also recommended that houses are not assigned until as late as possible in the process, such that all residents focus their energy on making every home as optimally designed as possible. Similarly, lessons from international cases such as Saettedammen’s modular

housing could also provide design flexibility into the future as well, allowing residents to shape their environments on an ongoing basis beyond the initial build.

Communal spaces can also be made flexible. The Earthsong common house is used for a wide range of different functions, events and activities. Similarly, any common facility as part of a papakāinga could be constructed in support of marae, rather than in competition. This flexibility also entails usability; spaces should be accessible and usable all year round.

Recommendation: Incorporate zones and layers of engagement

Housing collectives could benefit from incorporating three zones or layers of engagement in developments. Earthsong includes the three: private, shared, and communal. This eases the transition for residents from private to more public areas. Kāinga Tuatahi tended to display only the two: private and communal. A recommendation from residents included better or more balconies and porches (perhaps similar to traditional whakamahau) to act as a conduit between indoor and outdoor spaces, and smoothen the transition between private and communal spaces.

Recommendation: Design gives weight to privacy and private spaces

Private spaces are fiercely safeguarded in community designs which place a greater emphasis on sociality and community building. Those spaces are particularly important for being able to recharge from the social aspect of community life. The Kāinga Tuatahi experience may have put too great an emphasis on community building at the expense of individual privacy, when privacy and sociality do not necessarily need to be mutually exclusive. Earthsong demonstrates through the design as well as the establishment of social norms and behaviours (and reasonably mature landscaping) that a reasonable degree of privacy can be enjoyed despite living in close quarters. Similarly, the Hamilton Kaumātua Village demonstrated elements of the balance of shared and private space, with their roughly circular design and net curtains allowing residents to decide to occupy the shared spaces, or retreat to their private units.



Recommendation: Explicitly develop and monitor the social milieu

Collectives could benefit from planning and establishing the environment for their social interactions, inasmuch detail as is given to the physical aspects of community design. The social milieu includes formal components such as whether the community will hold meetings (and at what frequency) and events (such as celebrations and working bees), as well as informal elements such as behavioural norms and social cues for residents to better manage living in close proximity to one another. Critically, resource (time and money) needs to be set aside to facilitate the social frameworks and any potential conflicts into the future. Residents also highlighted the need for any social structures to have the 'teeth' to hold residents to account when obligations are not being fulfilled. This can be challenging to achieve and convince residents to allocate funding for, as elements of the social milieu are less visible or tangible in comparison to physical elements of the community, but arguably they are equally (if not more) important.

Conscious planning and resourcing also extends to how decisions are made. For Māori collectives, there is the need to clearly define where responsibilities lie: is the resident collective responsible, or is the wider hapū or iwi responsible for decisions? If responsibilities are devolved to residents alone, hapū and iwi could support residents by providing the necessary supports (e.g. training, mediation, facilitation) to enable residents to help themselves.

Recommendation: Encourage whole-of-life planning

Housing collectives could benefit from applying the gardening analogy to community design and planning. Planning should consider the whole-of-life of the community, beyond the construction phase and beyond the initial 'honeymoon period' when residents first move in. While all aspects may not be necessarily anticipated at the beginning, the community should build in the flexibility to adapt and cope with future changes.

7.4.3 For built environment professionals

Recommendation: Upskill in alternative development models

Housing collectives, and particularly Māori collectives, could benefit from built environment professionals (such as planners, architects, surveyors and engineers) with competency working with and enabling alternative development models such as papakāinga and cohousing. Kāinga Tuatahi was the first step in a wider development programme for Ngāti Whātua Ōrakei and rightly, risks with innovation were kept to a justifiable level while staying within the realm of development norms (for example, by including laneways to provide vehicle access to individual units which is a common design approach for medium-density housing). The shift to medium-density housing from standalone homes and individual sections was a significant deviation from normative aspirations for standalone homes in and of itself. Early Earthsong members struggled with ‘green’ consultants, with Earthsong members often having to train their architect and engineers on new innovations and approaches in order to realise their vision. Moving forward, alternative development models have the potential to become normalised. If a pool of consultants existed to assist communities to develop more high-functioning models, the perception of cohousing and papakāinga as being normal housing models can only be accelerated.

