



Māori perceptions of 'home': Māori housing needs, wellbeing and policy

Amohia Boulton, Tanya Allport, Hector Kaiwai, Rewa Harker & Gillian Potaka Osborne

To cite this article: Amohia Boulton, Tanya Allport, Hector Kaiwai, Rewa Harker & Gillian Potaka Osborne (2021): Māori perceptions of 'home': Māori housing needs, wellbeing and policy, Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online, DOI: [10.1080/1177083X.2021.1920984](https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083X.2021.1920984)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083X.2021.1920984>



© 2021 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 02 May 2021.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Māori perceptions of 'home': Māori housing needs, wellbeing and policy

Amohia Boulton^a, Tanya Allport^a, Hector Kaiwai^b, Rewa Harker^b and Gillian Potaka Osborne^a

^aWhakauae Research Services Ltd, Whanganui, New Zealand; ^bWai Research, Auckland, New Zealand

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the findings of the *Perceptions of Papakāinga* project, a 12-month, Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga funded project which explores comparative views of 'home' for Māori. The findings highlight the emerging themes around the meaning of 'home' for three different generations of Māori living in different geographical locations and how these meanings shape or influence the perception of how to 'be well at home'. By investigating the views and attitudes of Māori community members in two distinct communities regarding what 'home' means to them, the research has been able to identify that 'home' is more than a spatial or physical notion, and that there are a range of holistically connected aspects that need to be considered if we are to deliver effective and sustainable solutions around Māori being 'at home'. As Māori meanings of 'home' are adapting, developing and changing, especially in the current Coronavirus Covid-19 context, the findings from this research contribute to the significant thinking that needs to influence future policy direction and also highlights areas that require further investigation.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 17 December 2020
Accepted 20 April 2021

KEYWORDS

Māori; Māori wellbeing;
Māori housing; New Zealand
housing policy; Covid-19

Background

Whakataukī:
Ko te whare e hanga te tangata,
ko te tangata e hangaia e te whare.
The whare (whare tangata) builds the people and
the people build the whare.

The concept of 'home' and the influences on how 'home' is experienced, and conceived of, is a multidimensional, fluid process, inextricable from the socio-political context (Boulton et al. 2020). As such, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the erosion of Māori concepts and values throughout colonisation has significantly shaped contemporary Māori perceptions of what or where 'home' is (Moewaka-Barnes and McCreanor 2019).

CONTACT Tanya Allport  tanya@whakauae.co.nz

© 2021 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way.

During 2020, the focus of being ‘safe and well at home’ took on an unprecedented importance within the rapidly developing Coronavirus Covid-19 crisis. Aotearoa/New Zealand’s Covid-19 response centralised ‘home’ as the ‘safest place to be’, specifically during the level 3 and 4 lockdowns (Ardern, 23 March 2020). Within a Covid-19 context then, home was seen to embody a place of health and security, in contrast to places ‘away from home’ which were viewed as potential sites of infection, impacting both personal and public health. While for many, our physical homes are our primary source of comfort, security and wellbeing, for Māori, however, the essence of what forms a place of wellbeing is not necessarily embodied by the physical houses in which we dwell. Furthermore, Māori needs regarding ‘home’ have been reduced to discussions around home ownership and home affordability, leaving Māori understandings of home inadequately represented within existing policies, resourcing and services.

