BUILDING SUSTAINABLE PAPAKĀINGA
TO SUPPORT MĀORI ASPIRATIONS FOR

SELF-DETERMINATION

FLEUR PALMER

PHD 2016

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self-determination

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2016

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"I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning."

Acknowledgements

Issues relating to Māori housing are fraught with difficulties. When I first began looking at this area, I could not see how to find a way of constructively navigating through the obstacles I knew existed in the murky world of conflicts between historical land transactions, tensions between hapū, iwi, territorial authorities, the Māori Land Court and government entities. In 2011, I saw Teddy Cruz do a presentation via Skype at the Extraordinary architectural conference in Sydney. Cruz's presentation, delivered via a satellite link, was on work that he had been carrying out with immigrant communities on the Tijuana and San Diego border. Cruz is an internationally renowned architect and spatial activist originally from Guatemala. To access better facilities for the people that he works with, Cruz relies on extensive negotiations with government agencies and local industries to cut through constraints that prevent local development. Cruz's presentation was of a socially engaged model of practice aimed at activating change that operates at a political level. When I saw his presentation, I realized then that my project was not just about housing. To be effective, my project had to be politically active, and consider the legislative contexts that govern access to housing and land use. I felt that in some ways, the situation that Māori face is very similar to the problems that Cruz was encountering in his work with landless immigrant communities. Political activism is not something that comes naturally to me (public presenting terrifies me), but over the duration of this project I have realised that it is necessary to move in this direction, as people have no idea of what Māori communities face. Cruz's politically engaged approach to architectural practice gave me a model and the courage to undertake this research. I am profoundly indebted to him.

Research involves the input of multiple collaborators. I acknowledge the support of my supervisory team: Professor Tania Ka'ai, who is instrumental in driving research that contributes to the development of Māori communities, Professor Tina Engels-Schwarzpaul, whose research is focused on Pacific peoples and knowledge that comes from other places, Dr Carl Mika, whose research interest is in Māori world views and colonisation, and Beryl Woolford-Roa, who offered advice at the start.

TE RUNANGA O TE RARAWA

11th June 2014

To whom it may concern

Fleur is of Te Rarawa and Te Aupouri descent and is held in high esteem by the Te Rarawa iwi.

She has a long and demonstrated track record of working for our communities. Her research has provided new insight and guidance to social reforms here in the North.

She has also been exposed to the elders of our iwi and worked alongside our greatest leaders. She continues to dedicate herself to issues of justice and equity as does her son who is an internationally accomplished carver and artisan in his own right.

It therefore gives me immense pleasure and pride to affirm the full Te Rarawa endorsement of Fleur's latest research project on Maori housing in the Far North.

We will actively support this research at a Runanga and look forward to the outcomes that are derived from it.

Noho ora mai

Haami Piripi
CHAIRMAN

Letter of tribal endorsement.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mother who died in 2006. My father died when I was a baby. My mother was both father and mother to me. As a solo mum she struggled to bring up four children on her own in an era when women earnt the equivalent of 50 percent of their male counterparts.

"Overcoming poverty is not a task of charity, it is an act of justice. Like Slavery and Apartheid, poverty is not natural. It is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings." (Mandela, 3 February 2005)

Abstract

Building sustainable papakāinga to support Māori aspirations for self-determination.

This practice based research investigates conditions which restrict Māori from building sustainable and affordable housing in urban and rural areas, and investigates ways to overcome these restrictions. Access to housing for Māori is associated with a complex history and ongoing process of colonisation, which restricts Māori from owning land and building Māori-centred developments within urban areas, and limits options for development on Māori-owned land in rural regions.

This research considers this legacy in three ways:

It identifies the segregating influence of colonisation and legislation over land use and its effect on access to housing.

It considers the responsiveness of local government in supporting papakāinga development centred on Māori values for an affordable housing development located in Kaitaia.

In collaboration with three communities, a series of proposals aimed at overcoming existing restrictions are developed. These visualisations of future development centre on Māori world views and aspirations for self-determination.

Fig. 1 Mitimiti (Google Earth, 2014)

Fig. 2 North Island (Google Earth, 2014)

Fig. 3 North Island (Google Earth, 2014)

Introduction - Nō hea koe?

Ko Tū Moana te tangata

Ko Tinana te waka

Ko Tarakeha te maunga

Ko Moetangi te awa

Ko Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri me Ngati Pākehā nga iwi

Ko Te Tao Maui te hapū

Ko Matihetihe te marae

No Mitimiti ahau

Ko Fleur Palmer taku ingoa

I am an architect. I come from Scottish, English, Māori and African ancestry. My Māori heritage is assimilated within a dominant Eurocentric culture, which has shaped the way I think, the way I have been educated, the way I speak, and the way I live. Being Māori has exposed me to imbalances that exist in relation to how Māori and Pākehā live, and this is especially apparent when I go back to where my Māori ancestors come from. My ancestral home in Aotearoa/New Zealand is Mitimiti, a small coastal marae north of the Hokianga. A settlement nestled within the atmospheric pressure of sea and sky. Once this was a thriving community. The hapū was communally cohesive. It had access to plentiful resources that had sustained it for centuries. Today, Mitimiti seems an idyllic place to outsiders, but for more than 100 years this area has been crippled by the effects of Māori Land Court interference and political jurisdiction, which has exiled people from this community, restricted access to local resources and limited the ability of the community to thrive and build a sustainable economy. Although Mitimiti will never be my physical home, it will always be my ancestral home. It is my connection to Mitimiti that has made me aware of systemic injustices facing Māori.

The complex terrain this research crosses is entangled in multiple conditions that adversely influence Māori housing development. From statistical evidence alone it can be difficult to see how spatial inequities, legislative restrictions and obstructive government policies impact on Māori. But, for families who are affected, the constraints are very real and the ramifications widespread. For example, the Motu family represent just one example of what it can be like for Māori families wanting to build houses. This family lives in Pukepotu, a fertile farming area on the outskirts of Kaitaia in the Far North. Instead of living in a house like their Pākehā neighbours, for over 50 years the Motu and their extended family have lived in a cowshed and various lean-tos, outhouses, caravans and tents scattered across their property. Their cowshed is on a small one-hectare block of rural land. The block is too small to meet planning requirements to build a real house, and the family is large. The Motu family have six children, 25 grandchildren and 31 great-grandchildren. They would love to be able to build several houses on their land to accommodate their family, and collectively occupy their land by building a traditional papakāinga using contemporary building techniques. However, under current legislation, the Far North District Council does not allow such developments to occur (Rural Environment of the Far North District Plan, 2012). The land the Motu family occupy is zoned for rural production. This limits housing to one house per 12 hectares (Rural Environment of the Far North District Plan, 2012, p.3). Unfortunately, the family own only one hectare of land close to Kaitaia. On an adjacent site, the Motu family's Pākehā neighbours live in purpose-built houses, on land zoned for higher density occupation. Here, legislation determines that families occupying these properties automatically have a right to build houses on their land in much larger density (Urban Environment of the Far North District Plan, 2012, p. 7). The zoning regulations the Motu family have to comply with is not an unusual occurrence for Māori families living in ancestral areas. Māori-owned land tends to be rurally zoned, where only low-density housing is permitted. On larger rural blocks, small dispersed papakāinga developments are permitted but controlled; apart from farming or forestry, all other economic activities are restricted. Such legislation concerning land use actively prevents Māori from building housing settlements that are economically viable and able to reflect their aspirations and cultural values.

The influence of the Māori Land Court

Land still under Māori control following the territorial expansion of colonisation is usually located in economically marginal areas. In these places, Māori communities are poor, with average incomes ranging from $14,500-$22,000 per annum (Statistics, 2013). Substandard accommodation is prevalent, because families either cannot afford to get a loan to build better houses, or cannot get a license to occupy communally owned land. This is because Māori land comes under a multiple shareholding structure, imposed and controlled through the Māori Land Court. Established by the Native Lands Act in 1862, as the Native Land Court of New Zealand and changed to the Māori Land Court in 1954, the court was set up by the Crown to stabilise a rapidly dwindling stock of Māori owned land, which had already been acquired by settlers, and to overcome disputes that had erupted over colonial occupation through shady dealings. By issuing certificates of title to Māori land, the Court destroyed tribal autonomy and provided legitimate access to land for settlement. While colonists and Crown exploited or took advantage of Māori ignorance of the legalities of land title under British law, some Māori were concurrently implicated in the sale of land, as they believed there would be mutual benefits in the collaboration (D. Williams & Tribunal, 2001).

With the extensive sale of Māori land and its partitioning into individual blocks from the 1860s, Māori moved from a society that predominantly occupied various regions in a fluid way. This was influenced by access to local seasonal food sources, fishing grounds and communal gardens, to partitioned blocks of land under cultivation. The Māori Land Court divisions disregarded the densities of people connected to each region (by only allowing a limited number of people to be named on the titles), as well as the different, and more flexible occupation of their land by Māori (D. V. Williams, 1999). The farming practices that were adopted by people who now held title under the Māori Land Court land divisions, were based on an assimilation of Pākehā models of land use, which exploited local resources in supposedly more economically productive and technologically advanced ways (even if this destroyed local ecologies). The partitioning of land instantly created conflicts within tribal groups and exiled families who were excluded in the title deeds.

Although the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed Māori: the "full and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties" (Lashley, 2000; Orange, 2011), these guarantees were effectively denied by the Crown. The latter took control over the juris-diction over land and also economic activities associated with fishing and forestry industries.

Importantly, Pākehā settlers were subsidised with government grants to develop farms and build settlements located in more fertile regions. Māori, by contrast, were not supported in this way, nor encouraged to control local resources or build local economies. Help only came later, in the 1920s and 30s, when the Crown initiated Māori land development schemes under Sir Apirana Ngata's influence, amalgamating titles into incorporations to control unproductive land blocks. These ended up being managed by Pākehā administrators and later transferred into Pākehā ownership (A. Harris, 1996).

Differing perceptions of land

Prior to colonisation, Māori did not conceive of outright ownership of land. Instead, their relationship to land was as kaitiaki (guardians). This role was intrinsically tied to a spiritual connection, linked to an ancestral genealogy that relied on an intimate alignment and interconnectedness to the natural world and spiritual world, where all forms of life were related by mauri (a spiritual life force). Emeritus Professor of Māori research and development, Sir Mason Durie writes that this interconnected relationship connects us to all things in such a way that "[p]eople are the land and the land is the people … we are the river, the river is us" (M. Durie, 2011, p. 139). This relationship endures "over centuries", through a collective, spiritual cultural knowledge and an ecological perspective, that provides the "basis for economic growth balanced against environmental sustainability for future generations" (p. 236).

This deep "unity with the environment" (Rossouw, 2008), affects how Māori think and act in the world. As kaitiaki, or guardians of the natural world and everything that is related to them, the well-being of the community is intimately influenced by the protection of the natural environment. This relationship is defined by the term Mauri. Mauri refers to the "vital essence" "of a being or entity" and is dependent on a bond between humans and the physical world. This bonding between things frames all actions within a wider context, and promotes an awareness of the importance of maintaining a sustainable balance between ex-isting communities, all living things, and physical resources for future generations (M. Durie, 2011). The welfare of the environment depends on the galvanisation of collective rather than

individual interests. If this link is broken and the natural environment becomes degraded, the vibrancy of mauri becomes diminished.

This interconnected perception of land radically conflicts with dominant Western perspectives, that regarded land and other physical entities primarily as commodities that can be owned or exploited to support personal interests, and which are only marginally protected in New Zealand through legislation under the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) (Fisher, 1991).

The effect of land lost

In an article investigating housing development on Māori land, Biddy Livesay (whose research focuses on indigenous issues in the planning of urban areas), notes that in 1806 Māori had the equivalent of 150 acres per person (B. Livesay, 2012). When Māori land was partitioned through the Māori Land Court into individual blocks, no allowance was made for population growth or subsequent land transactions that would erode initial land holdings. Today, only four to six percent of land in Aotearoa is left in Māori ownership. This figure does not account for land held under General title. With population growth, this predominantly rural land equates to roughly three hectares per shareholder (Government planning and support for housing on Māori land, 2011). Under these conditions, Māori will never be able to build sustainable communities that are economically viable in areas where they still own land, unless they can come up with alternative solutions for occupying their land and accessing local resources. Because of these difficulties, each year, the quantity of houses built on Māori land aren't able to meet the high demand (Kingi, 2013).

How This Research is Presented?

When compared with all other ethnic groups in Aotearoa, Māori have the lowest level of home ownership (R. Harris et al., 2006). Māori are 50 percent less likely to own their own home. In urban areas where Māori have been segregated from owning land, Māori are twice as likely to rely on rental accommodation, in poorer suburbs. Māori are more likely to live in substandard or overcrowded housing. These combined factors have a significant impact on health and well-being.

This thesis considers impediments which prevent Māori families from being able to build healthy and affordable housing when dealing with restrictive territorial legislation. It reflects on the complexities associated with the combination of the Māori Land Court jurisdiction, alienation from land, segregation from owning land in urban areas and obstructive government policies that prevent Māori-centred development in rural and urban areas from being realised. By looking specifically at three regions (Kaitaia, Te Karaka and North Hokianga) this research demonstrates how, under colonial rule, Māori have become segregated to living on isolated rural sites which have stagnated through restricted economic development, or trapped into living as tenants in urban areas, either as people who have been displaced from other districts, or as mana whenua (people who have been alienated on what was once ancestral land) who have nowhere left to go.

Aspirational visualisations of future development

Muriwhenua

1 Kaitaia

2 North Hokianga

Te Rarawa and Te Aupouri

Ngati Whatua
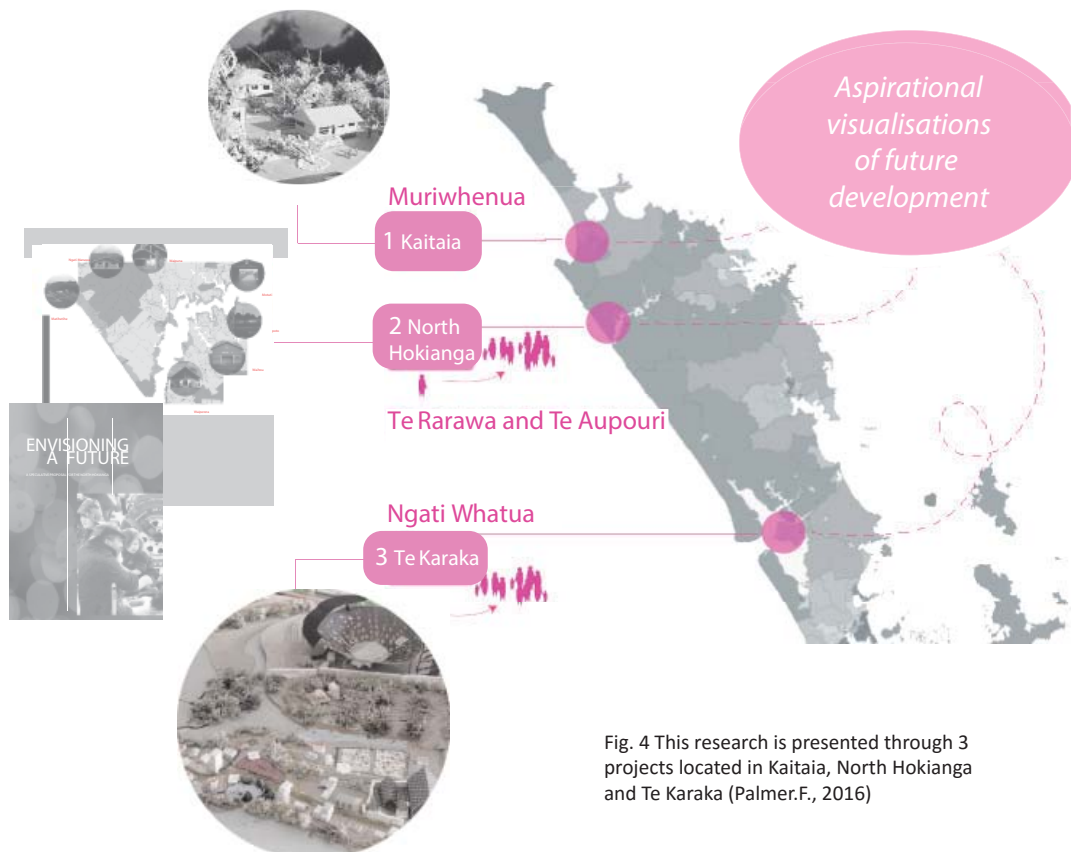
3 Te Karaka

Fig. 4 This research is presented through 3 projects located in Kaitaia, North Hokianga and Te Karaka (Palmer.F., 2016)

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Practices of thinking and imagining

The thesis begins with a chapter entitled Practices of thinking and imagining, which outlines my theoretical approach and a methodology that aligns to Kaupapa Māori and practices associated with indigenous ways of knowing and aspirations of social justice. This practice is also influenced by Henri Lefebvre (a French Marxist and social theorist who wrote about strategies to assert a right to occupy cities). To understand the context in which this research is located, I consider how historic transactions have led to current housing problems for Māori living in Kaitaia, Te Karaka and the North Hokianga regions and document a series of responses to trying to find a way to overcome legislative restrictions. This involved the development of a series of collaborative wānanga, that led to the creation of speculative proposals that visualised Māori aspirations for development.