Recommendation: Develop a database of cadastral options

Collective housing developments might benefit from different legal ownership structures such as hybrid partitions, unit titles, or leasehold subdivisions, depending on the needs of the community. Built environment professionals could helpfully develop a toolkit of potential options that can ably apply in different situations.

Recommendation: Develop a ‘one-stop shop’ for alternative models

Papakāinga and cohousing developments can be stifled by residents feeling as though they are reinventing the process with each development. Collectives could benefit from access to a ‘one-stop shop’ as a centralised database of information for the social and physical development process. A spatial database with links to different communities around the country could help in sharing information, resources and contacts of pioneering developments. For Māori, papakāinga information can be found through



local territorial authorities, Māori Land Courts, Te Puni Kōkiri, and Te Matapihi to name a few. A central point of contact could clearly map the mandate of the different groups and institutions involved and their processes.

7.4.4 For future research

Recommendation: Investigate a secondary housing market

In the view of the findings reported in chapters four and five relating to the sixth principle (land is not negotiable wealth), further research could helpfully investigate the viability of a secondary housing market to limit or reduce the financialisation of housing. In a secondary housing market, homes are bought and sold at fixed prices which removes the opportunity for residents to enjoy capital gains. Similarly, lessons could be gleaned from Community Land Trusts and Community Loan Funds, as well as schemes such as Canberra's Land Rent, for improving affordability and limiting the incentive of financial gain for prospective residents. This could include research on the logistics of intergenerational mortgages or mortgage products for older people.

Recommendation: Intensive study on individual principles

Each of the seven initial principles could form the basis of their own study. In particular, the mahi principle holds potential for an intensive study to more precisely quantify the tangible and intangible benefits from residents carrying out different types of work. Research is emerging in this field in the context of core houses in Southern Africa, and could be supplemented with other perspectives such as from self-built homes and tiny houses. Similarly, each of the other principles could be studied more intensively to quantify their individual contributions to community life, and perhaps justify where financial contributions are required for more intangible elements of social tenure.

Recommendation: Non-whakapapa bonds in papakāinga

Future research into papakāinga might usefully focus on the connection or security (or insecurity) of spouses and non-whakapapa members. If whakapapa is the binding or cohesion factor for the community, how do spouses and flatmates who do not hold that whakapapa connection connect to the community, and how could those connections be strengthened?

Recommendation: Reclaim the pā across all spatial contexts

It is important to investigate whether (and how) papakāinga can be reclaimed across all spatial contexts, not just within the urban setting. This could extend from high density, vertical papakāinga through to rural and remote papakāinga. Arguably, each setting may share commonalities as well as crucial differences given their spatial layout and access to services.

Recommendation: Longitudinal community research

While this study is cross-sectional, future research could valuably be undertaken at regular intervals to explore community changes over time. Interview participants at Kāinga Tuatahi expressed an interest in researching particular health measures before and after moving in, which could valuably provide information on any health benefits arising from urban papakāinga life.

7.5 Final words

Papakāinga is a uniquely New Zealand development model. While there are learnings and lessons that could be incorporated into existing iterations of the model, I am reminded of these words from planning theorist, John Friedmann:

I have focused on the small and ordinary because small and ordinary are mostly invisible to those who wield power, unless, when stepped upon, they cry out. But genuine places at the neighbourhood scale have order, structure, and identity, all of which are created, wittingly or not, by the people living there. The order is civil, the structure is centred, and the identity...is constantly being made and remade, because neighbourhood places are dynamic, and every snapshot is nothing more than a moment in the flow of life (Friedmann, 2010, p. 162).