The current lack of understanding of what forms a place of wellbeing for Māori is simply the most recent manifestation in a legacy of Crown policies and practices which originally sought to alienate Māori from their traditional lands. Government policies allowing for land dispossession and assimilation forcibly impeded customary Māori practices, including architectural practices, and traditional spiritual and cultural leadership. The Native Lands Act 1865 and the Native Land Court are examples of early key mechanisms for the conversion of traditional communal landholdings into individual titles, which facilitated widespread purchase and acquisition of Māori land by Pākehā and the Crown (Boast 2017). A steadily eroding land-base contributed to a rapid urbanisation of Māori from the 1930s (Groot and Peters 2016). By the mid-twentieth century, approximately 30% of Māori had relocated to city centres. By 1966, this had risen to 62% (Hill 2012), while by the end of the twentieth century over 80% of Māori were living in urban areas, the majority of whom relocated to Tāmaki Makaurau, Auckland (Statistics New Zealand 2004). This move away from (predominantly) rural homelands for many Māori has been referred to as an intergenerational process of cultural negotiation (Williams 2015) where the urban ‘diaspora’ has resulted in generations of *mātāwaka* Māori; Māori who do not hold traditional *mana* (authority), and *whakapapa*, or genealogical links to the land on which they live (Henry and Crothers 2019). While Māori moving to the city for employment or education were often met with severe levels of hardship, poverty, and discrimination (Anderson et al. 2015), the move also resulted in an evolution of ‘adaptation, innovation and reclamation’ for Māori (Allport et al. 2017, p. 39) and shaped the socio-cultural transformation of cities like Tāmaki Makaurau/ Auckland. Governmental integration and assimilation agendas of the 1950s utilised housing and the idea of ‘home’ as a central tenet in settling Māori in urban areas. By the mid-1950s the issue of housing Māori in Auckland became urgent not just as a means of solving the issue of urban overcrowding and the inevitable links to ‘poor health, education and delinquent behaviour’ (Williams 2015, p. 92), but also as a way to promote nuclear-family living. Home ownership, in particular, was seen as a way to engender Māori-Pākehā race relations, and to promote ‘responsible and ideal Pākehā citizenship’ for Māori (Williams 2015, p. 92). While subsequent rises in Māori home ownership in Auckland resulted from these early policies, the physical and social function of ‘home’ for Māori became dominated by Western concepts of ‘home as a house’ (Mallett 2004), and an economic asset.

While the context of Western colonisation of lands, ideology and systems is inextricable from the changing experience of ‘home’ for Māori, the right of Māori to assert

rangatiratanga (self-determination) over their cultural norms and to challenge Western models of knowing and knowledge-construction also influences how contemporary Māori think of 'home' (Henry and Pene 2001). The reclamation or revival of philosophical beliefs, and social practices emphasise the connection between mind, body and spirit (Mark and Lyons 2010), and the place of whānaungatanga (kinship), kotahitanga (interdependence), wairuatanga (spiritual connection), kaitiakitanga (stewardship), manaakitanga (generosity), and mauritanga (life force) (Henry and Pene 2001). These concepts provide a perspective that re-situates overriding western notions of home, which have provided the basis for government policy and practice on housing, and public health messaging in regard to 'home' (Boulton et al. 2020).

Māori have developed their own ways of making a 'home' away from home by culturally recoding the neighbourhood (Anderson et al. 2015), however, intensification of urban settlements has severely affected the relationship Māori have with traditional resources, landscapes, and other sites of significance (Rolleston 2005; Awatere et al. 2008), and the way in which whānau Māori are able to live together 'at home' (Boulton et al. 2020). For Māori living in their Iwi rohe on their whenua (land), complex issues around ahikāroa (continuous occupation), and what it means to 'be at home' or 'return home' in the context of little or no Iwi resourcing, means that the concept of 'home' remains a contestable site of struggle.

This twelve-month research project investigated understandings of home from the perspective of two groups of Māori: the first who live in and around their traditional homelands and/or have strong connections to their marae and may be considered 'tribally based'; and a second group of 'urban' Māori who no longer reside in or near their traditional whenua, and are less strongly connected to their marae. Their understandings of home, and relatedly of wellbeing, offer new insights to the discourse around the future of housing policy in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Methods

This study utilised a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis, with the primary data collection methods being face-to-face interviews with a group of key informants. This paper presents the results from those key informant interviews.