In researching this topic and trying to develop relevant modes of practice, I looked for opportunities to collaborate with communities from Kaitaia and the North Hokianga. I chose these regions because I am tribally affiliated to the Far North, and I wanted to find a way to work with and support my own people, and deepen my connection to this region. I also collaborated with Ngati Whatua who are based in Auckland. This collaboration occurred when I was invited by Arohanui Hawke, to run a wānanga with her family for a site they owned called Te Karaka in South Auckland, after she had seen a presentation of the outcomes of a wānanga I set up in Kaitaia.

The visualisations of proposals for future development created for these three regions all illustrate in different ways how Māori communities might think of ways to overcome the injustice of systemic oppression and assert self-determination (M. Durie, 1998, 2003; 2013), build local economies, and access housing and other facilities in ways that are non-exploitive, culturally relevant and ecologically sustainable. The use of the term self-determination here, is influenced by Mason Durie's writings especially from *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination (*2013), where he considers how the history of past injustices that emerged in interactions between the Crown and Māori, have adversely impacted on social and economic well-being, and argues that social inequity and the injustices that came with loss of autonomy, can only be addressed through self-determination focused on the advancement of Māori people.

The three projects are presented as follows:

1 Kaitaia

To understand what happened historically in the Kaitaia district, and to consider the implications of colonisation on how Māori are able to have access to healthy housing within a contemporary context, I begin this chapter by outlining some of the significant land transactions that occurred with colonial settlement, which led to extensive land loss, and the spatial segregation and alienation of Māori currently living in this district (Davidson, 1987; A. Harris, 1996; Henwood, Pirini, & Harris, 2010; Stokes & Tribunal, 1997). In discussing only certain transactions which I feel demonstrate the issues that occurred with land transactions, a full history of this area is not covered, as this would extend beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I use this background to demonstrate the spatial inequities that have arisen with land ownership, and to consider whether land being returned under Treaty settlement will significantly change how Māori live and build housing in this area. This background is

followed by a report on Whare Ora. This is an 18-house affordable development, which is being built by He Korowai Trust. The aim of this project is to address the housing deficit in this region. My involvement in this project allowed me to test the local and regional councils' responsiveness to Māori aspirations for development, and thus to identify opportunities for activating change and overcoming restrictive legislation. With the Trust's support, I developed a collaborative wānanga to help families involved in the project visualise how they could live in resonance with their world views and aspirations. The first stage of this project was also built whilst undertaking this research, and I used these visualisations to apply for resource consent for the Trust (refer Appendix B). To demonstrate the obstacles this project faced, in this chapter I document its realization – as it worked its way through local council requirements, legal title contortions, the bindings of budgetary constraints, public resistance, crippling systemic legislative requirements, and problems that were encountered over using recycled houses that came from Glen Innes.

2 Te Karaka

Following the participatory wānanga developed for the Whare Ora project, I used a similar but slightly modified technique to generate a second series of proposals exploring Māori aspirations for self-determination and housing development. These proposals were created by the Hawke family for a site called Te Karaka in South Auckland. Like the previous project, I begin this chapter by tracking a history of land transactions that occurred in the Auckland region after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and outline the reasoning the was used to justify this family's eviction in 1950 from land that they owned in Ōrākei.

Faced with difficulties in being able to access affordable housing in Auckland, the Hawke family were interested in looking at ways to use a block of land they own in South Auckland to benefit all their shareholders.

Although the proposals designed by the family were not realised, and they were not limited by the budgetary constraints faced by the Whare Ora development, the aspirations asserted by the family in their visualisations of what they wanted to build on their land differed markedly from what was permitted under existing legislation

3 North Hokianga

The third and final project presented in this thesis is based in the North Hokianga, and involved a collaboration with seven marae. Unlike the proposals developed for Kaitaia and Te Karaka, which were located on large, single blocks of land, the North Hokianga is a regionally scaled project, so it required a shift in terms of how collaborative aspirations for future development that reflect Māori values could be imagined and visualised. Like the previous chapters on Kaitaia and Te Karaka, I begin by considering how historical transactions through Māori Land Court have become enforced through territorial legislation, and government policy to demonstrate how this has impinged on local development. Following this, is documentation of visualizations of aspirations for future development that were based on a series of hui held within the local community.

What does this research reveal?

The thesis concludes with a chapter outlining the key findings that emerged through this research practice.

Supporting evidence for this research practice is attached in appendices at the end.

Appendix A   The refurbishment of Tū Moana

Appendix B   A resource consent stage 1 Whare Ora

Methodology: Practices of thinking, imagining

Mā te rongo, ka mōhio; Mā te mōhio, ka mārama; Mā te mārama, ka mātau; Mā te mātau, ka ora.

Through resonance comes cognisance; through cognisance comes understanding; through understanding comes knowledge; through knowledge comes life and well-being.

In working within and across Māori and Pākehā worlds, this chapter reflects on how I have positioned my practice as an architectural professional and Māori researcher within the university and also as a member of my community, and I discuss why a theoretical framework directed towards indigenous thinking and Kaupapa Māori (a thinking that follows Māori philosophical beliefs and values) has been critical to the development of a practice that aims to harness knowledge already present within Māori communities, and which acknowledges and affirms multiple types of wisdom and experience (G. H. Smith, 1997b; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999b).

Although located within a Kaupapa Māori framework, my mode of practice is also influenced by Henri Lefebvre, a French philosopher who wrote about ways to respond to issues of social and spatial inequity and rethink how to overcome spatial exclusion and assert the aspirations of a wider community. I discuss the relevance to Lefebvre's influence in more detail in a chapter called *Using Visioning Techniques*.

When civil rights movements were gaining traction in places like the United States of America, similar movements (with a history that stretched back to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi) also emerged in Aotearoa. In the late 1960s, groups such as MOOHR (Māori Organisation on Human Rights) were leading the fight against continued racism and injustice by advocating for a revolutionary change in people's thinking and actions to "rectify apartheid and all its evils" (Poata, 2012, p. 106), and fight back against years of significant racial oppression. Similarly, Nga Taumatoa, formed by Māori students from Auckland University in the 1970s, also advocated for tino rangitiratanga (Māori control over Māori things), holding New Zealand's history of colonisation to account for the social injustices that affected Māori (A. Harris, 2004). Then in 1975, Māori land rights were further highlighted when Dame Whina Cooper (aged 75) set off from Cape Reinga and walked the length of the North Island to Parliament in the Māori land march to protest over loss of land. This was followed three years later in 1978 by the eviction from Bastion Point of Māori protestors who occupied the site in protest against government plans to develop it (A. Harris, 2004).

In my training as an architect in the 1980s, although there was extensive activity associated with Māori land rights, I felt concepts of spatial justice weren't on the agenda within the Architectural School, as there seemed to be little interest in projects that overtly interrogated how Māori occupied our cities or other places, or consideration of how the spaces we occupy have been socially and ethnically segregated through processes of colonisation. Nor was there any consideration of who has been privileged to have a right to housing in Aotearoa, or who has been excluded as part of this process. Architectural practices seemed to be indifferent to the displacement that happened to Māori communities. The school's focus seemed to be disconnected from a commitment to interrogating social, political or environmental concerns that specifically related to indigenous peoples (see also Barnes, Hoskins Maher, 1994).

At the time I found this problematic, as I thought, in terms of place-based struggles, a lot of things had transpired in Aotearoa. Within this context, I knew I had something to contribute but, I did not have the confidence to articulate my thoughts in an intelligible way, or understand how I could to shape my practice so that it could authentically resonate with ideas that related to thinking about place, alienation, consideration of local ecologies, and the ongoing

effects of colonial oppression in relation to the Māori experience and Māori world views. I wanted to practice in a way that was ethically engaged, and specifically relevant to the Māori that I knew, who are excluded and have no voice within the academic context where my research would be situated. I also wanted to be able to address in a practical way how Māori might be able to determine their own futures in accessing affordable housing and generating change against an oppressive legacy of colonisation.

Looking over the research that specifically relates to Māori housing, I found an extensive body of work that focuses on historical building typologies: (Best, 1952; Brown, 2004, 2005; 2009; McKay, 2002, 2004; McKay & Brown, 1992; McKay & Walmsley, 2003; McKay, Walmsley, & Design, 2005) , or which considers the influence of Māori culture on architecture: (Austin, 2001; Brown, 1996), or government reports that centre on Māori deficit problems: (Boston, Dalziel, & John, 1999; Butler, Williams, Tukuitonga, & Paterson, 2003; R. Harris et al., 2006), or studies that link health to poverty and substandard housing: (P Howden-Chapman, 2004; Philippa Howden-Chapman & Caroli, 2004; Philippa Howden-Chapman et al., 2007; Howden-Chapman, Isaacs, Crane, & Chapman, 1996), or research that considers the ineffectiveness of district councils' response to Māori aspirations to housing development; (Backhurst et al., 2004; Garth Harmsworth, 2002; GR Harmsworth, 2004; G. R. Harmsworth, 1997; Neill, 2003), or which define culturally inclusive ways to develop and assess papakāinga, based on Māori centred guidelines.Tū Whare Ora; (Awatere, Pauling, Hoskin, & Rolleston, 2008; *Ki te hau kāinga–new perspectives on Mäori housing solutions*, 2004), or based on mātauranga Māori such as the Mauri model (Morgan, 2006), or building Whare Uku (earth houses) using sustainable locally sourced materials; (Cheah, 2014; Morgan, 2005), but there are few examples of research that explicitly examines how Māori communities overcome legislative restrictions to access affordable housing. While the Auditor General's report (Government planning and support for housing on Māori land, 2011), Productivity Commission reports (Commission, 2012) and Charles Waldegrave et al's analysis of Māori housing experiences (Waldegrave, King, Walker, & Fitzgerald, 2006), identify the issues that affect access to housing and difficulties encountered in navigating between different agencies, the wider political concerns that Māori have to grapple with in determining their own futures, and the nightmarish realities that Māori face in trying to build affordable housing within a restrictive legislative environment, have not been addressed. My project attempts to enter this field, but in researching this area through my practice, I had to find an appropriate way to do this.

Kaupapa Māori

In advocating for research practices that engage with indigenous ways of knowing and aspirations of social justice, Linda Tuhiwai Smith's seminal book Decolonising Methodologies (1999a), considers the assumptions made by Western approaches to Māori research which, she argues, continue to undermine Māori communities and reinforce unequal power relations. To support an anti-colonial alternative to this tradition, her response is to assert a Māori-centred approach to research that engages with Te Ao Māori (Māori world views) and Kaupapa Māori (Māori knowledge) (Smith, 2000).

Over the last two decades, Kaupapa Māori has been extensively developed and endorsed within a growing body of literature by Māori academics; (Bishop, 1999, 2005; Henry & Pene, 2001; Kennedy & Jefferies, 2009; Mane, 2009; G. H. Smith, 1997a). In response to Treaty of Waitangi obligations, Kaupapa Māori has been universally adopted within government policies.

However, in challenging the right of Pākehā to dominate and exclude Māori, and in asserting Māori knowledge and practice, I feel that we are still trying to find ways to authentically and confidently engage with Kaupapa Māori, and challenge the status quo through academic research practices, and come to grips with a field of knowledge that previously has been repressed. Within this context, I also had to overcome my own fear of my legitimacy or right to use this term.

While I identify with being Māori through my whakapapa, my cultural knowledge is limited. I do not know about being Māori. Anything I do know about *being* Māori comes from my intuition and what is embedded in my DNA. By overtly locating my research within a Kaupapa Māori framework, I have felt unstable, and this feeling is reinforced by my identity and background. I come from mixed Pākehā and Māori ancestry. My research is about Māori and access to housing, but I grew up under the influence of a mother who loathed being half-caste and coming from what she perceived to be an inferior culture (Fanon, 2008). I have only ever lived in houses modelled on Pākehā values. At school I learnt French and Latin, not Te Reo. My undergraduate studies reinforced Western modes of practice. Given this background I was vulnerable. How would my ability to relate to Te Ao Māori or my sensitivity to Tikanga and concepts relating to Kaupapa Māori be judged? I was liable to make gross assumptions. In using Kaupapa Māori to locate my research, although I am Māori, I am so colonised that I don't really know what this means. But Māori in itself is a colonising term, as being Māori is never a distinct position but it is inextricably tied to our history of colonisation, which is manifested in internalised patterns of racism (Freire, 2000; Lipsky, 2007). and oppression that pitches Māori against Māori. As I am vulnerable, I have relied heavily on my tuakana (older siblings) from Te Ara Poutama and Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, and my whānaunga (kin) from Mitimiti to guide me. Without their support, it would have been impossible to do this research.

By locating the research within a Kaupapa Māori framework, this supports the idea that the research is Māori centred.

While sometimes I feel that the term Kaupapa Māori has been colonised and become exclusive by only recognising indigenous thinking as a way of legitimately asserting Māori world views and self-determination within Western academic institutions, I also believe that Kaupapa Māori is strategically and politically important, as it defines a framework that is directly relevant to Māori communities, by challenging the assumptions that are made, and by engaging in a politically active practice. This practice supports a holistic and imaginative way of thinking focused on Te Ao Māori and immersed within an ancestral lineage associated in a shared belief in the interdependence and connectivity of all things – both animate and

Fig. 5 Map of theoretical context (Palmer, F., 2015)

inanimate (Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999; Nepe, 1991; Royal, 1992; G. H. Smith, 1997a; L.T. Smith, 1999a; Walsh-Tapiata, 1998).

The thinking associated with Te Ao Māori is different to a Western approach which follows a Cartesian mind/body split. This split encourages a distinct separation between nature and culture, or a separation between the thinking self and physical body. It is this split that enables the human self to be a "rational, free and self-determining agent" (Coole and Froste, 2010, p.72). This separation has a direct influence on how we practice, and how we are able to exploit and control local resources in the name of progress and modernity. In contrast to this mind set, in the Māori world there can never be a separation between ourselves and the natural world. Instead of an 'us them' mentality or a nature/culture divide (Yates, 2008), Māori knowledge systems always consider the recognition of non-humans and other entities in the creation of our world. In the Māori world, the universe is perceived as a multidimensional field of ongoing and contingent negotiations between all things. Because everything is interconnected, the nature/culture divide becomes dissolved, as things and events become redistributed across a field of diverse entanglements. This interconnectivity between all things leads to a different way of thinking about how we build things, how we co-produce, how we share our world with all other things.

This belief in an interconnectedness between all things in turn raises ethical questions about how humans and all other things from microorganisms to climatic elements are organised, and become complicit in the act of making the world. It is the shared interaction between things that enables our world to emerge.

In turn, this leads to a different way of imagining the world in relation to how we build things, how we co-produce, how we theorise and share our world with all other things. The ontological thinking associated with Te Ao Māori is not dissimilar to Taoist and Buddhist practices and the belief systems of indigenous people from other parts of the world, who also share a belief in a deep connection to our world that entangles all things in such a way that nothing is inherently separate from anything else. As a framework for thinking about how we can all act in a more ethical and sustainable way, adopting this line of thinking is powerful, as whenever we take action, wider contexts must always be considered that extend well beyond the limitations of a practice reliant on human-centred paradigms (associated with the Anthropocene) and exploitive practices.

To develop a practice in response to this framework, writing by indigenous scholars who have been active in interrogating ongoing social and economic inequities affecting Māori such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999a), Graham Smith (1997a),Tania Ka'ai (2004), Manuka Henare (1988), Mason Durie (1998), Charles Royal (1992), Māori Marsden (1975) and Ranginui Walker (1984) helped me develop my practice in a way that was specific to the contexts I was operating in and that also resonated with Māori world views. This methodology follows practices and beliefs associated with tikanga (Mead & Mead, 2003). It is also aimed at identifying the systems, barriers of control and institutional racisms that impinge on local development. While I cannot definitively state what Kaupapa Māori means, as I feel the term comes with its own very specific nuanced series of diverse interpretations depending on who is doing the writing and the different contexts that it is responding to, my response to Kaupapa Māori looks something like the map (pictured left). This map represents a fluid space of ebbs and flows that move in and out of focus. As I have drifted across this territory and picked up information from a range of sources that seemed relevant to my practice, I have also allowed myself to follow my gut instinct in finding out how I could respond in a way, that enables the assertion of my own role as a kaitiaki and of thinking of ways of being respectful of all other things, and of finding ways to apply this as a practice by collaboratively creating aspirations for future development that can reflect this thinking.