While New Zealanders at large may hold tight to inscribed ideals of individualisation for some time, neighbourhoods predicated on socially-based tenure principles can take on an entirely different form and life than standard, 'Western-legal' development. In at least the cases explored in this thesis, these alternative approaches have been profoundly successful on multiple bottom lines. Importantly, development models are not mutually exclusive; making the path easier for papakāinga, cohousing and other development models does not threaten or take anything away from those who are

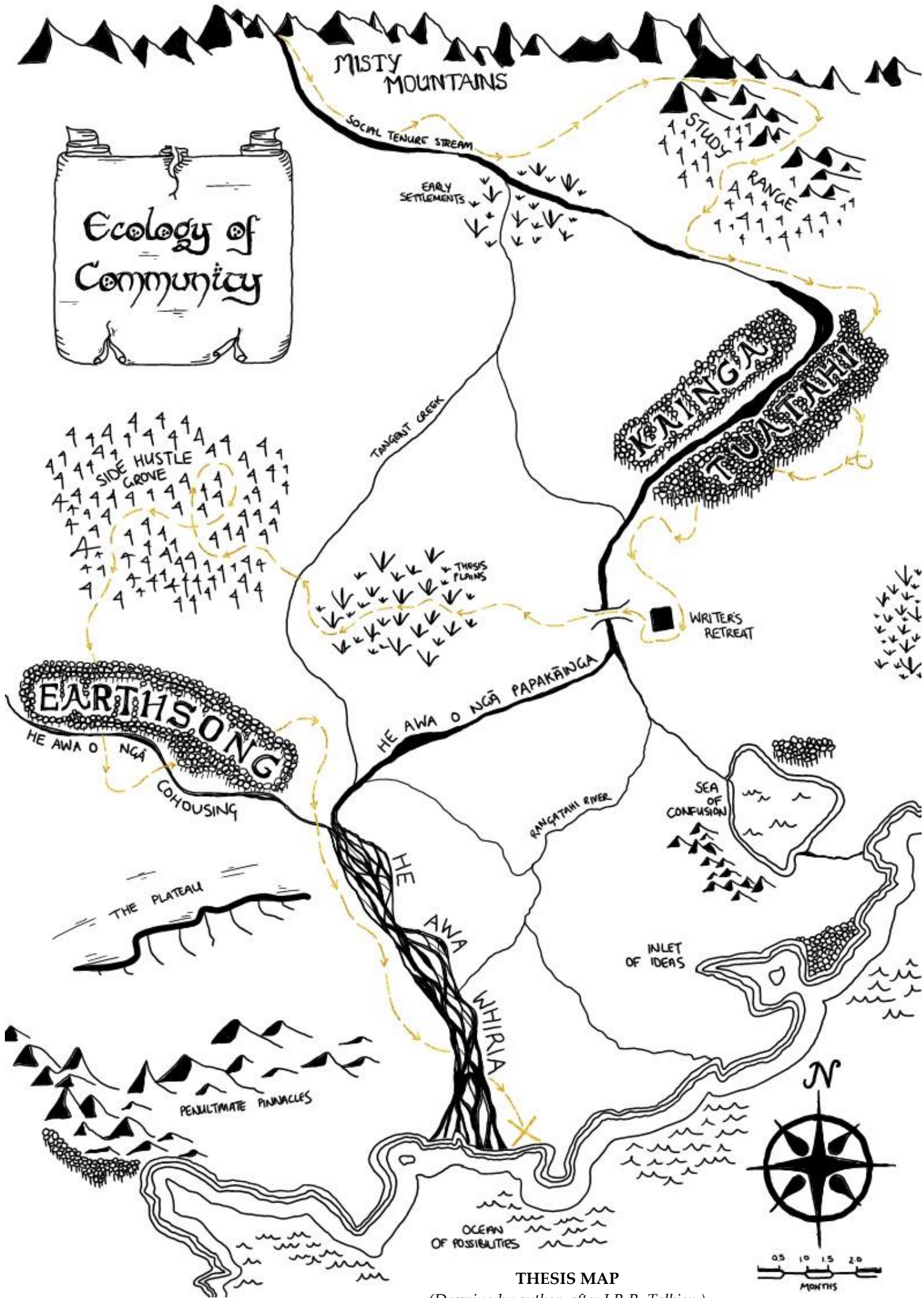
wedded to existing models. Rather, these alternatives simply offer another model predicated on other priorities that might appeal to others. Given the current pressure on housing here and abroad, perhaps such alternatives are required more than we think.