Using local knowledge and networks, 15 participants were purposively recruited (Minichiello et al. 1999) from two locations; nine from the Rangitikei and six from Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland. All participants identified as Māori, and in the Rangitikei included three kaumātua (>55 years); three pakeke (aged between 54 and 25 years); and three rangatahi (<24 years). Of this group, five were female. In Tāmaki Makaurau, participants included one kaumātua; three pakeke; and two rangatahi (<24 years). Gender was evenly split in this group. Each research team is based in, and works for, the communities from which participants were recruited, and interviewers were of those respective communities.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted using open-ended questions and informal conversation. The interviews ranged from 30 min to two hours and were audio recorded and transcribed. Participants were asked to describe where they grew up; what the concept of 'home' meant to them; and to discuss their understanding of the Māori words tūrangawaewae and papakāinga and what these terms evoked for them. A

second part of the interview focused on the services required ‘at home’ to stay well, but these data are not reported here.

Two cycles of coding were completed to identify key issues and themes arising from the interviews (Braun and Clarke 2006). In the first cycle, individual members of the research team reviewed each transcript, applied codes and noted themes emerging from the data. In the second, all the researchers came together in a *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face-to-face) session to share their analysis and interrogate each of the themes. The face-to-face analysis session allowed researchers to share their topic knowledge and participate in a group discussion where all ideas were considered valid and worthy. During this session, researchers agreed on which individually selected codes were the most significant and whether these required aggregation or disaggregation. In instances where team members disagreed, a fulsome discussion was had until such time as the team *as a whole* agreed with how the data would be presented. This collective approach to analysis, termed *mahi ā rōpū* (Boulton et al. 2011) has been used successfully by this research team in earlier work together (Boulton et al. 2018).

Ethical approval was granted by the Waipareira Ethics Committee in March of 2020 and by the New Zealand Ethics Committee in April 2020 (NZEC20_07).

Results

Home as a place of connection

For all our participants, home was about *whānau*, family, friends and communities. More broadly, participants talked about home as a place of belonging, safety, connection and acceptance. Participant perceptions of home also tended to be more about connection to people and communities rather than a physical location or a physical dwelling.

While life experiences across the groups that were interviewed were diverse, there were some distinct commonalities on how ‘home’ was conceptualised. Participants across both sites and across generations, talked about their conceptualisations of home as something distinct from a ‘house’. The ‘house’ as a physical structure barely featured in participant responses. Instead, the concept of ‘home’ was defined as a myriad of largely non-tangible characteristics.

I guess I don’t consider it to be like just a house or, you know ... whereas when you say ‘describe the word home’ instead of a house, you know, home, house, you kind of see the difference, the subtle differences in that so, um, yeah, I think it’s, yeah, more than just ... somewhere you live.

Rather than concentrating on a physical building, when asked to talk about the elements that define ‘home’, participants described home as a place of connection. Participants talked about ‘home’ as a place of genealogical and historical significance to them. This included ‘places’ where participants had an ancestral link, or places and communities where *whānau* had lived for a number of generations. For most, this meant that home was where their *whānau* or family were.

I suppose, just really is a cliché, but home is where your heart is, and this is where my heart is with these two annoying *tamariki*. And the annoying husband. So, wherever we would move it would feel the same.

... Cos I also mention home to me is whānau, a whānau unit. Like all my brothers and sisters.

And like, where my mum and dad and sister are and living ... I guess that's just where I feel the most comfortable, the most at home, is when I'm with them.

The connective aspect of home was also framed in regard to whanaungatanga and whakapapa (genealogy) connections, and the sense that home functions as a 'steady base' that links not just to living whānau, but also to family members who have passed on and to those yet to come. Our tribally based participants, in particular, talked about how maintaining whakapapa links to a place was about acknowledging the legacy of their tūpuna and Māori identity.

Yeah, so home for me is reconnecting my family. Keeping my children connected so that they will continue on the legacy of our tūpuna.

I've got a set of grandparents that are in the local Taihape cemetery. That place is not home. It has a totally different, that is totally different whereas Whiti, as Hauiti, as Ngati Tama, as Te Ohoake, when I step into the place of my tūpuna, that is a part of home and that's why it's part of who I am, it's a part of who my children are. It is a part of my mokopuna that are to come.

Some participants articulated the difference between a 'house' and a home by highlighting that while one may have a whare (house) that does not mean they have a 'home'. In this sense home is a place to return to for familiarity and connectedness.