Fig. 6 He Korowai wānanga (Yong, K.V., 2012)

Using visioning techniques

Under existing restrictions since colonisation, few examples of Māori-led housing developments have been successfully realised in Aotearoa. Working with 3 communities (located in Kaitaia, Te Karaka, North Hokianga), for this research, I developed a series of wānanga and hui that led to the generation of collaborative proposals of aspirations for future development. These collaborations enabled the communities involved to imagine, strategically plan and visualise an alternative future that asserted Māori aspirations for development unbound by legislative constraints.

While my methodology is located within a Kaupapa Māori framework, my strategy in using wānanga to collaboratively create visualisations of aspirations for future development draws on ideas developed by Henri Lefebvre. Although he was not a practitioner, Lefebvre was a theorist who was interested in thinking about how to achieve social justice through engaging in participatory techniques. In *The Right to the City*, Lefebvre argued that "participation in decision-making regarding the space of the city and the ability to appropriate this space are critical components to achieving the right to the city" (Lefebvre, Kofman, & Lebas, 1996). According to Lefebvre, it is up to the people who inhabit the city to set up these relationships, but what generally happens is that the people who should be involved in participating in making decisions are left out, as decisions are determined from the top down. Designers play a critical role in creating opportunities to ensure that a more inclusive practice occurs, but this rarely happens. In Aotearoa, the models that determine how our environments are constructed are already determined by legislation based on dominant Western models that privilege cadastral law, individual property rights and exploitive land use practices, over Māori models of land use, occupancy and wider collective interests. In striving for spatial equity, Lefebvre believes that two strategies are required to initiate policy change. One is to engage in a "political programme of urban reform". To enable this to happen requires participation of *all* inhabitants to take part in "decision making processes" that shape "spatial and social conditions". Wary of existing structures being imposed upon participants, Lefebvre also insists that this participatory process should not be "defined by the framework and the possibilities of prevailing society or subjugated to a 'realism'." (Lefebvre, 2000). Because he argues, that realism limits the possibility of creatively imagining a future that extends beyond the limitations of what we already know or which engages in other approaches to how we do things. Engaging in a participatory process that sits outside existing frameworks is problematic within Aotearoa, as our regulatory and economic environment always defaults to a Western capitalist framework which privileges individual property rights and an economy based on exclusive and exploitive practices and modes of operating that does not recognise or reflect Māori values.

Also within this framework, local district councils would argue that a participatory process is precisely what the Resource Management Act (1991) (RMA) and Local Government Acts (1974) (LGA) (an act aimed at "promoting Māori engagement in local government decision-making") (Memon & Thomas, 2006), encourages by initiating consultations through hapū development plans, and "political representation on council committees, appointment of iwi liaison staff within councils", (Jefferies et al., 2002).

However, problems emerge under the current consultation process, as the people consulted by councils don't always represent the voice of the disenfranchised and those who have been exiled and disempowered from participating in any conversation that recognises their needs as a displaced people.

In a paper that assesses council success in responding to Māori concerns over lack of consultation, Jefferies and his collaborators argue that even with "active participation by Māori in the planning process there was little capacity building to assist Māori and councils in improving plans" (Jefferies et al., 2002). Thus, despite a rhetoric of inclusiveness, the RMA fails to

generate better housing outcomes for Māori as it is not able to reach the majority of Māori who have been exiled through processes of colonisation, and prevented from participating in building local economies that are environmentally sustainable.

Lefebvre argues that the reason for this failure is because the important discussions needed to implement profound changes have been already defined (Lefebvre et al., 1996). In this instance, it is already defined through RMA legislation and associated local government policies controlling all resources.

When laws become established, it is difficult to challenge their authority. This inability to make changes to the status quo stifles any possibility of enabling "visionary strategies or policies" (Lefebvre et al., 1996), to be considered, or policies to be developed that could make a significant difference in supporting Māori communities who have been alienated.

In response to this limitation, Lefebvre stresses that to make significant changes the "system needs to be structured so as to enable the enactment of visionary strategies and policies that go beyond pragmatics while still being realisable" (Lefebvre et al., 1996). But, based on research that analyses the effectiveness of iwi and hapū participation, there has been little incentive within district councils to encourage this process to occur, as councils have had "limited capacity for effectively involving Māori in planning and governance under the RMA" (Backhurst et al., 2004).

Lefebvre's second strategy to initiate change is through the "experimentation with models and spatial forms and urban time" (Lefebvre et al., 1996). This requires a testing of theoretical ideas against real conditions that "allow for the appropriation of space and the exercise of imagination in ways that allow the city's inhabitants to experience the freedoms and releases of a full and creative everyday life" (Lefebvre et al., 1996).

However, for families caught in the daily grind of simply surviving day to day in substandard or overcrowded housing, working in low-paid jobs and being held back from building their own housing through limited finance or obstructive territorial legislation which imposes laws that define how Māori should live, it can be difficult to collectively have the freedom to imagine another type of reality or a better future.

Faced by the realities imposed by restrictive legislation and trapped within intergenerational cycles of poverty and state dependency, a dream of participating in a full and creative everyday life for many families is inaccessible. This can prevent the "enactment of visionary strategies" (Lefebvre et al., 1996) from being realised. So the question is how can this be achieved?

Following Lefebvre's lead and also by looking at participatory techniques developed by spatial activists from around the world which have been used to empower marginalised communities (Awan, Schneider, & Till, 2013; Di Gessa, 2008; Hamdi, 1995) and also provoked by Smith's argument that we need to engage in processes of visualisation to activate change (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999a), for this research, I experimented with using wānanga to generate collaborative visualisations of proposals for future development.

In a paper describing the use of participatory mapping techniques to empower marginalised communities, Stefano Di Gessa argues that visualisations are a potent way to intuitively communicate ideas and assert a collective aim that can cut through rigid frameworks predetermined by legislation, or historical events that have disempowered or stopped communities from moving ahead (Di Gessa, 2008).

Rather than talking about what could happen to instigate changes, which can be vague and indeterminate, or which can readily default to existing restrictions, and become caught up by limitations such as not having enough money to do ambitious developments to support the wider community, visualisations can be used as a tool to rethink how we can occupy our environments and access local resources in a sustainable way, by helping large groups of people strategically plan for the future and think of ways to overcome existing restrictions. If carefully planned, it has been argued that visualisations can enable multiple collaborators to actively participate in decision-making processes (Coombes, Gombay, Johnson, & Shaw, 2011; Coombes, Johnson, & Howitt, 2012a, 2012b, 2014; Di Gessa, 2008).

With aims of empowerment, different variants of this mode of collaborative practice is often referred to as Participatory Action Research (PAR), and has been applied across many disciplines and notably used by architects such as Nabeel Hamdi (1991) and John Turner (1972) to design alternative methods for working with local communities to build affordable housing, support self-determination and develop local economies. Although not specifically relating to housing or built environments PAR has also been applied to local research projects aimed at activating change in combination with kaupapa Māori methodologies (refer Gatenby & Humphries, 2000, Moller et al, 2009, Fine et al, 2004; Kindon et al 2008). These projects highlight the conflicts associated with the power relations that can emerge between researchers and local communities. When this is combined with the overlay of Colonisation, the question of who has control, or how is control relinquished through participation and who benefits or becomes empowered through this research becomes critical.

As an architect I am familiar with using visual material such as one and two dimensional maps and models (both physical and virtual) to communicate a design intension. As an educator, I am also familiar with finding ways to empower students in their use of visual material to articulate their ideas. While children will draw or play with Leggo or blocks or Minecraft to intuitively create imaginary worlds (without inhibition), adults can be more fearful when asked to express their ideas visually as they don't always have the tools to construct an imaginary world. As people don't know how to express their ideas in this way, they turn to professionals to determine the outcome. But the tools architects and designers use to visualise ideas are relatively simple. While sometimes they rely on drawing mediums to plan out schemes which requires a certain level of visual literacy, they also use small scaled contoured three dimensional site models and props with building and landscaping elements to demonstrate a design idea. While these elements eventually become more complex as the designs become more developed, at the initial stages, they are relatively simple. Anybody without specific training can use them to design an imaginary world, so long as they have something to shape their ideas. To enable this to happen, for this research I developed a series of scale models of different sites and provided props which were used by communities from different

regions to collaboratively visualise alternative futures.

The context used for generating these visualisations were created within marae or wānanga settings, and were facilitated by members of the trusts or marae associated with each region from Kaitaia, Te Karaka and North Hokianga. Marae or wānanga settings create a context that is significantly different from what happens within a design charrette or design workshop. In a wānanga the participants engage in Māori modes of being that follow tikanga (a series of protocols), to establish whakapapa (the relationship between things) and to create a space where cultural values and other relevant issues are discussed. The wānanga is a place of looking, of listening, and of learning. Critical to this context is establishing whananungatanga and the building of trust and respect between the participants in such a way that a common ground can be established. This sets a foundation for the research that extends well beyond the narrow confines and timeframes of what typically defines a research project, as it sets up a series of reciprocal life-long obligations to the community on the part of the researcher. In this thesis these obligations led to a series of side projects to the research that were carried out in support of these communities (such as in the refurbishment of Tu Moana) and even after this research is completed, obligations to support the community continue.

For each project, people were invited to participate in the wānanga, based on their connections to the trust or marae and the numbers of people involved in the wānanga ranged in scale from 20 to 100 people for each session. As I developed my confidence in participating in wānanga and using a collaborative process for generating visualisations, I also adjusted how they were realised, based on what I had learnt, and also in response to projects which operated at different scales. The rationale behind these modifications is discussed in more detail within each chapter.

To participate in these collaborations, I sought ethics approval (14/197 Papakāinga) and the research was also endorsed by Te Rarawa rūnanga. In granting ethics approval, universities follow their own procedures that don't always recognise the nuances of tikanga and kawa associated with what is involved in working with Māori communities and the particular responsibilities that an insider researcher faces. As a Māori researcher, I feel that I will always be held accountable by my own community and this extends well beyond the scope of this project, and in representing this community I will also be held accountable for how I interface with other groups.

By involving local communities in this collaborative process, I acknowledge that the visioning techniques developed for this research carries a risk of creating false hope, and if nothing positive eventuates from this process it will have been a waste of time for everyone involved. But I also believe that in order to confront over 170 years of oppression and instigate legislative and policy changes, we need to understand how Māori are manipulated by existing legislative controls and urgently find alternative approaches to support their interests and assert mana motuhake (self-determination) (M. Durie, 1998). I believe visualisations are useful for the communities involved, as they can open up a dialogue that enables communities to negotiate across a history of conflict and injustice, and recognize a better future that becomes something that they can shape. As Paulo Freire argues in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, by considering what has occurred, this enables people who have been subjugated understand more clearly what has happened so that they can find ways to "more wisely build the future" (Freire, 2000. P57).

While our communities may not have the resources to achieve our goals, and legislation and government policy continues to impose restrictions which do not actively support Māori development, in asserting a collective ambition that visualises how Māori would like to live to support the health and well-being of their people and take care of the environment, I hope that by highlighting relevant problematic areas of racism embedded within legislation and government policy, and explaining the visioning practices created within this research, that this will help initiate significant changes to existing discriminatory legislation and government policy.

Fig. 7 Māori Housing surveyed in the 1930's (Alexander Turnbull Library)

Fig. 8 Family living in a skyline garage Rangi Point (Palmer, F., 2012)

Kaitaia

This chapter outlines some of the significant historical contexts that have spatially segregated Māori from ownership of land and access to resources in Kaitaia and the impact of this history on access to affordable housing. As part of this background I also consider the Treaty settlement and its potential to provide land for building housing on. This background was published in the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga Conference Proceedings (Palmer, 2012). This introduction leads into Whare Ora, an affordable housing project developed by He Korowai Trust. This project was aimed at responding to the housing deficit in Kaitaia, by using houses recycled from Glen Innes. To support this project, and find ways to overcome existing restrictions, I developed my first collaborative wānanga with He Korowai Trust and families selected by the Trust to be involved in the project to help them visualise their aspirations for the development. This wānanga was was led by He Korowai Trust and it followed marae protocols to establish whakawanangatanga and identify the core values of the group. These visualisations were used to generate a Resource Consent application for the Trust. To demonstrate the hurdles that Māori communities encounter, the text also tracks the complex progression of this project, and the chain of ongoing obstacles it face

Historical Context

Because of its fertility and access to abundant food reserves, Kaitaia was a pan tribal area (Ngāti Kurī, Ngāi Takoto, Te Pātū, Ngāti Kahu, Te Aupōuri and Te Rarawa),that was traditionally occupied by large populations of Māori for centuries. According to archaeological records and oral traditions: "Muriwhenua tribes mainly settled in coastal regions, around harbours and river valleys, and in particular favourable inland areas, notably those with fertile volcanic soils and volcanic hills suitable for occupation and defence." With its fertile alluvial plains, and swamp teaming with eel, Kaitaia was an ideal site for Māori settlement. As Janet Davidson, an archaeologist who carried out extensive research on Māori settlements, writes "Parts of Northland were densely settled and wealthy in the 18th century; some parts seem to have been densely settled and wealthy for most if not all of the prehistoric period. The evidence is still to be seen in the rich archaeological landscapes." (Davidson, 1983, p. 291).

Colonial settlement led to extensive land loss in the Kaitaia region, and this has had ongoing ramifications for the descendants of the original occupants alienated from their tribal land and excluded from owning land in the urban centre.

Unlike the racism associated with segregative practices that occurred in the United States or Australia, the ongoing effect of the spatial segregation that excluded Māori from owning land in Kaitaia through colonisation and its legacy, which has been enforced within legislation, is a less visible operation that has created a structure of privilege and control over local resources at the expense of Māori communities.

In Kaitaia, this process began in 1834, when Nopero Panakareao (a prominent Te Rarawa chieftain) made the first of a series of large transactions, comprising 22,000 acres of fertile land in Kaitaia with Church Missionary Society missionary Joseph Mathews and Gilbert Puckley (R. Walker, 1984). Panakareao's motive in setting up the exchange was primarily to attract development into the region, based on the notion that shared trade would bring shared wealth to his people. He had observed the development of trade that had been generated in the Bay of Islands with settlers, but settlement and industry that Panakareao anticipated for the Kaitaia region never occurred.

When Panakareao made the transactions 'tuku whenua' was the term used to translate the sale of land. Tuku whenua refers to a reciprocal relationship based around the gifting of land and its occupation. As Stokes (1997) notes in the Muriwhenua report: "The important elements of tuku whenua were, firstly, the 'gift' (tuku) of land and the circumstances surrounding the offer of land. Secondly, actual occupation, confirmed by marriage is expected, and required to maintain any rights in the land. Thirdly, the rights and mana were maintained, occupation is shared, and if for any reason occupation ceased, the rights reverted to the donor." (Stokes & Tribunal, 1997, pp. 630-631).

With Treaty of Waitangi claim processes, there has been extensive debate over Panakareo's right to sell the land on behalf of Te Rarawa and other tribes living in the region, and also consideration determining at what stage Māori understanding of tuku whenua developed to mean permanent alienation (Mutu, 1992). Panakareao wrongly assumed when he agreed to tuku whenua land in Kaitaia for the missionaries that land not used would be returned according to customary tradition. Instead, when early, large claims such as the Kaitaia mission station were reviewed through the Māori Land Court, rather than being returned, using the Native Townships Act 1895 to justify its action, the land was taken by the Crown as surplus (Stokes & Tribunal, 1997; R. J. Walker, 1984).

Following this initial sale, land loss across the region escalated from the early 1850s to the 1880s to support Pākehā settlement, as agents for the Crown began aggressively purchasing over 95,000 acres of land. In the 1840s, Te Rarawa had about 345,000 acres of land, by the 1950s only 50,000 acres was left and most of that land was marginal (*Te Rarawa Te Rünunga o Te Rarawa, Treaty settlement Offer, He Whakamāramatanga,* 2011).

Diminishing Resources

While Māori lost significant tracts of land in the Kaitaia region that they had previously relied on for their livelihood, they also lost control over other resources such as the forests and fisheries. (Te Rarawa Te Rünunga o Te Rarawa, Treaty settlement Offer, He Whakamāramatanga, 2011).