* * * * *

On a personal note, undertaking this thesis has been an invaluable experience. It has profoundly altered the way I see and question the world around me. It has taught me to keep asking why. It has taught me that the nature of housing in New Zealand is complex, interrelated, and extremely contextual. And it has raised perhaps more questions than it has answered, which I am excited to pursue in further, future research. Like the kūaka, this journey has taken me to the other side of the world. Like the kūaka, this journey has sometimes felt like the longest journey in the world. But also like the kūaka, I know I did not fly here alone.

Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.





THESIS MAP

(Drawing by author, after J.R.R. Tolkien.)

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Appendix A

Māori urban design principles

<i>Principle</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Response</i>
Kotahitanga <i>Cohesion and Collaboration</i>	Collective cooperative and effective partnerships and collaboration with community	To encourage community unity and identity	Community centre, amphitheatre, community facilities, parks, reserves, walkways, good access links between spaces
Wairuatanga <i>Embedded Emotion / Spirit</i>	Emotional connection with the environment that links people	To maintain and preserve the essence of Tangata Whenua	Site orientation to important landmarks important to Tangata Whenua, sight lines, environmental restoration projects
Manaakitanga <i>Hospitality and Security</i>	Acceptance and hospitality given toward visitors, and protection and security of community	To embrace and welcome all peoples especially visitors and to provide a safe and secure community environment	Restore and access traditional medicinal and food resources, communal gardens, design community using CPTED principles – Crime Prevention Through Urban Design
Whanaungatanga <i>Participation and Membership</i>	Participation and membership in the community and social setting	To encourage community participation and pride through building and emphasising community identity	Communal facilities, community centre, communal Laundromat, open reserves, parks, communal gardens, common and civic spaces reflecting local identity
Kaitiakitanga <i>Guardianship and Stewardship</i>	Protection of significant landscape features important to the local community	To support the protection of important environmental and cultural features through community ownership and collective responsibility	On-site mitigation for three waters, recognition and protection of spiritual guardians, restoration of waterways and natural areas, cluster buildings to maximise communal reserves and the natural environments
Rangatiratanga <i>Leadership, Identity and Self-Determination</i>	Community can lead and take responsibility for creating and determining their own future	To promote self-determination and independence	Live and work from home, mix use high density living environments, clustering of dwellings, heritage markers (pou)
Mauritanga <i>Essence / Life-force</i>	Life-force or essence of a natural environment	To identify and promote the maintenance or restoration of mauri	Community monitoring of natural environment, swale systems for stormwater, rain-tank collection systems, grey-water recycling systems, passive solar design
Orangatanga	Maintain health and wellbeing of the community	To promote environmental protection and a safe community	Restoration projects, maintain community access to resources (flax, eels, waterways etc), indigenous flora on public and encouraged on private space, encourage walking and cycling by linking spaces, traffic calming measures, CPTED principles, public transport available
Matauranga	Understanding of community history, identities, character	To encourage community understanding and pride through shared knowledge	Education promotions, interpretation boards, heritage markers (pou), heritage trails

(source: Pauling, Awatere, & Rolleston, 2014, p. 456)