It's not home, it's just a whare. So, in that sense to me, they're homeless. They've got a house they live in and that's all good. My brother's got a house he lives in, a flash house, everyone's got flash houses, but guess where they wanna come? They wanna come back to their old home, slob out on the couches, have their inu pia, have their kōrero, go eeling, ride horses and just laugh and laugh with each other. And look at the stars at night. And go to their river. And that's where they feel really happy and connected.

Participants also talked about the role of community in making a place 'home'. For urban and tribally based participants alike, 'home' and 'community was about 'feeling' a sense of belonging, forming meaningful friendships, relationships and connections, and the shared history (and memories) that were created through those experiences.

Yeah, definitely strong sense of community ... I had cousins that lived here as well and a big family, family friends and friends of parents and a few kids around my age and stuff, that we all just hung out ... So, yeah definitely established a strong sense of community out here, for sure.

[Home is] community based ... you know, if you live communally, and when I say communally, I mean you have your own kind of system. So, you know, like you could have some people doing the hunting, one household doing, growing certain vegetables, um, the other, the other house worrying about waste or, you know? ... like independent communities I guess that can stand on their own without any other, you know ... you don't have to rely on any other system but your own system.

Land, whenua and the environment of 'home'

While participants made it clear that 'home' was not defined as a structural space, the elements of whenua, and the natural environment came across as an important part of home throughout the interviews.

... if I was thinking about home for me in that respect it's actually my garden. If I was thinking whenua, well, there'd be two lots of whenua. The whenua up the river, up the Whanganui which is very important to me and just in terms of I know it's there and it's one bit that we will never touch and it will always be there and it will always be there for our, for generations ... But if I'm thinking about my own wellbeing and whenua it would be the whenua which is my garden at home.

Although the relational (rather than territorial) dimension tended to be a more important marker of 'home', proximity and shared territory was a strong determiner in how friendships and relationships were formed. Physical locations also held both symbolic and spiritual significance for participants. For example, participants spoke about the areas, cities or towns they grew up in as representing places of immense pride, and how that formed part of their identity.

I kind of think of home as just the entire West Auckland region just because of going to school in Henderson. And like, all my mates from school lived around there. So, going to their houses and stuff like that. And just going to Henderson mall after school ... That kind of was definitely a big part of my childhood as well. So, it's got a special place in my heart as well. Henderson in general, West Auckland and Piha – it just all kind of is the same sort of environment for me.

Whenua also held spiritual significance, particularly for our tribally based participants who often spoke passionately about their ancestral links to their whenua, and how that connection nourished them emotionally, physically and spiritually, as well as providing them with a sense of safety and comfort.

I think if anything it makes me feel a lot more stronger, you know? I'm looking out my kitchen window bro and I can see the ranges, Ruahine. And then knowing that my awa is just down the road, you know? I've been brought up there too, swimming in that awa, you know? I definitely do feel, feel the link ... spiritually and I would, you know, that's another thing, like if I'm living somewhere else, I wouldn't get that you know? I'd feel a bit more misplaced, I guess.

The environment and the land were seen to bind people through ancestral and nurturing connections, in order to be sustained in a physical and spiritual sense.

My home is on this land. ... It's our ūkaipo, the land that fed us. And it still feeds us today ... It feeds me spiritually, it feeds me physically, and I'm fed through te taiao, you know, the environment and there's kererū sitting in my tree and I can hear the tūi talking and it's my world.

Home as a place of 'safety' and 'belonging'

Participants reiterated that the definition of home was based on a sense of 'safety'. 'Feeling safe', meant not just physical safety, but also included feeling 'comfortable' and 'familiar'.

What is home to me? It's somewhere I feel safe ... somewhere I consider to be the most familiar place in the world ... somewhere I'm comfortable in my own skin and where I don't have to change for anyone or anything. Somewhere I can sleep without thinking, having to keep one eye open.

'Safety' therefore also meant being able to 'be yourself' and find acceptance at home.