Until the 1970s, forests in the region were managed by the New Zealand Forest Service, who logged the trees to supply timber for housing projects in settlements around New Zealand. When Māori communities living in the region requested permission to extract timber from the forest to build their own homes, schools and marae, this was denied by local administrators. Those fortunate enough to be left with land to build on had to make do with ready-to-hand materials, either building traditional houses (whare nikau with earthen floors) or makeshift shacks.

During this period, no compensation or consideration was made to the local iwi in payment for the extraction of timber or loss of this resource (*Te Rarawa Te Rünunga o Te Rarawa, Treaty settlement Offer, He Whakamāramatanga,* 2011). In effect, local tribes from this region invested their forests without compensation into the development of Pākehā settlements. Under the Muriwhenua Treaty settlement forests will be returned in a co-governance agreement with the Department of Conservation. But under this settlement, local iwi must overcome the ecological damage caused by extensive deforestation, possum infestation and Kauri dieback.

Māori traditionally built their houses using a lightweight timber frame made weather tight with thatched materials such as raupo, toitoi, wiwi, kakano, nikau or straw (Harman, 2014). Fast to build, these houses allowed Māori to quickly set up temporary settlements as they moved between seasonal food-gathering areas. But in 1842 the government introduced New

Zealand's first building legislation, known as the Raupo Houses Ordinance. This Ordinance imposed fines on traditional thatched houses, on the grounds that they were a fire hazard. The ordinance was aimed at encouraging the construction of more permanent wooden villas. But with loss of their forests and no access to forestry reserves to build European-style houses, families were restricted in what they could build. (Harman, 2014).

Although Māori continued to occupy land taken by the Crown or sold to new landowners, they risked being evicted. Up until the 1960s, several families lived in squatters' huts located on the Tangonge block near Kaitaia (on what families believed to be their land), but after several attempts had been made to remove them based on poor living conditions, they were eventually forcibly removed by the Crown. The huts were "typical of contemporary Māori accommodation" for families who "could not afford to build better quality homes" (Stokes & Tribunal, 1997, p. 537). One of them, documented in a report written in the 1930s by Taua of the Native Department, is described as follows:

> 1 couple 5 children
>
> 1 couple 2 children
>
> An iron hut about 12 [feet] x 15 [feet] [4 x 5 meters] with 2 doors. No windows, open fire and mud floor.
>
> The furniture consisted of two beds and a small homemade table. There were no proper facilities for storage of food, these being left in a corner of the shack in boxes under the table. The water supply is a hole in the ground about 2 chains [50 meters] away from the shack and there is no lavatory. (Taua as cited in Stokes & Tribunal, 1997, p. 538).

Although this account was written in the 1930s, living conditions for Māori living in the Far North have not changed significantly in the intervening years. In remote areas where the housing stock is poor, there are families still living in makeshift houses built from cowsheds, Skyline garages, shipping containers and buses.

Discriminatory state housing and policies

At the same time as the investigation into squatters' huts on the Tangonge block took place, the government was initiating an extensive social housing programme to overcome housing shortages in the main city centres. Under the Native Townships Act of 1895 the Crown acquired extensive tracts of surplus land to set up townships in the North Island, and from the 1930s to the 1970s, under different government regimes, the state began building over 100,000 state houses in cities across New Zealand. Proudly promoted for the superb quality of their design and construction, state houses from the 1930s to the 1970s were constructed to a high standard, framed in good-quality native timbers such as Rimu, with suspended Matai or Tawa floors and clad in heart Rimu weatherboards or brick cladding (Schrader & Birkinshaw, 2005) "The materials specified in state houses were of a very high standard as these houses were expected to have a long life".(Ryan, Burgess, & Easton, 2008) (refer also (Schrader & Birkinshaw, 2005; Stevens, 2014)).

While 'free' materials were extracted from native forests to build state housing in urban areas of New Zealand from the 1930s to the 1970s, Māori were obstructed from accessing

similar materials to build their own Māori-led settlements, and they were also prevented from occupying state houses "on the grounds that their presence would allegedly 'lower the tone' of state housing communities and because few could afford the rent". (Schrader & Birkinshaw, 2005, p. 57).

There was also an interest in keeping the races separate. This policy changed following the Hunn report (Hunn, 1960), that led to the introduction of a new practice that allowed for the integration of Māori into European settlements by widely dispersing them in a scheme known as "pepper potting" (M. Kawharu, 2001).

In rural areas, unable to ignore the condition of Māori housing, state assistance was eventually offered for Māori housing on rural blocks through the Department of Māori Affairs in the form of rural land development loans, to replace dilapidated housing. However, further discriminatory practices occurred by restricting the scale and quality of houses that Māori could build using these loans. For instance, although Māori tended to have big families, the loans to Māori for rural housing were limited to smaller houses than state-sponsored Pākehā housing, which inevitably caused overcrowding (Cheyne, O'Brien, & Belgrave, 1997).

The Muriwhenua Treaty Settlement

With an influx of immigrants into the Kaitaia district and segregation by the Crown through extensive land purchases, Māori quickly became excluded from owning land within or close to places that would became the centre of industrial and commercial activity in the Kaitaia region, and they also lost access to the Tangonge swamp which was a vital food reserve.

In the 2006 Census, the township of Kaitaia had a population of 5202, of which 43.9 percent were Māori. Forty-three percent of all dwellings in Kaitaia were rented. According to Māori Land online records (2011) Māori owned two small blocks in the town centre. No commercial, industrial or residential land was in Māori ownership (see Figure 9). This map doesn't identify Māori ownership under General Title. The map to the right (Figure 10) shows the addition of land (in pink) returned with the Treaty settlement (which includes the hospital, local schools and reserves and the Tangonge block). None of the returned Treaty settlement land is located in the commercial, industrial or residential hub of the town. These maps demonstrate an invisible yet insidious division that occurs at the centre of Kaitaia in relation to land ownership. Māori are excluded from land ownership in the urban centre.

Under the Treaty settlement, Māori will continue to primarily occupy Kaitaia as tenants working in Pākehā-owned businesses, and subsisting on low incomes. This reliance on rental accommodation, coupled with a low income-earning capacity, traps Māori families into intergenerational cycles of poverty, where families are unable to earn enough to buy their own homes, develop their own businesses, or break free from a cycle of dependency.

With no options for the return of residential land under the proposed Treaty settlement, the status quo will be maintained through the separation and exclusion of Māori control from central Kaitaia.
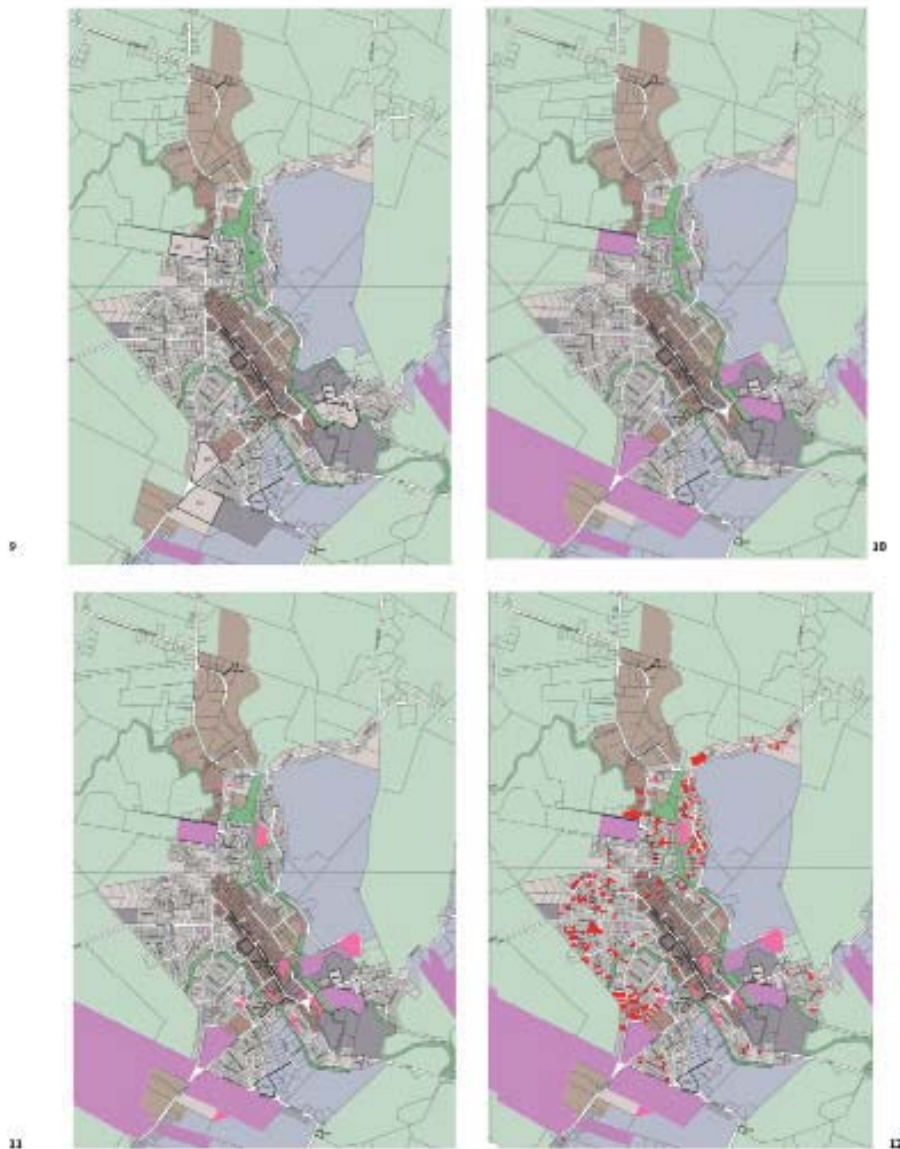
Fig. 9 Who owns Kaitaia? A composite image generated from zoning maps Far North District Council and Treaty settlement data, and Māori Land online shows the spatial segregation of the urban centre of Kaitaia. Māori land is shown in pink. In this map there are only two small sites that are Māori owned in the residentially zoned area, and a small farm in the bottom left hand corner (Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 10 Post settlement land. A composite image generated from zoning maps Far North District Council and Treaty settlement data, shows the return of the Tangonge block schools and reserves and the hospital, but no residential land (Palmer. F., 2013)

Fig. 11 Council added land. This composite image includes the addition of council land (Palmer. F., 2013)

Fig. 12 State houses added. This composite image includes the addition of State housing data, and a shows a more even distribution of residentially zoned land (Palmer. F., 2013)

In *Urbanizing Frontiers*: *Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities*, a book that considers the colonial effect of exclusion and segregation of Aboriginal people from urban centres and towns, historian Penelope Edmonds argues that the settler colonial city is a "crucial locus of unequal power relations" (Edmonds, 2010, p. 53) and "spatial commerce" (p. 57). She notes that important questions relating to "segregation practices that continue to shape people's lives" (pp. 52–53) are never asked. Looking into the mirror is difficult when the seamless mask of inclusiveness and myth of egalitarianism is reflected by racism and segregative practices.

The exclusion that came with individualisation of title and aggressive land ownership schemes that supported the development of Kaitaia prevents Māori who live in the district from participating in the accumulated benefits that have come with Pākehā control over commercial, industrial or residential land in the region. In *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, a book that considers the effects of the accumulation of wealth in creating inequality, economist Thomas Piketty argues that inherited wealth, such as that associated with control over property, always outweighs the wealth generated through income (Piketty, 2014). Looking at the Treaty settlement, it is worthwhile considering how Māori can ever inhabit Kaitaia on equivalent terms to Pākehā if they continue to be excluded from having any control over residential, commercial or industrial property located in the urban centre. How does the Treaty settlement enable Māori to inhabit Kaitaia as a people who have equivalent control over material resources to support economic and social development?   Shared resources such as reserves and schools are easy for the government to return, as they are amenities that belong to the whole community, but in this district what Māori communities really need is access to land, which they can use to develop affordable housing and build local businesses. Without access to these resources Māori occupying this region will always be compromised.

In the Muriwhenua settlement, the return of land in Kaitaia is limited to river access ways, a meteorological station, a hospital, some schools and reserves, and the return of Sweetwater (the Tangonge block). Apart from the Tangonge block, the other sites are difficult to build houses on or to develop commercially. Under iwi control, the earning potential of the Tangonge block will take precedence over its potential to provide land for housing. With no direct access to urban or commercial land in central Kaitaia, the Treaty settlement will prevent local iwi from being able to build houses and businesses close to the urban centre.

While the Muriwhenua Treaty claim allows for the return of rural land, school and reserves, there will also be no compensation for previous government misdemeanours, associated with the ecological destruction and removal of timber from local forests and the depletion of fishing reserves, and only partial compensation has been given for retention of surplus land that was taken under the Native Townships Act. More importantly, no consideration has been given to assessing the ongoing effect of the marginalisation of Māori from the urban centre and restriction over control of local resources such as commercial or residential land.

To be equitable, Muriwhenua tribes should be able to occupy Kaitaia, not as tenants on what was once ancestral land, but on equivalent terms with the descendants of settlers who colonised the area, who have been able to accumulate wealth through the control of land and local resources. The question is, how can this be achieved?

Although government reports (Government planning and support for housing on Māori land, 2011; Government planning and support for housing on Māori land, 2014), and the Treaty settlement process recognise the disparities that exist for Māori in relation to housing, health, education and employment, they never consider or act on the real spatial and geographical inequalities that exist in relation to how our towns or cites are occupied, nor do they assess how the exclusion and marginalisation of Māori from owning residential land in urban areas enforces a dependency on rental housing, nor that the lack of ownership of commercial or industrial land prevents Māori from participating in the development of local economies.. Given the history of displacement and exclusion that has occurred in Kaitaia, and the limited spatial compensation of land returned through Treaty settlement, how can Māori singly or communally live in this area on equivalent terms to Pākehā and in a way that reflects their world views and aspirations? The following project documents a strategy that was developed by He Korowai Trust that was specifically aimed at trying to address this proble

Fig. 13 Exterior of the Motu family cowshed (March, B., Lapwood, M., 2014)

Fig. 14 North Island (Google Earth, 2014)

Fig. 15 Far North (Google Earth, 2014)

Fig. 16 Kaitaia (Google Earth, 2014)

The Whare Ora development

Faced with a crisis of widespread social deprivation and substandard housing prevalent in the Far North, the Whare Ora housing project was developed by He Korowai Trust using $750,000 of funding from the Social Housing Unit. Its objective was to create an affordable housing project using recycled buildings to meet the needs of families living in substandard accommodation in the region.

For this project, the Trust managed the building works, organised contractors, negotiated with the families to facilitate the finances, and sought approval for the development through the Far North District Council. Proposals for the project were created during a wānanga, and these were used to generate the resource consent. This project highlighted and tested limitations within current legislation, and exposed issues associated within the regulatory environment which determines the outcomes of Māori housing development in the Far North. Although the project was supported by the district council, a lethargic consent approval process, adversely impacted on its realisation.

Awarded in 2012, the initial funding for this project was based on nine relocatable homes, although this was eventually expanded into a larger development of 18 houses. The funding model designed by the Trust was based on making the houses affordable and self-sustainable through an ownership scheme that would enable low-income families to buy their own homes (with an accommodation supplement) on leasehold land managed by the Trust. The project was aimed at:

- Families who lived in substandard situations (either overcrowded or unhealthy).

- Upgrading people's quality of life in response to social inequities.

  - Creating a drug, alcohol and violence-free environment that followed
Kaupapa Māori principles.

- Providing health, education and financial services.

- Creating housing that was affordable and culturally and socially sustainable.

- Achieving tino rangitiratanga by supporting families to achieve their maximum potential.

- Realising a dream of moving families from rental and substandard housing dependency and a cycle of poverty to independence.

- Being economically sustainable through allowing for the provision of small home-based businesses and commercial activities.

The main people and organisations involved in this development included Ricky Houghton and Sophie Smith from He Korowai Trust, the Māori Land Court, the Far North District Council, the Social Housing Unit, neighbours, architects, residents, planners (Biddy Livesay and Bernadette Aperahama) and engineers Dave Shilton and Simon Reiher.

Overcoming the obstacles and legislative entanglements to get Māori housing projects built in Aotearoa is difficult. The Whare Ora housing development presented an opportunity to assess the limits of existing legislation in meeting the needs of Māori aspirations for affordable housing. While I initially thought that this project would, in a minor way, be able to resolve the spatial segregation evident in the township of Kaitaia, its realisation was encumbered. The following is an account of the hurdles the Trust faced and it also documents my attempt to support the trust, by finding a way to enable the families involved in the project to test out how they would like to occupy this development.