Appendix B

Te Aranga design principles

Ngā Mātāpono / Principles	Ngā Hua / Outcome	Ahuatanga / Attributes	He Tauira / Application
Mana Rangatiratanga, Authority	The status of iwi and hapū as mana whenua is recognised and respected	Recognises Te Tiriti o Waitangi / The Treaty of Waitangi and the Wai 262 Ko Aotearoa Tenei framework for Treaty Partnerships in 21 st Century Aotearoa New Zealand as the basis for all relationships pertaining development Provides a platform for working relationships where manawhenua values, world views, tikanga, cultural narratives and visual identity can be appropriately expressed in the design environment High quality Treaty based relationships are fundamental to the application of the other Te Aranga principles	The development of high level Treaty based relationships with mana whenua is essential prior to finalising design approaches and will maximise the opportunities for design outcomes. Important to identify any primary mana whenua groups as well as wider mana whenua interests in any given development.
Whakapapa Names & Naming	Maori names are celebrated	Recognises and celebrates the significance of mana whenua ancestral names Recognises ancestral names as entry points for exploring and honouring t puna, historical narratives and customary practises associated with development sites and their ability to enhance sense of place connections	Mana whenua consultation and research on the use of correct ancestral names, including macrons Recognition of traditional place names through signage and wayfinding Use of appropriate names to inform design processes
Tohu The wider cultural landscape	Mana whenua significant sites and cultural landmarks are acknowledged	Acknowledges a Maori world view of the wider significance of tohu / landmarks and their ability to inform the design of specific development sites Supports a process whereby significant sites can be identified, managed, protected and enhanced Celebrates local and wider unique cultural heritage and community characteristics that reinforce sense of place and identity	Recognition of tohu, including wahi tapu, maunga, awa, puna, mahinga kai and ancestral kainga Allows visual connection to significant sites to be created, preserved and enhanced Wider cultural landmarks and associated narratives able to inform building / spatial orientation and general design responses Heritage trails, markers and interpretation boards
Taiao The natural environment	The natural environment is protected, restored and / or enhanced	Sustains and enhances the natural environment Local flora and fauna which are familiar and significant to mana whenua are key natural landscape elements within urban and / or modified areas Natural environments are protected, restored or enhanced to levels where sustainable mana whenua harvesting is possible	Re-establishment of local biodiversity Creating and connecting ecological corridors Planting of appropriate indigenous flora in public places, strategies to encourage native planting in private spaces Selection of plant and tree species as seasonal markers and attractors of native bird life Establishment and management of traditional food and cultural resource areas allowing for active kaiiakitanga
Mauri Tu Environmental Health	Environmental health is protected, maintained and / or enhanced	The wider development area and all elements and developments within the site are considered on the basis of protecting, maintaining or enhancing mauri The quality of wai, whenua, ngāhere and air are actively monitored Water, energy and material resources are conserved Community wellbeing is enhanced	Daylighting, restoration and planting of waterways Contaminated areas of soil are remediated Rainwater collection systems, grey-water recycling systems and passive solar design opportunities are explored in the design process Hard landscape and building materials which are locally sourced and of high cultural value to mana whenua are explored in the design process
Mahi Toi Creative Expression	Iwi/hapū narratives are captured and expressed creatively and appropriately	Ancestral names, local tohu and iwi narratives are creatively reinscribed into the design environment including: landscape; architecture; interior design and public art Iwi / hapū mandated design professionals and artists are appropriately engaged in such processes	Mana whenua assist in establishing design consortia which are equipped to translate iwi/hapū cultural narratives into the design environment Civic / shared landscapes are created to reflect local iwi/hapū identity and contribute to sense of place Iwi/hapū narratives are reinscribed in the environment through public art and design
Ahi Ka The Living Presence	Iwi/hapū have a living and enduring presence and are secure and valued within their rohe	Mana whenua live, work and play within their own rohe Acknowledges the post Treaty of Waitangi settlement environment where iwi living presences can include customary, cultural and commercial dimensions Living iwi/hapū presences and associated kaiiaki roles are resumed within urban areas	Access to natural resources (weaving species, mahinga kai, waterways, etc) facilitates, maintains and /or enhances mana whenua ahi kā and kaiiakitanga Civic/iwi joint venture developments ensure ahi kā and sense of place relationships are enhanced Iwi/private sector joint venture developments enhance employment and ahi kā relationships