I think for me, home is just the environment where you just feel like comfortable to just be yourself and like free expression and ... So, I guess like, the feeling of home is just the feeling where you can be you and just do the things that you want to do with your life and live freely ...

The notion of 'safety' also spoke of the importance of home in terms of spiritual wellbeing.

I think it comes down to safety and how I feel so safe in terms of wairua, wairuatanga. [I] can feel a lot more safe being in an environment that I'm familiar with. Knowing that my tūpuna are buried down the road, knowing that my marae is so close, I know my whānau is spiritually safe.

Feeling safe, connected, and able to be free to be yourself was grounded in the recurring references to home as a place where one 'belonged'.

I think maybe the sense of belonging maybe, yeah, like it feels like I belong here more so, if you know what I mean? It feels like home and like the fact that you can sort of turn up at any point or you're always sort of accepted maybe, yeah.

Belonging in this sense also related to identity. Urban based participants were proud of being Māori, and while their home was away from their traditional ancestral lands, their identity as Māori, and their spiritual connection to land and whānau were nevertheless part of 'home'.

Yeah, it is. It [the experience of home] is spiritual with ... yeah, definitely is a big part of who I am and the way I sort of see the world and stuff like that.

For participants based in their tribal rohe, belonging and identity were also related to being in 'those places and spaces that my tūpuna have walked' where one can return to restore, to reconnect and affirm their belonging.

Simply put, when I come home, I feel loved and connected to those that surround me and those that have passed. I feel my soul restored and my heart is home.

In summary, all participants explained 'home' as being about connection to people, land and identity. Being 'at home' was described as an experience of psychological, physical and spiritual comfort. For some this experience was rooted within tribal boundaries and connections, while for others this experience was fluid and adaptable outside of those areas. Nevertheless, the experiences described by the participants strongly highlight a shared understanding of the ideal home as a place of holistic 'nourishment', where all these aspects connect to provide a strong sense of wellbeing.

Discussion

While this study was exploratory in nature and, due to the amount of funding received, limited to only two communities and a small number of participants, the data captured was both rich and nuanced. By this, we mean the insights provided by participants into notions of 'home' reveal a range of understandings of how 'home' is conceived and, as a consequence, how responses to creating safety and wellbeing in the home must be tailored to specific communities and populations. The findings of this research highlight that the concept of 'home' is substantially more than just 'a house', or a mere physical space. For the participants in this study 'home' was a 'place' imbued with memories,

experiences, history, and genealogy. The aspects of emotional, physical and spiritual well-being are critically and inextricably linked to notions of home. Cram (2020) refers to these aspects as ‘collective capital’; the values and principles applied by the collective, in this case, Māori, that transform a physical dwelling into a home.

Through the analysis of the interviews, and in helping to develop a theory of ‘home’ as a place of meaningful relationships, connections and wellbeing, there are a number of interconnected and interrelated themes that emerged, namely: whānau and whanaungatanga; whakapapa; whenua and wairua; and whare. Each of these themes is discussed below.

Whānau and whānaungatanga – family, relationships, and connection: Recent housing and health policy has tended to focus on the importance of a sound physical structure for Māori whānau (King, McArthur, et al. 2020) however, we argue that in focusing narrowly on the physical element of ‘shelter’ policy makers may have missed the critical social element of connection and human contact. Our policy thinking needs to be equally mindful of the importance of housing Māori whānau in dwellings and buildings that allow for social connection and whakawhanaungatanga, as well as dwellings which are warm, dry and secure.

Whakapapa – genealogy, history, and identity: The significance to Māori of their ancestral lands is an issue that has confronted Aotearoa/New Zealand sporadically over the years since the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 and the extension of the Tribunal’s remit into investigating so-called contemporary claims (Walker 1990. Wynyard 2019). A long history of claims dealing with land confiscations has, in recent years, been supplemented by more contemporary land alienation issues which have been played out in the court of public opinion, in the media and behind closed government doors (e.g. Māori protest occupation at Ihumātao). Underpinning these calls for the return of lands or simply access to them, is the desire on the part of Māori to preserve and maintain their genealogical connection to their homelands.