Fig. 17 Kohuhu Street, Whare Ora site (Google Earth, 2014)

The site and its restrictions

With funding approved for the development, the Trust's first priority was to buy a site. Two sites were targeted. One was rurally based, but close to a marae and a kohanga reo, the other was centrally based in Kaitaia, close to schools, employment and other urban facilities. Because of its proximity to other amenities, the second site was considered more favourable. On behalf of the Trust, I rang the regional council to see if there were any issues that they needed to know about relating to the site. I was informed there was a flood risk, which is less than ideal for developing an affordable housing project, but flood risk is a condition that affects large areas of Kaitaia as the township is located on an alluvial plain associated with the Awanui River. Despite this risk, the Trust decided to purchase the site. By locating the development in central Kaitaia, they felt that the project would shift the legacy of spatial/racial exclusion that had prevented Māori from owning land in this town. As it was a large site, there was also enough space to provide community facilities and more houses could be relocated on it.

The proposed site was a mixture of 2.2 hectares residential and 16.4 hectares of land zoned for rural production. Under the district plan, extensive residential development was permitted within the residentially zoned part of the site (24 houses) but no mixed-use development was permitted. Papakāinga development, defined under an integrated development rule (Rural Environment of the Far North District Plan, 2012) allowed for the provision of community facilities and was permitted in the rural production zoned portion of the site as a discretionary activity requiring resource consent but only if the land is designated as Māori owned; if not, a housing density of one house per 12 hectares was permitted. As the land was under a General Title, community facilities associated with a papakāinga development were not a permitted activity. The omission within the Far North District Plan to consider papakāinga development as part of an urban plan for residential development under a general title comes from the legacy of spatial exclusion that has prevented Māori from owning land in this district. This prejudice has been institutionalised within legislation that is blind to considering Māori models of housing within urban areas like Kaitaia. As the land came under General Title land, it had to be transferred into Māori Land if the Trust wanted to develop a papakāinga to provide mixed-use community facilities such as a health clinic and kohanga reo, and to access Kāinga Whenua loans that only apply to Māori -owned land.

In another bureaucratic contortion that affected how the houses would be financed, access to funding became compromised for families trying to get a loan to buy their house when the site was transferred into Māori Land title, because prospective owners could no longer use their Kiwisaver accounts to pay for a deposit, as this money can only be used for buying houses on general title land and the block also had to be divided into smaller designated areas to qualify for the loans!

How the integrated development rule prejudices Māori?

The integrated development rule of the Far North District Plan, relates primarily to Rural Production, Rural Living, General Coastal and Coastal Living Zones of the Far North District Council Operative District Plan. The plan stipulates that the proposal must always be sited on Māori freehold or Māori customary land, and any other development, apart from housing, needs to relate to activities involving marae and/or papakāinga development (Rural Environment of the Far North District Plan, 2012).

Under the integrated development rule, mixed-use development, industrial and commercial activities are not permitted (Rural Environment of the Far North District Plan, 2012). This prevents Māori from being able to develop alternative businesses to farming to make housing more affordable. This restriction is based on an assumption that Māori would occupy their land as farmers or forestry workers, even though in marginal farming areas this is not always a sustainable option. Because different types of income-generating activities are not permitted, Māori have to either find other ways to pay for their housing, or work away from the area in which they want to live.

Other restrictive conditions that prejudice Māori communities wanting to build include the fact that on General Title residentially-zoned land, unless it has a coastal or historic designation, landowners do not have to apply for a resource consent. They have a right to build a house, so long as they meet site constraints such as height in relation to boundary and site coverage. By comparison Māori always have to apply for a resource consent if they want to build papakāinga. According to the Auditor General's report (*Government planning and support for housing on Māori land*, 2011), this condition adds $10,000 extra onto the cost of each house. This additional expense penalises Māori wanting to develop housing on their land.

Fig. 18 Map of Parihaka (Alexander Turnbull Library)

Fig. 19 The Village of Mangapohatu, deep in the Urewera Forest (NZHistory.net.co.nz, 2014)

Fig. 20 View of Mangapohatu with Rua Kenana's house centre (Sir George Grey Special Collections)

The long house

Influenced by Alejandro Arevena's Chile-based project, Elemental, I designed the long house for the Whare Ora project to test whether a new build option was affordable, based on the idea of either utilising free labour through a trade training scheme, or being able to be self-built. Aravena's approach to affordable housing relies on a prefabricated modular system which can be added to over time by the occupiers. His design for Elemental was for a half-house which provided amenities such as cooking and bathroom facilities. Occupiers could add additional rooms as they could afford them. Arevena's projects rely heavily on community participation to make the housing affordable because, as he argues, "We won't ever solve the problem unless we use people's own capacity to build", Aravena (2012). Although there is a long history of DIY self-building in New Zealand, this is difficult to achieve as the industry has become highly regulated. Under building laws, all work must be carried out under the control of licensed practitioners (Authority, 1992). Although unskilled labour is essential in making housing more affordable, our legislation does not encourage the use of sweat equity.

The long house was designed as a shed-like structure with internally raked ceilings to suggest the physical body of the ancestor, reminiscent of the wharehui (meeting house), reinforcing a cosmological lineage to Ranginui and Papatūānuku. This structure provided a habitable area and weather protection, with the aim that additional habitable spaces such as sleeping areas could be customised and filled in under the roof by occupiers over time as required. Toilets and washing areas were in a lean-to addition. The base unit was designed so that it could be adjusted to suit different requirements, from providing one-bedroom units for kaumātua to providing four-bedroom units for larger families. Because the design was based on a modular system, the long house could also be broken into individual units (an important consideration in relation to Kāinga Whenua loan criteria). To reduce the cost of each dwelling, the size of spaces was compressed but would seem spacious through a generously proportioned veranda on the northern side that provided additional outdoor spaces for living and dining, and a strong link to the external environment. Additional areas such as a communal whare moe (sleeping unit), and a shared cooking and ablution area accommodated additional guests.

With cost estimates based on floor area coming in well over $50,000 per unit (even without labour costs included), budgetary constraints led to a return to the relocatable house option. But using these house was problematic as the Trust decided to buy them from Housing New Zealand. These houses came from Glen Innes.

Fig. 21 Sketch of the relationship between people and their surrounding environment (Palmer, F., 2012)

Fig. 22 Alejandro Arevena's Elemental housing project, the basic unit. (alejandroarevena.com 2012)

Fig. 23 Alejandro Arevena's Elemental housing project, parts built in by home owners. (alejandroarevena.com 2012)

Fig. 24 Métis log house settlement, Wood Mountain, Saskatchewan, June-August 1874 (Library and Archives Canada / C-081781)

Fig. 25 Self built house in Rarotonga (Palmer,F., 2013

Under the Integrated Development rule, only low-density housing is permitted for papakāinga development. This prevents Māori communities from building clusters of high-density, mixed-use development. Mixed-use high density developments can be more affordable to build. Houses clustered close together also support traditional models of communal living and encourage alternative businesses to emerge, to support local economies.

In this research I have not uncovered the reasons for why only low-density, non-mixed-use housing is permitted on Māori land, although it is worth noting that Parihaka and Maungapōhatu – two successful examples of post-colonial models of intensive, mixed-use, Māori-led, papakāinga development –were undermined through Crown interventions. Restrictions on mixed-use, intensive development prevent Māori from building economically sustainable settlements and living more communally. Because only low-density housing is permitted for building papakāinga on Māori land, Māori have to pay more for infrastructure development costs. Housing is cheaper to build when houses are clustered. _Low-density housing does not recognise the aspirations of multiple shareholders who are exiled under the conditions of current legislation, which are based on assumptions made by Māori Land Court partitions.

During initial consultations with the Far North District Council, it was apparent that a papakāinga development would not conform to designated zoning requirements, but an enlightened council advised the Trust not to worry about conforming to the restrictions of designated rules. This gave the Trust freedom to develop a proposal that didn't have to strictly conform to the limitations of the district plan, although they were instructed not to emphasise any business activities, and the Trust still had to apply for a resource consent as other conditions controlled what could be achieved.
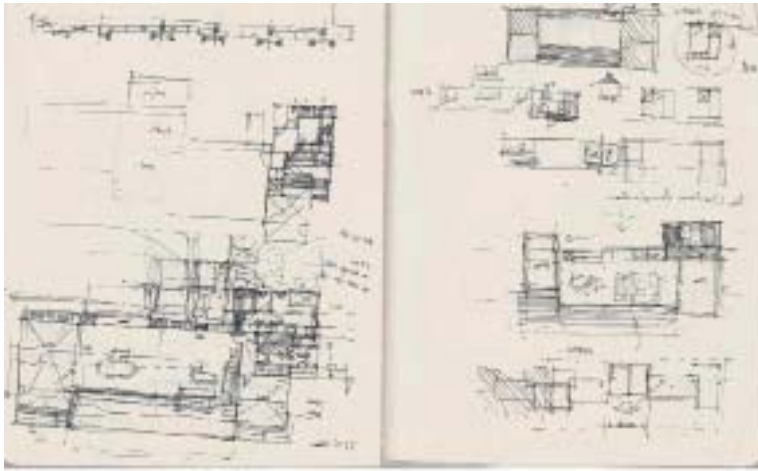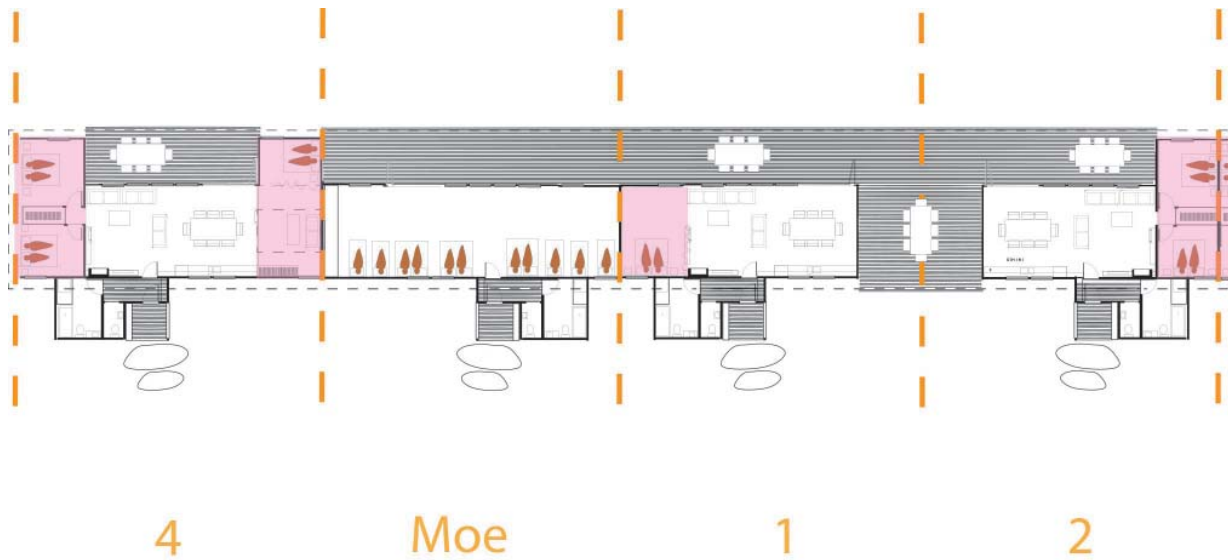
Fig. 25 Draft sketches of Long house, (Palmer,F., 2013)

Fig. 26 Model of Long house, (Palmer,F., 2013)

Fig. 27 Plan of single unit, (Palmer,F., 2013)

Fig. 28 Plan of combined unit, (Palmer,F., 2013)

4   Moe   1   2

Budgetary Constraints

Aside from planning laws that placed conditions on how the development would get approval, the second priority for the Trust was affordability. It was anticipated that the families living in this development would earn on average $22,000 or less per annum. To make the houses affordable, with the support of an accommodation supplement, the budget was restricted to $130,000 per house including land development and infrastructure costs. Before the Trust made a commitment to using relocatable buildings, they considered the following options:

- Prefabricated houses from China.

- Prefabricated houses from elsewhere.

- Relocatable state houses from relocatable companies at an average cost of $60,000 for a three-bedroom home, sited.

- Relocatable state houses direct from Housing New Zealand at an average cost of $29,000 for a three-bedroom home, sited.

- Houses constructed using free labour as part of a training scheme and free materials from Jukken Nisshu.

- A specifically designed long house constructed with self-built inserts that could be modified or added onto over time.

Although cheaper, the main disadvantage in using existing houses that aren't specifically designed is, they don't always meet the cultural needs of Māori families. For instance, these houses don't have enough space to accommodate large families or extended family members: they don't have a distinct separation between food preparation and ablution areas, they don't always have a sheltered area to remove and store shoes before entering the house and welcome guests, and as they are self-contained, the relationship to external and publically shared spaces can sometimes be weak. But specifically designed houses can be expensive, unless they can be self-built using cheap materials.
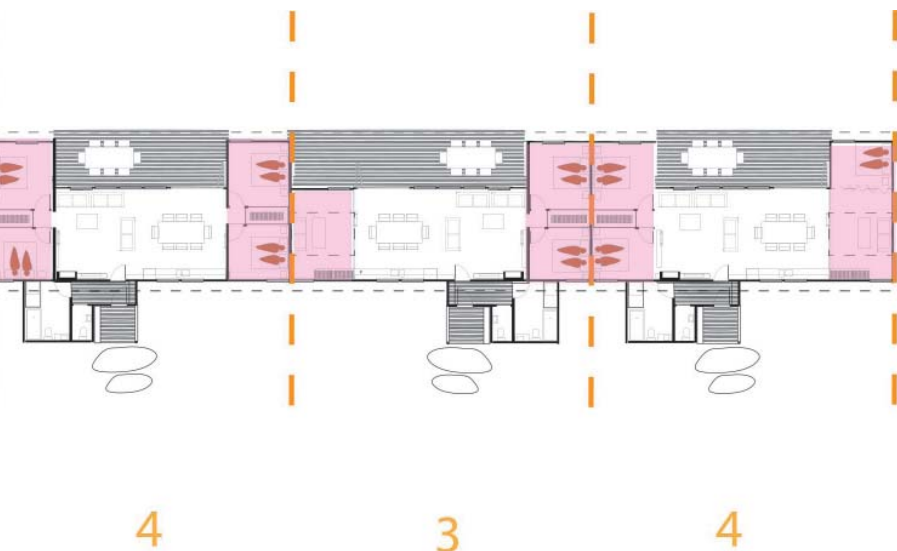

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Fig. 30 Glenn Innes protestor, Residents fight eviction in Glen Innes (Prisetley, L., 2015)

Why using relocated houses from Glen Innes was problematic

To be affordable, the houses for the Whare Ora project had to cost less than $50,000 each. To stay within this budget, the Trust decided to buy state houses directly from Housing New Zealand (HNZ), which was redeveloping Glen Innes, as they were cheaper than houses that came from relocatable companies.

But in buying state houses direct from HNZ, the Trust was exposed to the ire of families who were being evicted from their homes. With the dissolution of Glen Innes community through its redevelopment, there has been extensive resistance to HNZ's initiative, resulting in protests by evicted tenants, who did not want to be relocated to houses in South Auckland, away from their schools and jobs, and who were also threatened by the fact that if they were removed from state subsidised housing they will have to pay market rents.

Faced with the threat of losing their homes, and uncertain of housing affordability and where they will live in future, evicted tenants refused to support the idea of the houses being re-cycled for use by other families from the Far North. As the houses left Glen Innes, they were trucked off under protest.

Urban redevelopment in areas such as Glen Innes highlights several problems. One is an ethical issue of a sell-off of state-owned assets without built-in mechanisms to ensure that capital released through the sale of land will be reinvested in social housing for low-income families. Another issue relates to national changes in the provision of social housing. HNZ is selling housing stock to independent providers with no long-term guarantee that these houses will remain available to low-income families. A third problem relates to processes of suburban gentrification and racial segregation through relocating existing Māori: and Pacific families to less desirable, cheaper and less central locations like South Auckland, 'cleansing' the area of its poorer, brown residents, and destroying existing communities.

In *The Right to the City*, David Harvey writes about the adverse effects of neoliberal economies in displacing marginalised communities. In his assessment of how cities are developed, he argues that social cleansing, to get rid of the poor, is always endemic in strategies for urban renewal. He writes:

> "Surplus absorption through urban transformation ... nearly always has a class dimension since it is the poor, the underprivileged and those marginalized from political power that suffer first and foremost from this process. Violence is required to build the new urban world on the wreckage of the old" (Harvey, 2008, p. 324).

Like Harvey, geographer Edward Soja also considers the social struggles and spatial equity associated with how different communities occupy urban spaces. In *City and Spatial Justice*, he argues that policies that create injustice which favour the rich over the poor are always aggravated by racism and gender (Soja, 2009).