(source: Pauling, Awatere, & Rolleston, 2014, p. 457)

Appendix C

Information sheet for participants

Ecology of community: A study of urban housing development



INFORMATION SHEET for RESIDENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

You are invited to participate in this project! Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate, we thank you. If you decide not to take part, there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

About the study

This project is being undertaken as part of James Berghan's doctoral research (PhD), as well as for the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) National Science Challenge 11: Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities. The main aims of this project are:

- To investigate how housing based on shared models (such as papakāinga and cohousing) is designed and facilitated; and
- To understand how residents experience life in these developments.

What type of participants are being sought?

We are seeking participants who live in types of housing based on shared models, such as papakāinga and cohousing developments. Participants must be 18 years of age or older.

There will be no material benefits for agreeing to participate in this study. However, your contribution may help to inform future development of papakāinga and urban housing projects.

What will participants be asked to do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to:

- a) Take part in an interview about a housing development you live in (approximately 1 hour), and/or;
- b) Complete a short questionnaire about the development of land for housing (approximately 15 minutes).

For interviews, a researcher will arrange to meet you at a location convenient to you. This may be at your home, workplace or a suitable mutual location.

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What will be asked in the interviews?

This project may involve an open-questioning technique for the interviews. The general line of questioning includes questions to establish the type of household and neighbourhood you live in, as well as questions about activities and aspects of day-to-day life in your household.

The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable, you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project prior to submission of the thesis without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What data or information will be collected and what use will be made of it?

For interviews, you may be asked if you mind the researcher using a voice recorder during the interview. However, if you prefer not to be recorded, handwritten notes will be taken. Questionnaires will either be distributed in paper form or electronically.

All of the collected data will be kept securely during the period of this study and only those mentioned below will be able to gain access to it.

As required by the University's research policy, original data for the research will be retained for at least five years in secure storage. Any personal information held on the participants (such as the correlation of names and pseudonyms in cases where anonymity is requested) will be destroyed at the completion of the research.

The outcome of the study may be published in conferences or academic journals. Some of the information obtained may be published in the PhD thesis, which will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand). You are welcome to request a summary of the research findings if you wish.

In addition, at the completion of the research, the data collected in relation to your housing development may be provided to the organisational body overseeing that housing development, such as your iwi/hapū group, whanau trust or residents' association. This is to ensure the information is returned to each community to enable the data to be used for your future development and advancement. We will advise you of the specific group or entity that the data will be provided to prior to your participation.

What data or information will be reflected in the completed research?

On the Consent Form, you will be given options regarding your anonymity. Please be aware that should you wish, we will make every attempt to preserve your anonymity, for example, by using pseudonyms. However, with your consent, there are some cases where it would be preferable to attribute contributions made to individual participants. It is absolutely up to you which of these options you prefer.

Can participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time prior to submission of the thesis without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What if participants have any questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

PhD Student:

James Berghan
National School of Surveying
03) 479 9209
james.berghan@postgrad.otago.ac.nz

Supervisors:

Dr. David Goodwin
National School of Surveying
03) 479 6540
david.goodwin@otago.ac.nz

Dr. Lynette Carter
Te Tumu: School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies
03) 479 3049
lynette.carter@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee.