Whenua and wairua – land and spirit: For Māori, land is more than simply an economic asset, or a commodity to possess. Our participants, irrespective of whether they were tribally based or urban, spoke of the significance of the land from a spiritual point of view; of the connections between a physical place and their respective families; and the comfort and security connection to land can bestow. As land is facing increasing pressures for different and multiple uses (farming, housing, infrastructure), a challenge for policy into the future will be how to ensure that those who desire to live rurally and be close to their tūrangawae are able to do so though the provision of high-quality housing.

Whare – Housing design and policy: While the ‘house’ as a physical structure was barely mentioned by participants in relation to ‘home’, when a physical building was discussed, it was in light of how the building allows – or hinders – the ability of whānau Māori to discharge their cultural practices, such as demonstrating manaakitanga (hospitality) and tautoko (support) to others. Implications of this are that dwellings must be sufficiently big enough or flexible enough to meet not only the needs of the immediate inhabitants, but also any visitors who may require temporary housing during times of crisis (e.g. hospitalisation for loved ones, tangihanga). The current housing crisis has continued to contribute to significant overcrowding amongst Māori households, with Māori being four times more likely to be living in crowded housing than people with European ethnicity (Stats NZ 2018). While most dwellings in New Zealand are designed for single unit families, Māori families tend to consist of multiple family units. This has a number

of housing design and policy implications, particularly around what might be considered the lack of cultural considerations when designing homes, and how a more holistic, culturally grounded approach to New Zealand housing policy might be developed.

There are a range of implications that arise from these research findings, which sit within the Crown's obligation to protect Māori as a Tiriti partner. The Crown has a direct role to play in delivering targeted and robust solutions to hauora Māori and supporting Māori wellbeing at home in response to the Covid-19 pandemic (King, Cormack, et al. 2020). While the negative effects on mental, physical and social wellbeing from the experience of a pandemic related lockdown at home are being evidenced around New Zealand and the rest of the world (Ammar et al. 2020), Māori – as with many other indigenous peoples globally – are at risk of inequitable and lasting adverse effects on wellbeing (McLeod et al. 2020). As long as New Zealand still lacks agreed terminology, definitions and monitoring mechanisms of what wellbeing 'at home' means for the diverse experiences of Māori, we will continue to devise policy which falls short of meeting the needs of Māori whānau, hapū, Iwi and communities.

There is an urgent sense, in this post Covid-19 pandemic period, of not just rebuilding wellbeing, but of future proofing how we, as a nation are to remain 'safe at home'. Decision-making and policy concerned with such rebuilding must include Māori. While the New Zealand Government is making commitments to resource Māori specific housing (Mahuta, 11 August 2020a), and using Māori specific principles (Office of the Associate Minister of Housing 2020), the need to engage in meaningful dialogue with whānau Māori is critical. Solutions to sustainable wellbeing at home can only come from a Māori led multi-disciplinary approach, that includes public health, urban planning, mental health, environmental health, epidemiology and sociology to determine what is needed from the built environment to achieve holistic wellbeing for Māori (Amerio et al. 2020).

Recent initiatives around creating 'homes' and 'home-places' have looked at Māori principles of design, community living and the natural environment to preserve and embed culture and identity. Central to these activities is the concept of hauora and moving from euro-centric to whānau-centric models (Paul 2017). Coupled with the Government's recent commitment to 'achieve tailored housing outcomes for Māori' (Mahuta, 16 May 2020b), there is a promising resurgence of possibilities around creating 'home-spaces' that function in ways to better meet Māori needs.

Multiple challenges remain to make these possibilities a reality. The recent new housing package announced by the Government aimed at accelerating housing supply and supporting first home buyers (Ardern, 23 March, 2021) has included no Māori specific provisions, despite Māori from all areas of Aotearoa/New Zealand continuing to be overrepresented in measures of housing deprivation. Undoubtedly, the advent of Covid-19 and the subsequent economic and social impacts have added an additional layer of complexity around Māori homes. To keep Māori well 'at home', greater understanding is needed about the diverse and shifting realities of Māori and how these realities can be supported by culturally informed, visionary and sustainable housing policy.