Arguments to support urban gentrification always rely on the rectification and enhancement of an existing situation to garner support. For instance, as Harvey notes, Baron Haussmann's destruction of what was considered to be cluttered old parts Paris in the 1850s was justified on the grounds of civic improvement and renovation (Harvey, 2008). Similarly, in redeveloping Glen Innes, HNZ has used a similar argument to justify the changes, claiming that the existing houses are badly insulated and need to be replaced. However, when originally built, these houses were constructed of high-quality materials and designed to last (Ryan et al.,

2008). When state houses in neighbouring suburbs are sold into private ownership, they are commonly retrofitted with insulation, and renovated to contemporary requirements, turning them into highly valued 'character' homes that are sold for large profits. Based on this, one can argue that the urban renewal of Glen Innes is primarily driven by the inflated land value of its central location, which is disproportionate to the houses located there. This renewal always comes at a cost to families who are on low incomes. For as Harvey argues:

> "The growth of the big modern cities gives the land in certain areas, particularly in those areas which are centrally situated, an artificially and colossally increasing value; the buildings erected on these areas depress this value instead of increasing it, because they no longer belong to the changed circumstances. They are pulled down and replaced by others. This takes place above all with workers' houses which are situated centrally and whose rents, even with the greatest overcrowding, can never, or only very slowly, increase above a certain maximum." (Harvey, 2012, p. 17).

While the shortage of inner-city land and access to affordable housing make the 'quarter-acre section house' model untenable in Glen Innes, the problem with HNZ's strategy is the lack of public policies or tax incentives to protect existing communities and low-income families who are reliant on state housing and who live in central areas.

The fact that the demographic of Glen Innes is predominantly Māori: and Pasifika, and that there is no official mandate to protect the existing community means that the new development risks excluding Māori, Pasifika and poor families from what will eventually become a privileged area where Māori: and Pasifika people are only tolerated if they are fully integrated in a similar way to the pepper potting regimes of the late 1940s.

With the dissolution of this community through redevelopment, there has been extensive resistance to HNZ's initiative, resulting in protests by evicted tenants, who believe they have a right to occupy these homes for life. These families do not want to be relocated to houses in South Auckland, away from their schools and jobs. They were also threatened by the fact that if they were removed from state subsidised housing they would be forced to pay market rents.

Fig. 31 Discussing aspirations for housing in the visioning wānanga He Korowai Trust (Yong, K.V., 2013)

Fig. 32 Working on schemes in the visioning wānanga He Korowai Trust (Yong, K.V., 2013)

Fig. 33 Working on schemes in the visioning wānanga He Korowai Trust (Yong, K.V., 2013)

Fig. 34 Working on schemes in the visioning wānanga He Korowai Trust (Yong, K.V., 2013)

Fig. 35 Working on schemes in the visioning wānanga He Korowai Trust (Yong, K.V., 2013)

Fig. 36 Working on schemes in the visioning wānanga He Korowai Trust (Yong, K.V., 2013)

Developing proposals for Whare Ora

Using relocated state houses from Glen Innes for the housing development meant there was no direct input into their design. But also critical to the provision of the houses was consideration of how they would be assembled on the site that the Trust had brought for the development in Kaitaia, in a way that supported families moving into the development, Māori values and community well-being.

When architects become involved in building projects, they normally assume the role of ARCHITECT AS MASTER PLANNER, that is, someone who is skilled to act on behalf of a client, to realise their aspirations. This position typically, unflinchingly accepts the status quo, as it kowtows to an existing economic framework that supports individual ownership, and passively endorses housing policies and government legislation that comes at the expense of wider ecological, social and cultural concerns. This position fails to examine the exclusive "discriminatory politics of zoning and economic development" (Cruz, 1991, p. 33) that adversely affect how Māori and other things occupy Aotearoa. This position also fails to fully engage with Māori tikanga (lore) and Māori Kaupapa (knowledge) and how we relate to each other within our own communities and within extended environments, and impart knowledge.

Within a global context Participatory Action Research (PAR) techniqueshave been successfully used by practitioners such as Nebeel Hamdi,(2013; 1997), Teddy Cruz (1991) and Di Gessa (2008) to empower marginalised communities to activate changes to their built environments to get access to housing. This methodology relies on a specific context, a collaboration with a range of knowledgeable participants and is driven by a commitment to activating change to reduce inequality and activate social transformation (Kindon et al, 2006). For communities wanting to activate access to land or make changes to their built environment, the process usually involves map making and the use of 3 dimensional models to generate proposals for future development in collaboration with a broad range of stakeholders who can include representatives from the communities as well as experts such as planners, engineers, political representatives or investors.

In *Good Practices in participatory mapping*, the International Fund for Agricultural Development outlines a review of commonly used mapping methods identifying the pros and cons of GIS mapping, GPS mapping, 2 dimensional maps, 3 dimensional maps amongst others. This report informed my decision to use 3 dimensional models. Even though they are expensive to produce, I felt they would be more useful than other methods (such as 2 dimensional maps or GIS or GPS versions) to support a collaborative input.

With an aim of activating change, the main risk associated with PAR, is that the actions that are aspired to are often value laden and heavily influenced by the researchers own interests or the things that emerge from these collaborations are not achievable (Gatenby and Humphries, 2000). Other concerns associated with PAR also emerge especially when working in Māori communities, such as a lack of trust or distain for any external interference by outsiders or the perceived threat that any collaboration will simply reinforce unequal power relations and the creation of knowledge that is exploitive and indifferent to Maori interests. To counter these risks in a 14 year PAR project on muttonbirding, Moller et al (2009) highlight the importance of establishing long term relationships, and the value of face to face encounters, and the alignment of their research to a Kaupapa Māori framework as being pivitol to grounding the research and ensuring that a more genuine community collaboration occurred.

For the Whare Ora project I also wanted to engage with Māori tikanga and ways of knowing, by aligning the project to a Kaupapa Research methodology. To set this up, I designed a wānanga for He Korowai Trust aimed at getting the families involved in the Whare Ora

initiative to collaboratively consider how they wanted to see the site developed and used in the long term, and to assist them to communicate their ideas so that this information could be synthesised into a resource consent proposal.

The wānanga was led and facilitated by He Korowai Trust. In Di Gessa's version of this collaborative participatory process for developing proposals (Di Gessa, 2008), he usually organises for the people involved to construct the site model. As I felt it would take too long for mothers with young children to make a site model as well as participate in creating ideas for the site, I constructed 3 sets of 1:1000 scale contour site models and made a series of props such as vegetation and houses so that families could use these to develop their proposals. To set up the session, I broke the participants into three groups of about 10 people. To help the families consider how they might design their own future if they lived on the site, on a slide show I provided a series of prompt questions based on the Tū Whare Ora. This is a series of Māori design principles that identifies key features associated with Māori world views and built environments (Awatere et al., 2008). The questions went as follows:

What do you want for yourself and your whānau, both now and in the long term?

If you lived here, how do you think the Mauritanga (life force) of this site will be activated? How will you encourage biodiversity? Once it is activated, how do you think the Mauri will be enhanced and maintained? What do you think needs to happen to achieve this? What can you do to help make this happen?

If your whānau lived here as part of a large community, how would you support social and environmental connections to the land? Where do you think activities, such as houses, gardens, a health clinic and small businesses, should be located to encourage community participation, and not isolate or segregate its members? What do you think needs to happen to achieve this?

Northtec Polytec are supporting this project. They have asked if they can use three acres to set up an organic garden as part of their horticultural course and as an educational facility for this community. Do you think this is a good idea? Where do you think this should go?

If your whānau lived here and there were other houses on this site, how would you promote an intimate connection to the environment? How do you think this would be achieved? How would the relationship between Papatūānuku and Ranginui be supported?

If you lived on this whenua, where would you put your access ways so they didn't dominate or interrupt the connection to the whenua and community? Where would you locate visitor parking? What sort of road paths would you put in to protect your tamariki, e.g., dual lane, single lane, speed bumps, looped? Going back to the previous question, how would the relationship between Papatūānuku and Ranginui be supported?

Manākitanga and Aroha - How do you think you could make this place welcoming to others? How would you receive visitors and also nurture and protect the other families living here? What do you think you need to have in place to support this?

Kaitiakikanga - If your whānau lived on this whenua for generations to come, what do you think should be preserved and protected? What do you think you would want to develop to support future generations? How would you achieve this? How will this be sustainably managed?

Orangatanga – If your whānau lived here as part of a large community, how do you think the health and well-being your family would be supported? What community services do you think you will need? What infrastructure will you need? What types of housing will you need? What sort of social, educational, cultural and environmental support will you need?

The kaupapa for this development is that it should be alcohol-, drug- and violence-free. Do you agree with this? If problems arose relating to alcohol, violence or drug use, how would you deal with these?

Another kaupapa for this development is that it should support a knowledge and understanding of Māori values. What do you think needs to happen on this site to support cross-cultural and multidisciplinary collaboration of knowledge and an understanding of Māori values? How would you develop the physical spaces to be inclusive of all people?

How do you think your own history, mythologies and cultural traditions will be promoted and supported in this community? How do you think this could be reflected in the design of this settlement? What do you think you could do to support this?

Rangatiratanga – How do you think your aspirations will be achieved? What will you need to do to make this happen?

During the wānanga, which took 4 hours to complete, families considered where the houses and gardens would be located on the site, where shared facilities such as communal activities could take place, what could be achieved by using their collective skills and support, and what would need to be provided by the Trust. Families all said they were keen to contribute to the painting and decorating of the houses and making the gardens. They also wanted to be able to develop small businesses so that they could become economically sustainable.

The proposals developed by the participants

Working together in groups the families created and presented to each other three proposals that visualised how they wanted to inhabit the site as follows:

The first scheme entered the site through an arched waharoa (gateway) that led past a wharehui (the community hub) housing, meeting spaces, community kitchen and shared resources. The development was bordered by fruit trees apart from the western side, which was planted in Manuka for honey production. A bridge led from a more public area fronting the road entrance to a ring road that connected to a series of double-storey houses (to allow for growth and larger families). Each house was equipped with a spa bath and underfloor heating and surrounded by trees. These houses looked out onto a central park which had a playground and barbecue area, communal garden area and a recycling station beyond. To the north was an area designated for raising chickens and pigs and developing the Northtec gardens. The development was powered by a wind turbine and rates funded by leasing the rural area not used for housing. Along the open drain, native trees were planted for rongoa (medicinal purposes).

The second proposal, called Kohuhu Papakāinga, entered the site through a large waharoa to an initial cluster of houses located in a ring around a central park. These houses looked out onto a skate bowl, barbecue area and bicycle track. Deeper within the site was a community garden planted in native rongoa, and surrounded by a second cluster of houses and a kohanga reo. This area was bordered by fruit trees. Income for the community was to be generated by the provision of a stock-raising area, and a series of resort activities that included an amphitheatre with a pond and water feature, holiday chalets, a caravan park, hot pools and shops selling produce. Access to the holiday resort area was via a road that entered the back of the site.

The final proposal focused on developing economic self-sufficiency for the community by growing Manuka to keep bee hives for oil and honey production, raising beef and other stock such as free-range chickens and pigs, and developing a butchery to process the produce. These activities were located in the rural part of the site. A large kohanga reo, health clinic, shops and a water catchment area were positioned near the road entrance. Accessed by a ring road and located deeper within the site were the houses surrounding a communal garden which linked to a large organic garden. A netball, tennis and basketball court was also included in this scheme.

Fig. 37 The first proposal developed in the visioning wānanga He Korowai Trust (Yong, K.V., 2013)

Fig. 38 The second proposal developed in the visioning wānanga He Korowai Trust (Yong, K.V., 2013)

Fig. 39 The third proposal developed in the visioning wānanga He Korowai Trust (Yong, K.V., 2013)

Across the three proposals families said they wanted:

- To participate in the creation of the development and have control over where they lived and who they lived next to.

- To be able to decorate their own homes, and choose their own colour schemes.

- To be able to have a house that could be modified as families grew.

- To be able to have extra storage – like a garage to store their gear and house extended family members.

- To be able to live in two-storey houses.

- To be able to use a mix of tank and town water supply.

- To be able to recycle grey water onto gardens.

- To actively contribute to the development and take on responsibilities based on specific skills.

- To be able to access solar or wind energy to supplement power supply.

By looking towards a long-term vision rather than focusing simply on individual needs, participants considered how they might be able to occupy the site sustainably to the economic and collective benefit of the community, by developing communal gardens and small businesses, rejuvenating natural ecologies to encourage biodiversity, and planting native trees and rongoa.
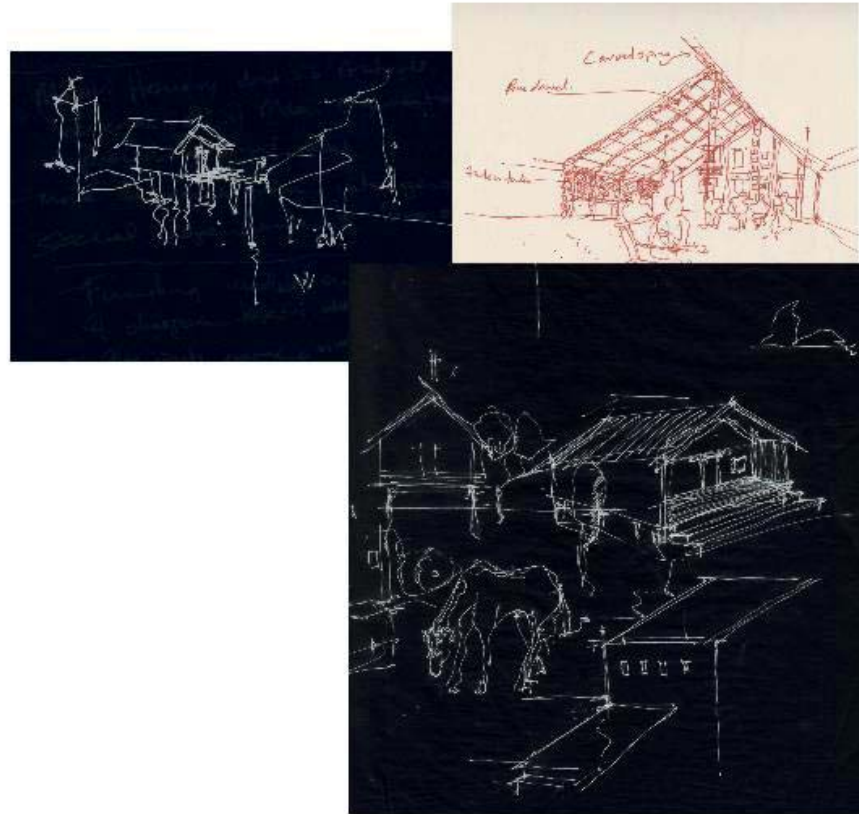
Fig. 40 Concept sketches (Palmer, F., 2013)

How successful was this visioning wānanga?

The participants involved in this wānanga enjoyed being involved in planning this project. Their visualisations reflected how they thought the development would be able to support their families into a long term future, and the proposals also challenged assumptions enforced by existing legislative control especially in relation to supporting aspirations for economic development. More importantly, this process also served as a platform to establish discussions and trust between the participants, as it was inclusive.

However, not everyone from the Trust supported this collaborative participatory process, or the use of Māori-centred guidelines (Awatere et al., 2008), or the idea of getting families to contribute, as the thinking behind this was that the families should not be encouraged to participate in decision-making processes when they could not even manage their current day-to-day life, let alone imagine a future. The trust also used their own facilitators to manage the outcome of the proposals, and based on their role in meeting community needs they had developed their own criteria for the development (such as the fact that it would be alcohol, drug and violence free, and the development would use recycled houses), and this also influenced the outcomes of what was proposed.

While I felt that the prompt questions based on the Māori-centred guidelines are useful for generating a broader discussion, I also felt that in presenting the questions via a slide show that this positioned me in a role, as the teacher/expert rather than a facilitator/enabler. While I am an architect and a teacher, I did not want to overly influence the outcome of what the community wanted. I wanted them to have control over deciding what they thought was important. By using guidelines to provoke a discussion over different options, this came with an assumption that a Māori-centred approach and collective ownership, was what everyone wanted, which was not always the case, as having lived in houses on individual sections, there was a strong resistance to notions of collective ownership, with concerns raised over how this would be governed and conflicts resolved. For some participants there was also resistance to the drug and alcohol restriction which was a kaupapa developed by the Trust to support community well-being. The idea of a collective, Māori-centred approach to housing development was also very foreign to people who had only ever lived in houses located on individual sections, with flush toilets and were uninterested in thinking of what could be described as more sustainable and culturally sensitive alternatives. Although I support the kaupapa associated with the Māori-centred guidelines (Awatere et al., 2008) and the potential to use these guidelines educatively, I also did not want to influence other people's perspectives, especially if what they really aspired to, was simply to replicate a Pākehā model of housing and fit in with their neighbours, even if I felt this conflicted with mātauranga Māori. Bearing this in mind, I decided that if I ever ran a similar workshop, I would not overtly use the guidelines as a prompt but that I would leave it up to the people involved, to express their own ideas over how they wanted to occupy an area.