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph. 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Reference Number: 17/040 Date: 01/05/2017

Appendix D

Consent form

Ecology of community: A study of urban housing development



CONSENT FORM for RESIDENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

I have read (or had explained to me) the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time prior to the submission of the thesis without any disadvantage of any kind;
3. Personal identifying information (e.g. cross-referencing of names and pseudonyms where anonymity is requested) will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project, but any raw data on which the results of the project depend (including digital audio files) will be retained in secure storage for at least five years;
4. This project may involve an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning relates to the type of household and neighbourhood I live in, as well as questions about day-to-day life in my household. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable, I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind;
5. The research project is part-funded by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) National Science Challenge 11: Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities. MBIE may publish the results of the project;
6. The results of the project may also be published and available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand);
7. Data from my participation may also be provided to _____, the organisational body representing the specific housing development I reside in;
8. My participation in this study is confidential and that real names will be used only where I have granted permission, otherwise pseudonyms will be used.

I, as the participant: a) agree to being named in the research,

OR;

b) would rather remain anonymous.

I agree to take part in this project.

.....
NAME OF PARTICIPANT

.....
DATE

.....
SIGNATURE

Yes! Please send me a copy of the research findings.

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph. 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Reference Number: 17/040

Date: 01/05/2017

Appendix E

Interview guide

Interview guide – Resident participants

Abridged version

Section 1: General

- Can you describe to me how you came to live here?
- How long have you lived here for?
- What do you like the most about living here?
- If you could change one thing about living here, what would it be?
- How would you say this compares with previous places you have lived?
- On a scale of 1 (very poor) to 5 (very good), rate your house or neighbourhood in terms of the following qualities:
 - House: size, warmth, amount of sunlight and natural light, energy efficiency, build quality, privacy, affordability
 - Neighbourhood: layout, feeling of safety/security, feeling of belonging, a sense of community, a community identity, supportiveness
 - Overall rating

Section 2: Utopia

A utopia is an imagined community or society that is 'perfect' and is designed so there are no problems. What do you think a utopia or perfect community might look like to you?

Prompts: where would it be? Who would live there? What sort of activities go on there?

Section 3: Social tenure principles

- Sociality:
 - Can you remember the last time you bumped into someone in [development]? What were you/they doing? Did you talk to them?
 - How often do you bump into people here?
 - When was the last time you visited a neighbour at their house?
 - How many people in [development] do you know by name?
 - Do you and your neighbours ever get together for meals or social events?
 - Have you ever borrowed anything from your neighbours or vice versa?
 - How many generations live in this house? In this development?
- Mahi:
 - Did you any involvement in the design of this development?
 - Do you do any jobs for the neighbourhood?
 - Are you aware of anyone else here who does jobs for the neighbourhood?
 - Do you have to do any maintenance work on your house? What kind? How often?
 - Have you changed or renovated this house at all?
- Rules:
 - Are there any rules here that you have to follow?
 - Who is in charge?
 - Who decides who gets to live here? Who can live here?
- External relationships:
 - Do you have much to do with your neighbours outside of this development? i.e. the wider community?
- Hauora:
 - How do you feel your health has been since moving in to the development?
 - What about wellbeing?
 - Why do you think this is?
- Money:
 - Do you pay any regular fees (such as rates, rental fees, a body corp fee etc)?
 - What does the fee cover?
 - Does the value change over time?
 - Can you tell me about the sale process: If you were to leave this development, can you sell your house?
 - Are there any limits or restrictions?
- Vehicles and connectivity:
 - Do you have a car?
 - Where do you park?
 - Where is it in relation to the rest of the site?
 - How much further would you be willing to walk?
 - Is it easy to walk around the site?
 - Do you feel safe moving around the site?
- Permanence:
 - Do you see this as your permanent home?
 - Would you ever want to move? Why/why not?

Appendix F

Aerial photo – Kāinga Tuatahi



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Height datum: Auckland 1946.



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Te Kōwhiri o Tamaki Mōkaurau



Scale @ A3
= 1:1,000

Date Printed:
9/01/2020

Appendix G

Aerial photo – Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood



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0 8.5 17 25.5
Meters

Scale @ A3
= 1:1,000

Date Printed:
9/01/2020



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Te Kaitiaki o Tāmaki Makaurau