Conclusion

Our findings reinforce the need for a more holistic, multidimensional understanding of 'home' as it relates to Māori. The intrinsic connection between home and wellbeing was a

key finding from this study. We believe these interconnected and related themes provide some initial foundations from which to build and grow our knowledge and understanding of Māori perceptions of home, and how we might better address Māori housing and wellbeing needs in a more holistic and comprehensive way.

While this research project has provided an initial insight into some of the foundations of wellness for Māori at home, more work is required around the relationship between the actual, current living conditions of Māori, and the aspects of home that ideally make it a place of sustainable wellbeing. The voices of whānau, such as heard through this research, can – and must – provide a crucial turning point to assumptions of a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to housing and placemaking. Personal and collective representations of relational wellbeing at home are potentially problematic to capture and require a Māori centred approach that privileges the voices of whānau Māori.

Acknowledgements

The research team would like to thank those members of the Rangitikei and Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland communities who agreed to participate in this study. We also acknowledge the contribution of the two emerging researchers who completed various components of the project.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga [grant number 19SEE05] and the Health Research Council of New Zealand [grant number HRC18/1004].

References

- Allport T, Boulton A, White H. 2017. Te Haerenga – journeying towards an urban Māori identity. *The Urban Anthropology Journal*. 9:37–57.
- Amerio A, Brambilla A, Morganti A, Aguglia A, Bianchi D, Santi F. 2020. COVID-19 lockdown: housing built environment’s effects on mental health. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*. 17(16). [accessed 2020 December 10]. doi:10.3390/ijerph17165973.
- Ammar A, Mueller P, Trabelsi K, Chtourou H, Boukhris O, Masmoudi L, et al. 2020. Psychological consequences of COVID-19 home confinement: the ECLB-COVID19 multicentre study. *PLoS ONE*. 15(11). [accessed 2020 December 10]. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0240204.
- Anderson A, Binney J, Harris A. 2015. *Tangata whenua: a history*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Arden J. 2020. New Zealand moves to COVID-19 alert level 3, then level 4 in 48 hours. [Beehive.govt.nz](https://www.beehive.govt.nz). [accessed 2020 December 10]. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/new-zealand-moves-covid-19-alert-level-3-then-level-4-48-hours>.
- Arden J. 2021. Govt housing package backs first home buyers. [accessed 2021 April 4]. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/govt-housing-package-backs-first-home-buyers>.
- Awatere S, Pauling C, Hoskin R, Rolleston S. 2008. *Tū Whare Ora: building capacity for Māori driven design in sustainable settlement development*. Auckland: Nga Pae o te Māramatanga, University of Auckland.
- Boast R. 2017. Māori land and Land Tenure in New Zealand: 150 years of the Māori land court. *Comparative Law Journal of the Pacific*. 23:97–133.