Other aspects discussed in the workshop related to how the site would be occupied and accessed, how the development would be governed, how waste would be dealt with, collective ownership, and the relationship between individual versus collective responsibility in relation to how communal areas such as gardens would be managed.
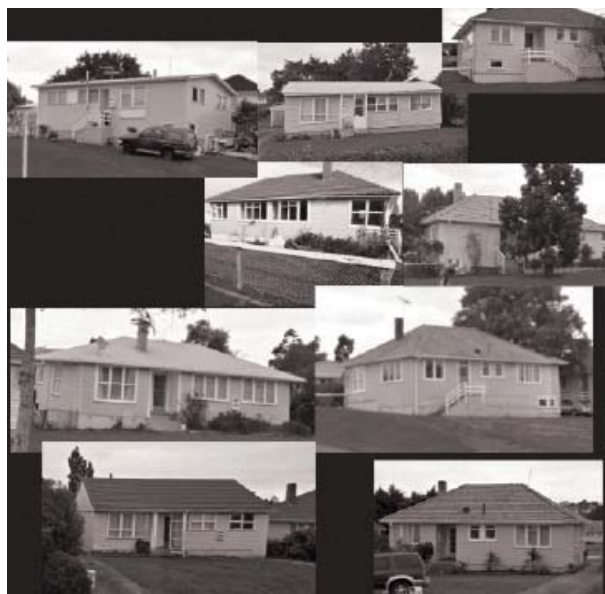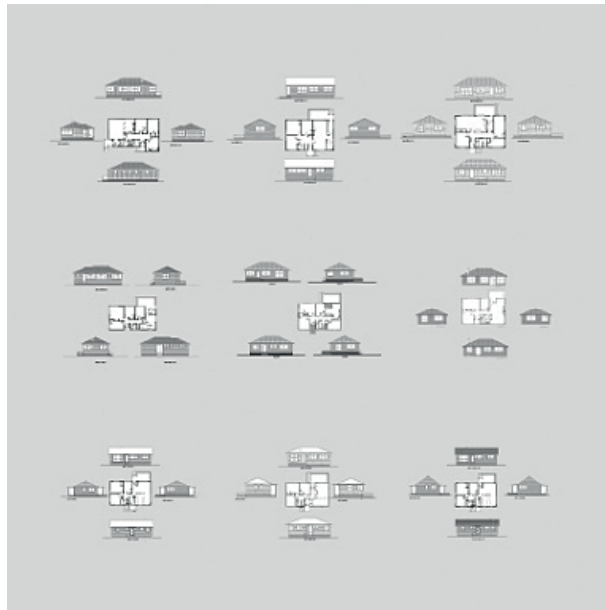
Fig. 41 Drawings of the first nine relocated houses (Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 42 The first nine houses photographed in Glen Innes (Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 43 Site context (Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 44 Site context (Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 45 Site context (Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 46 Site context (Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 47 Site context (Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 48 Site context (Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 49 Proposed site plan (Palmer, F., 2013)

The Resource Consent proposal using relocated buildings stage 1

Following the workshop, the proposals were synthesised into a three-stage resource consent proposal for an 18-house, collectively owned development, set within a central organic garden with community services, health, kohanga reo and so on located near the main entry. Stage one was for the first nine houses. (Refer appendix B) To generate the resource consent, the council recommended two local planners who had developed other subdivisions in the region. But when approached, both declined to assist the Trust; they said there was a conflict of interest as they were acting for other parties interested in opposing the development. With local planning support not forthcoming, I did an application for stage one of the resource consent as a koha to the Trust, with assistance from Biddy Livesay and Bernadette Aperahama. Third-year students from the AUT Bachelor Spatial Design Course helped me measure up the houses and draw up the plans. Alongside the resource consent, I also did the building consent application for the first nine houses which I gave as a koha to the Trust.

The resource consent proposal (Appendix B), was aimed at encouraging Māori families to affordably occupy an urban area within Kaitaia on their own terms, under governance by the Trust. In developing the proposal, the emphasis was on considering the long-term collective interests of the community and supporting Māori values by encouraging political and cultural sustainability, health and well-being, and trans-generational learning.

The intention was that by supporting Māori values through the provision of shared facilities including the central garden, a kohanga reo, and health clinic and budgeting facilities, it would have a significant effect on meeting the cultural needs of the community.

While the development borrowed from Western prototypes in the form of relocated state houses, its layout, shared areas such as the provision of communal hangi and outdoor cooking areas, tapu areas for burying placentas, rongoa and gardens supported by Te Ao Māori, and a connectivity to the wider environment. This ensured that values such as manākitanga (the receiving and hosting of guests) and the creation of an environment that supported awhi (love and support), tautoko (acceptance) and kaitiakitanga could be observed so the inhabitants could collectively create a great place for children to grow up in.

As the project progressed through the resource consent process, difficulties quickly emerged over storm water attenuation and sewerage options for the site. An existing sewer pipe ran down the southern boundary, but the district council insisted that the new development could not use this drain as it had reached its capacity. More sustainable sewerage systems, designed to recycle waste and grey water favoured by the Trust and recommended by Victoria Kingi who had used a similar system for a housing development in Mangatawa, were rejected by the council who insisted that the Trust install a pump station that hooked the sewerage back into the council system as there were concerns over flooding. In negotiating for different options council was not receptive to helping the Trust find a more sustainable system to meet their budgetary requirements and or support alternative to reflect Māori values in relation to waste management. Dealing with storm water attenuation was also complicated to resolve. Storm water problems across this district affect the wider community and come under the control of the regional district council. In trying to resolve the storm water attenuation for the site, He Korowai Trust presented the council with three schemes designed by different engineers. None was approved. The council was unable to resolve this problem within a wider context.

Fig. 50 Site model showing relationship to gardens and shared external spaces (Marler, Z.M., 2015)

Fig. 51 Site model showing relationship to gardens and shared external spaces and other houses (Marler, Z.M., 2015)

The width of roads into and out of the development, and its daily capacity through traffic movements, determined the density of houses that could be built as defined by legislative rules. Parking requirements, street lighting and impermeable road finishes were also pre-determined, in ways that did not reflect Māori values, by severing the connection between Papatūānuku and Ranginui. As an example of this regulatory control, emergency access required an eight-metre-wide carriageway into the development. This splits development sites into two parts so that subdivisions can be allocated down each side for individual sections. The narrower shared pedestrian and ring road proposed by the Trust meant that the garden rather than the road linked the houses collectively together. In opting for a more culturally and community-sensitive option for this development, the Trust had to prove that fire trucks and emergency services could get access along the narrower, shared carriageway.

Fig. 52 Boosting fauna biodiversity (Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 53 Planting scheme to boost biodiversity (Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 54 Cross section through site (Palmer, F., 2013)

INCREASING BIODIVERSITY ACROSS THE SITE THROUGH PLANTING
INDIGENOUS SPECIES ALONG DRIVEWAYS AND BOUNDARIES FOR
SCREENING AND PRIVACY

CANOPY

KOWHAI   MAHOE   SCHOENOPLECTUS VALIDUS   TOTARA   SYZYGIUM MARE   KANUKA

MANUKA   CARPODETUS SERRATUS   KOHEKOHE   CABBAGE TREE   HOHERIA POPULNEA   KAWAKAWA

UNDER STORY

CYPERUS USTULATUS   CAREX SECTA   PHEJMATOPTEROS PENNIGERA   PHORMIUN TENAX/HARAKEKE   SWAMP KIO KIO   MUEHLENBECKIA ASTONI

ATTRACTING WILDLIFE THROUGH PLANTING INDIGENOUS SPECIES

BIRDLIFE

TUI

INVERTEBRATES   STREAM FAUNA

KINGFISHER/KOTARE   FANTAIL/PIWAKAWAKA   GREY WARBLER/RIRORIRO   MOSQUITOS AND SANDFLIES   DIVING BEETLES   BULLIES   WHITEBAIT   BOATMAN

SHINING CUCKOO/PIWHAIWAUROA   SILVER EYE/TAUHOU   PUKEKO   DAMSELFLIES   CADDISFLIES   EELS/TUNA   FRESHWATER SHRIMP   LEECHES

NON-NATIVE BIRDS

BLACKBIRD   MALLARDS   SNAILS   MUDFISH   SMELT/PARAKI

THRUSH   STARLING   SPARROW

Public resistance to the development

Legislative policies within the Far North District Territorial planning documents that determine how Māori build settlements are reinforced by prevailing attitudes within local communities whose primary aim is to assert the right to maintain an advantage over exclusive land use, over and above the rights of other families wanting to move in and live in in the area.

The consent process created a conflict between He Korowai Trust, who were trying to represent the interests of families who had no access to housing in Kaitaia versus neighbouring property owners who already had homes in the area and who were opposed to the development. In *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*, the authors demonstrate the subtle ways in which colour blindness is played out tactically, through ordinary, and everyday acts of exclusion, which are pervasive and difficult to resolve (Delgado et al, 2012). For the Whare Ora project, public sentiment asserting spatial exclusion became apparent as soon the houses arrived on site, and when the Trust presented the proposal to the local community. Affected neighbours objected, raising concerns over safety (particularly in relation to undesirable criminal activity) and a fear that the neighbouring properties would be devalued. Prevailing sentiments expressed within local newspapers included statements such as:

> "There's only a fence between us and the houses. It's not necessarily the houses, it's the people going into them," they said. ("How safe are we going to be?" 2012).

> "Our question is, how safe are we and is our property going to be? How is it going to devalue our place that we want to live in for the rest of our lives?" (2012).

> "We already have people walking through our property now. Imagine when there's another 18 houses at the end of the road. And how are they going [to control] drugs, alcohol and violence? Have Māori wardens wandering around?" (2012).

> "….petty crime seems to have blossomed in Kohuhu and Taupata Streets over recent weeks. Why that should be defies explanation. Clearly it has nothing to do with this housing development because no one is living there yet, but inevitably some will be regarding it as a taste of things to come." (2012).

Families responded to the criticism by stating:

> "I want a stable home for my children. Please let me have the opportunity to do that for my children." ("I'm not going to rob your homes," 2012).

> "Don't judge us before we've even gone there. Look past us, and look at our children. Get to know us so you can feel safe." (2012).

> "All we want is to have the chance to raise our kids the best we can, and He Korowai is giving us that opportunity," another prospective owner said. (2012).

> "I am not going to rob your homes. I'm not going to tag your fences. And my children won't be either." (2012).

> "I am not going to destroy what you've got….I want a stable home for my children. Please let me have the opportunity to do that for my children." (2012).

> "We want to be the best neighbours you've ever seen." (2012).

Aside from using the perceived threat of increased criminal activities as a justification for objecting to the development, another motivation to justify opposition was based on the

fact that the houses would only cost $130,000 to buy, and it was felt that this would devalue neighbouring properties. The fear that their houses would devalue because of the development was expressed in the following statements:

> "They had paid $370,000 for their home, while those buying the relocated houses would pay only $130,000, and their investment would depreciate because of that" (Jackson, 2012).

> "The image that has been conjured up in some minds is of tatty 50-year-old houses that will still look like tatty 50-year-old houses even after renovation, occupied by people who will not abide by the drug, alcohol and violence rules, whose children will prey on their neighbours, depriving them of the peace of mind they currently enjoy and lowering the value of the properties they, judging by appearances, maintain to a very high standard. To be fair, who can blame them?" (Jackson, 2012).

Public resistance to the development was also summed up in the following statements:

> "I'm all for what they are trying to do, but not in our area. The value of the houses around here is dropping – why is that?" (Jackson, 2012).

> "Neighbours said they wanted to "stop the development, which isn't going to happen, and banish families planning to live there to some other site, where, presumably, they won't spoil anyone else's peace and quiet" (Jackson, 2012).

In looking for ways to respond to attitudes that assert inequities and structures of privilege and control, under the Resource Management and Te Ture Whenua Acts, while individual landowners or groups who already have resources may claim advantages that prevent Māori from accessing housing within this district, it is important to ask how can affirmative action, supporting Māori development in the region be realised, through the consent approval processes, without creating more trauma for families who have already been traumatised through processes of colonisation?

Fig. 55 Relocated houses being transported to Kaitaia (Haydn, J., 2013)

The council's response

As neighbours took exception to having a Māori community living next door, the council opted for a limited notification instead of processing the consent as a non-notified consent. When a solution was not formally resolved between the Trust and affected neighbours who lodged objections under this procedure, the council was obliged to go for an Environmental Land Court hearing, which cost the Trust $16,000. As racism cannot be used as grounds for objecting to the development, the formal objections lodged with the council were more toned down than the comments published in local newspapers, and were based on concerns over flooding that occurred more generally in the region (which were difficult to resolve) and installing fences (which was more easily able to be resolved and verbally agreed to by the Trust, but not signed off by the affected parties). Getting the consents approved was further complicated when the Trust installed an illegal crossing over a storm water drain, so that the houses could be positioned on site instead of leaving them in a yard in Whangarei where they could have been vandalised, and this also had to be resolved as part of the initial consent. By December 2013 the first nine houses had arrived on site, and they sat on temporary piles with tarpaulins protecting their ceiling voids for over six months, while the Trust waited for the consents to be approved. During this period, the houses became badly damaged through weather deterioration, the theft of plumbing and wiring that serviced the houses. Further damage occurred when kids broke into the houses and smashed the windows during the school holidays. With fading optimism, and escalating costs incurred through damage and delays, the Trust pushed ahead with the development, positioning the houses onto permanent foundations before the resource consent had been approved. As a researcher, I had always hoped that I would support the project through to its completion, but with unconsented building work occurring on site, I could not, as a registered architect, directly follow the project, as I was professionally liable for any work that was not consented. Regretfully, I pulled out.

Over 57 families registered an interest in buying the houses. Because of budget limitations the Trust restricted the allocation of houses to small families, as it could only afford to relocate houses that were no bigger than three bedrooms. The first stage of the project for nine house was due for completion in July 2013. With more support, this stage could easily have been completed within a six-month time frame, but in a drawn-out process to meeting the council's requirements to build infrastructure for all eighteen houses, instead of for nine houses, the Trust ran out of funding. It has taken over three years for the Trust to complete the first stage of the development.

Fig. 56 Relocated houses on site on temporary piles (Palmer, F., 2013)

In July 2015, over three years after this project began, the Trust started organising for 45 children and 16 adults to move into the first nine houses. None of these families were from the original cohort who participated in the visioning workshop. They either could not meet the lending criteria, or had moved on. Lachlan Forsyth presented a report on the development on Campbell Live, with John Campbell proclaiming that it was an example of social housing worth studying (Forsyth, 2015). Click on link below: http://www.newshub. co.nz/tvshows/campbelllive/wheres-nzs-social-housing-heading-2015050417).

But the process to get families into the homes came rapidly to a halt when the Trust ran into legal problems over the risk of losing their charitable status if they sold the houses to the families.

In response Marama Fox from the Māori party stated:

> "If the current law penalises social housing providers for assisting low-income whānau to own their own home, then the law needs to change. Home ownership must be one of the aims of social housing." ("Waiting Game for He Korowai," 2015)

While it may seem a simple idea to recycle houses to create an affordable housing development for a Māori community living in the Far North, the process to enable this to happen was unreasonably complicated.

This project presented a way to think about how to practically respond to problems associated with historical land loss, and assumptions within legislation that prevent local Māori Housing development from being enabled, and find a way to collaboratively articulate Māori aspirations for development. As this project was built, the outcomes from the visualisations created during a wānanga were used for the resource consent. The progression of the project, as it was built highlighted other obstacles associated with Māori development, most notably the delay in approving the staging of the project and imposing requirements that financially overburdened it.