- Boulton A, Allport T, Nee J. 2020. Haukāinga – a review of Māori concepts of ‘home’. Te Pūtake – Whakauae Raro Occasional Papers. 1.
- Boulton A, Gifford H, Allport T, White H. 2018. Delivering on diversity: the challenges of commissioning for Whānau Ora. *Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing: Te Mauri-Pimatisiwin*. 3:45–56. https://journalindigenousewellbeing.com/journal_articles/delivering-on-diversity-the-challenges-of-commissioning-for-whanau-ora/.
- Boulton A, Gifford H, Kauika A, Parata K. 2011. Māori health promotion: challenges for best practice. *AlterNative*. 7(1):26–40.
- Braun V, Clarke V. 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qual Res Psychol*. 3:77–101.
- Cram F. 2020. He mātou whare, he mātou kāinga hoki – a house that is a home for Whānau Māori. Report for building better homes, towns and cities: revitalising the production of affordable housing for productive, engaged and healthy lives. Wellington: BBHTC. 32 p.
- Groot S, Peters EJ. 2016. Indigenous homelessness: perspectives from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Henry E, Crothers C. 2019. Building better homes, towns and cities: exploring Papakāinga: a Kaupapa Māori quantitative methodology. National Science Challenge: Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities. [accessed 2020 December 10]. https://www.buildingbetter.nz/publications/ktkr/Henry_&_Crothers_2019_Exploring_Papakāinga_KTKR.pdf.
- Henry E, Pene H. 2001. Kaupapa maori: locating Indigenous ontology, epistemology and methodology in the academy. *Organization*. 8(2):234–242.
- Hill RS. 2012. Māori urban migration and the assertion of indigeneity in Aotearoa/New Zealand, 1945-1975. *Interventions*. 14(2):256–278.
- King P, Cormack D, McLeod M, Harris R, Gurney J. 2020. Public health expert. COVID-19 and Māori Health – when equity is more than a word. [accessed 2020 December 10]. <https://blogs.otago.ac.nz/pubhealthexpert/?p=4012>.
- King J, McArthur J, Paul J, Harris M, Fignshow S. 2020. Transformative housing policy for Aotearoa New Zealand: a briefing note on addressing the housing crisis. The University of Auckland Public Policy Institute. [accessed 2020 December 10]. <https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/2292/53509/ppi-housing-full.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>.
- Mahuta N. 2020a. New partnership central to delivering more Māori housing. [accessed 2020 December 10]. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/new-partnership-central-delivering-more-m%C4%81ori-housing>.
- Mahuta N. 2020b. Māori – Government partnership gives Whānau a new housing deal. [accessed 2020 December 10]. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/m%C4%81ori-government-partnership-gives-wh%C4%81nau-new-housing-deal>.
- Mallett S. 2004. Understanding home: a critical review of the literature. *The Sociological Review*. 52(1):62–89. doi:10.1111/j.1467-954X.2004.00442.x.
- Mark GT, Lyons A. 2010. Māori healers’ views on wellbeing: the importance of mind, body, spirit, family and land. *Social Science & Medicine*. 70(11):1756–1764.
- McLeod M, Gurney J, Harris R, Cormack D, King P. 2020. COVID-19: we must not forget about Indigenous health and equity. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*. 44(4):253–256. doi:10.1111/1753-6405.13015.
- Minichiello V, Sullivan G, Greenwood K, Axford R. 1999. *Handbook for research methods in health sciences*. Sydney: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Moewaka-Barnes H, McCreanor T. 2019. Colonisation, Hauora and Whenua in Aotearoa. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*. 49(Sup1):19–33.
- Office of the Associate Minister of Housing. 2020. Te Maihi o te Whare Māori – the Māori and Iwi housing innovation (MAIHI) framework for action [Cabinet Paper]. [accessed 2020 December 10]. <https://www.hud.govt.nz/assets/News-and-Resources/Proactive-Releases/Cabinet-Paper-Te-Maihi-o-te-Whare-Maori-the-Maori-and-Iwi-Housing-Innovation-MAIHI-Framework-for-Action.pdf>.
- Paul J. 2017. Exploring Te Aranga design principles in Tāmaki. National Science Challenges – building better homes, towns and cities. [accessed 2020 December 10]. <https://www>.

buildingbetter.nz/publications/urban_wellbeing/Paul_2017_exploring_te_aranga_design_principles.pdf.

- Rolleston S. 2005. Māori perspectives of urban design. preliminary findings. Wellington: Wellington City Council, Ministry for the Environment.
- Statistics New Zealand. 2004. New Zealand official yearbook. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.
- Stats NZ. 2018. Living in a crowded house: exploring the ethnicity and well-being of people in crowded households. [accessed 2021 April 13]. www.stats.govt.nz.
- Walker R. 1990. Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou. Auckland: Penguin.
- Williams MM. 2015. Panguru and the city: Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua an urban migration history. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Wynyard M. 2019. 'Not one more bloody acre': land restitution and the treaty of Waitangi settlement process in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Land*. 8(162). doi:10.3390/land8110162.