Although the project that follows was not built, it offered an opportunity to refine and test other ways in which wānanga could be used to generate collaborative visualisations of aspirations for Māori development without being restricted by legislative requirements, For the next project, these visualisations were created for a block of land owned by the Hawke family, called Te Karaka.
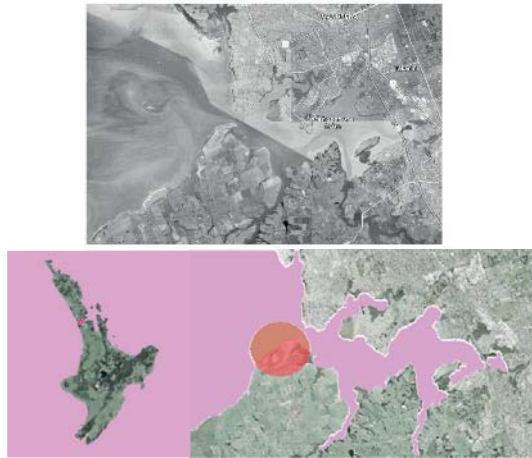
Fig. 57 North Island (Google Earth)

Fig. 58 Karaka, South Auckland (Google Earth)

Fig. 59 Images of the Hawke family working on their proposals aspirational visioning wānanga for Te Karaka 1 (Palmer, 2013)

Fig. 60 Images of the Hawke family working on their proposals aspirational visioning wānanga for Te Karaka 1 (Palmer, 2013)

Fig. 61 Images of the Hawke family working on their proposals aspirational visioning wānanga for Te Karaka 1 (Palmer, 2013)

Te Karaka

A few months after processing the consents for He Korowai Trust, I was in Wellington doing a presentation at an affordable housing conference showing how the visioning wānanga was used to create proposals for the Whare Ora development. Arohanui Hawke saw this presentation, and invited me to run a similar workshop with her family for a site they owned at Te Karaka, South Auckland. Existing legislation which controls how the Te Karaka site can be developed currently prevents this family from testing and creating their own models of land use and build houses and facilities to support the family's aspirations for development. The wānanga I designed for the Hawke family, followed a similar format to the one I developed for the Whare Ora project, by using three dimensional site models and props to generate ideas, but with some adjustments. This project demonstrates an example of what happens when Māori are enabled to imagine and visualise a future unburdened by the constraints of legislative control. However, before presenting the outcomes of these proposals, it is important to consider why the Hawke family were encountering issues over access to housing in the first place.

Historical Context -The eviction

The Hawke family are Ngāti Whātua from Ōrākei.

The history of land loss that occurred with the settlement of Auckland is documented within Waitangi Tribunal reports (Deed of Settlement, 2012, Tribunal, 1987) and historical analysis of the transactions (Alemann, 1992, Belgrave, 1997). The Auckland region was traditionally occupied by Ngāti Whātua from Ōrākei and five other tribes, including Ngāti Pāoa, Ngāi Tai; Te Wai-o-Hua/Ngā Oho; Ngāti Te Ata; and Te Kawerau-a-Maki (Taonui, 2012). From the 1820-1840s the region became a highly contested, with local tribes encountering on-going skirmishes between Ngāpuhi and other neighbouring tribes armed with muskets which lead to parts of the region being abandoned. Faced with on-going conflicts, and in an effort to protect Ngāti Whātua, Te Kawau a paramount chief from the tribe offered Captain William Hobson land in the Tamaki isthmus to encourage European settlement in the region. Captain William Hobson was acting as Lieutenant Governor for New Zealand under the British Council. As the region had a deep harbour and fertile land Hobson felt the area was an excellent choice to establish a new capital.

Fig. 62 Ōrākei Marae, Auckland (Martin, J, date unknown)

According to the Deed of Settlement between Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei and The Crown (2012) the first transfer of land that occurred, notably after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, was for the transfer of 3,000 acres of land located between "Hobson Bay (Mataharehare), Coxs Creek (Opou/Opoututeka) and Mt Eden (Maungawhau)" (2012). For this transaction a payment of £215 in coins and goods which included "20 pairs of trousers, 20 shirts, 10 waistcoats, 10 caps, four casks of tobacco, one box of pipes, 91m of gown pieces, 10 iron pots, one bag of sugar, one bag of flour and 20 hatchets" was made for this block. Over the next two years that followed this transaction, the Crown purchased a further 29,200 acres on the North shore and Manukau regions for which it paid £640 plus other goods. Land brought by the crown before 1845 was then on-sold at a profit of 99% for £68,865. This huge gain from their initial investment was justified on the grounds of development costs incurred for providing roads and infrastructure for the new settlement.

During all negotiations for land in the Auckland region, Ngāti Whātua insisted on keeping land that they had traditionally occupied in Remuera, Ōrākei and the East Tamaki regions. Initial transactions were focused on areas that had been occupied by the other tribes who had been displaced during intertribal wars.

When Governor Fitzroy replaced Hobson, more land transactions occurred under pre-emption waivers, which enabled Ngāti Whātua to sell 47,000 acres of land directly to settlers, instead of to the Crown, so that by 1845 Ngāti Whātua land holdings were reduced to less than 3000 acres. This land holding was further whittled down to a 700-acre block at Ōrākei when the crown brought Remuera for £1 14s per acre and on-sold it for between £20 - £200 per acre. (Deed of Settlement, 2012).

1840
3000 acres

1841 North shore
16,000 acres

1841 Waitemata to Mankau
13,000 acres

Transactions during
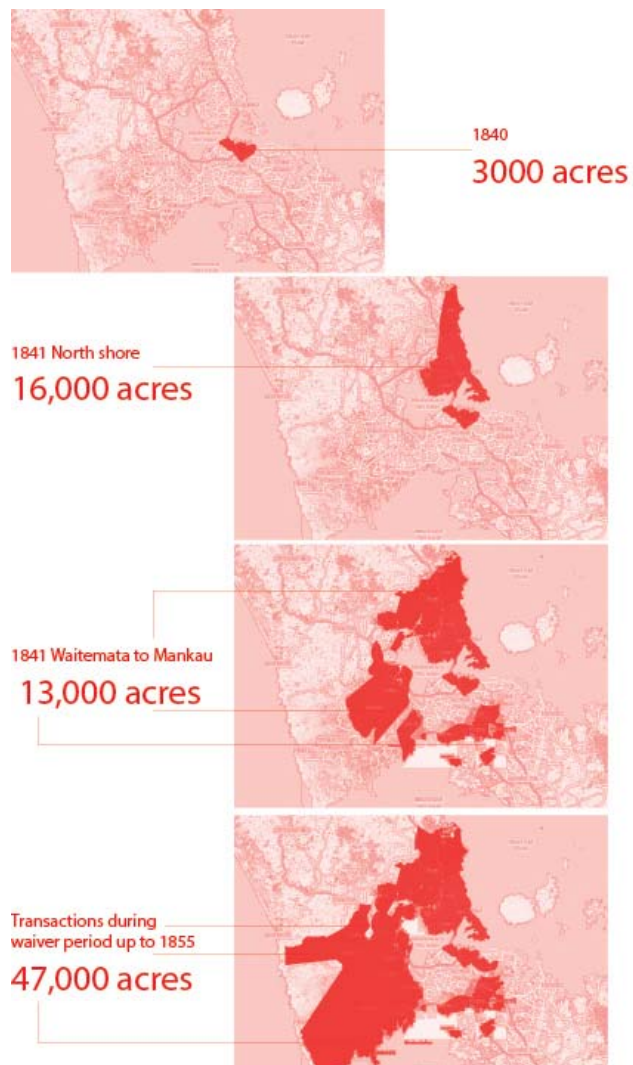waiver period up to 1855
47,000 acres

Fig. 63 Ngāti Whātua land transactions 1840 – 1845 based on Deed of Settlement, 2012 (Palmer, F., 2016)

While Māori ownership of land was rapidly diminishing, iwi also lost their access to their food reserves as food gathering areas became contaminated when the harbour edge was reclaimed and swamps drained to make way for new development.

By 1900 Ngāti Whātua occupied a village in Ōkahu Bay, but options for the tribe maintaining control over their last remaining reserve was further compromised in 1941, when the Government used the Public Works Act of 1882 to take ownership of 13 acres of land they owned at Bastion Point for defence purposes. Instead of being returned to the tribe, when it was no longer required after the war, this block was gifted to the Auckland City Council.

Then in 1952, Ngāti Whātua's village at Ōkahu Bay in Ōrākei was destroyed prior to Queen Elizabeth's visit. The rationale behind this destruction was based on the fact that during her visit, the Queen's official motorcade would drive along Auckland's waterfront, past Ōkahu Bay. Government officials were keen to demonstrate to the Queen and other dignitaries our elevated status as a democratic, socially unified and progressive country. But the Māori village at Ōkahu Bay, built using makeshift materials, tarnished an otherwise perfect vision of middle-class suburbia, exemplified by new surrounding housing developments built along the waterfront. Local government officials argued that the village was an "eyesore" and "a potential disease centre" (Engels-Schwarzpaul & Jotti; I. H. Kawharu, 1979). Under the National Government, the village was destroyed and a park created in its place. With its destruction, the tribe was evicted. Their homes were demolished and their meeting house burnt to the ground. Of approximately 200 families living in the village, 50 were relocated into state houses that were owned by the Government built on Māori land, on an adjacent hillside. Other families who could not rent homes within this state housing development, were left to fend for themselves elsewhere, and families now reside in South Auckland.

In 2012, I attended an Indigenous housing conference in Canada. One of the delegates from Aotearoa was Grant Hawke (a kaumātua from Ngāti Whātua). He told me how as a child, he and his brothers watched their home burn to the ground, and how his family (which included 16 children) moved into a state house on the hillside. As the house was too small to accommodate the family, the boys dug a space underneath it, to make a sleeping area. When the family moved into their new state rental house they struggled to pay for their rent While the Queen's visit may seem like an exceptional circumstance of racially motivated eviction, this history of forced eviction was repeated 26 years later, in 1978, when the government destroyed another village Māori had started to build on their land at Bastion Point in protest over plans by the City Council to sell it to developers for high-income housing. This protest lead by Joe Hawke (Grant Hawke's brother), was instrumental in raising public awareness over grievances relating Māori land loss, and was the first case that was investigated by the Waitangi Tribunal.

The Ōrākei Treaty settlement

Under the treaty settlement, Ngāti Whātua have been awarded a $16 million cash settlement, which includes 33 hectares at Pourewa Creek, in Ōrākei, cultural interests in Kauri Point, a site located at 99 Owens Road, Epsom, and money to buy New Zealand Defence Force housing and operational land located in Devonport. While their tribal assets have improved with this settlement, with an estimated 14,721 tribal members (Census, 2006) the iwi still have to find alternative ways to find housing to support families who remain dependent on rental accommodation. Even if the land that is returned is intensively developed, the tribe will only be able to house a small minority of their people. Proposals to build high-density housing to meet the needs of multiple shareholders at Ōrākei have also faced resistance from families wanting to live in low-density housing (Ruske, 2014; Ryks, Howden-Chapman, Robson, Stuart, & Waa, 2014). As Ngāti Whātua have a scarcity of urban land within Auckland to build houses on, the question is where else can they go? While the focus here is on Ngāti Whātua, there is also the question of how the needs of other tribes such as Ngāti Pāoa, Ngāi Tai; Te Wai-o-Hua/Ngā Oho; Ngāti Te Ata; and Te Kawerau-a-Maki, who were displaced through musket warfare and subsequent sale of their traditional tribal areas, are also meet.

The site at Te Karaka

In spite of an extensive history of land loss and displacement, the Hawke family still owned a block of 100 hectares of rurally designated land located in Te Karaka (South Auckland). When colonial settlers began farming this area, 5000 acres was set aside to remain as Māori land. Over the years, Māori ownership in this area rapidly dwindled until only 100 acres is now left. Māori lost their land when they leased it to Pākehā farmers who were able to acquire the land cheaply when Māori landlords could not pay for capital development costs. This area is fertile, and today it is mainly used for dairy and sheep farming, and stud farms to raise thoroughbred horses. Recently the area has been amalgamated into the wider Auckland Council and under the Unitary Plan parts have been targeted for intensive residential development, but not Te Karaka 1 (the block owned by the Hawke family), which remains rurally designated.

Restrictions

Under the current district plan, Te Karaka 1 is rurally zoned (Auckland Council District Plan, Operative Franklin Section, Part 23A). Under this zoning regulation, five houses, a kohanga reo and marae facilities may be built on the site as a discretionary activity. This would require a resource consent approval. For this site, there is no designation for business or mixed-use activities which would make land development more economically viable. The regulation also does not recognise multiple shareholders or allow higher density development to meet shareholders housing needs and their aspirations for development. While there is already high density residential and mixed use zoning areas in the Karaka area, these areas come under General Title and are not Māori owned. Owners of General Title land that has residential or mixed use zoning in this area do not need a Resource Consent to build houses.

A visioning workshop for Te Karaka 1

Unlike Whare Ora, which was a pan tribal project, controlled through He Korowai Trust, the families who participated in the Te Karaka 1 wānanga were connected through their whakapapa to this region. The families involved in the Te Karaka wānanga, wanted to find out how they could develop their land in a way that could benefit all shareholders, and like the Whare Ora project, they were restricted by existing planning rules which in this instance related primarily to farming practice which limited the density of houses and the types of development that could be built. Rather than being restricted by legislative controls, the strategy was to ask the family to consider how they would design their future if they could become more intimately connected to their land through physical occupation, and without being restricted by planning rules. This wānanga led to the production of four different proposals that captured ideas the families thought important (refer Fig.68-70).

To prepare for this wānanga, I made four 1:1000 scaled, 3D contour site models of the site, and provided props such as trees and houses that could be used to generate the proposals. This wānanga followed a similar format to the one I developed for the Whare Ora project but with four exceptions: there was no restriction on housing typology, the Trust involved had no overarching agenda, although I provided physical props, I decided not use the Tū Whare Ora guidelines as prompts, and I removed myself from overseeing the outcomes as they were created. I wanted to set the wānanga up so I would not directly oversee or facilitate the generation of the proposals or provide any verbal prompts, as based on my experience with the previous workshop carried out for Whare Ora, I felt this seemed presumptuous. Instead, I left the family to generate the proposals on their own while they stayed on the marae overnight. I returned the next morning, to observe and document the presentation of their schemes to a council of elders. During this wānanga four proposals were developed:

Key

1. Bird sanctuary
2. Oyster farm
3. Whare tupuna
4. Whare wānanga
5. Hotel/underground houses
6. Flying fox
7. Off shore dive centre
8. Helicopter pad
9. Retractable stage
10. Food gardens
11. Botanic gardens
12. Water tower
13. Wind turbines

1. Oyster farm
2. Mussel farm
3. Tuna farm
4. Solar powered rammed earth huts
5. Bora bora huts
6. Medicinal gardens
7. Performance centre
8. Cultural centre
9. Vineyards
10. Food gardens
11. Tourist houses

Fig. 64 The first proposal developed in the visioning wānanga by the Hawke family for Te Karaka 1
(Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig.65 The second proposal developed in the visioning wānanga by the Hawke family for Te Karaka 1
(Palmer,F., 2013

The proposals that were developed by the family

The first proposal for Te Karaka Tai-whenua (Fig.68) focused on connecting Te Ao Māori with modern science and technology through tourism. The proposal used Māori icons and explicit designs which linked to the spiritual realm of Ngā Atua Ora. It considered how the coastline, the wind, the sea, the relationship between Ranginui and Papatūānuku (sky father and earth mother) and all natural and connected elements within the site could be harnessed to develop the whenua (land) and the moana (sea). Alongside environmental concerns – the provision of a bird sanctuary for migrating birds and oyster farms – the group was also interested in proposing a development that would enable families to be self-sufficient through tourism and job creation. The scheme included security and maintenance facilities, buildings such as a whare tūpuna to house historical artefacts, a whare wānanga (house of learning) for developing technology in Māori law, technology, social sciences and business management. To boost employment, they proposed an extreme adventure tourism venture which had a hotel and flying fox, with access via a hovercraft airport shuttle to an offshore diving centre and helicopter pad, with a submarine where patrons could catch their fish and have it cooked in an underwater restaurant. The proposal also included a retractable stage for theatre and kapahaka (music and dance) which could host international events. The residents would be all housed in underground earth homes. The surrounding land would be developed for gardens to provide food for inhabitants and for tourists, and there would also be botanical gardens like the Ellerslie Flower Show. A water tower would store water on the site, while wind turbines would generate power not only for the settlement but on-sold as surplus to neighbouring communities. The proposal was driven by an interest in long-term sustainability by generating enough profits to support future descendants, with the aim of purchasing neighbouring sites linked to the ancestors.

 The second proposal, Te Karaka Kākano (Fig.69), was also primarily interested in developing a Hauora, a Māori centre to generate employment for its inhabitants through tourism while preserving the natural environment. The initial focus was on stabilising the eroding coastline through planting. Kai moana would be developed through oyster, mussel and tuna (eel) farms. The inhabitants would all live in solar-powered mud huts, with zero-waste composting toilets. They would learn about rongoa (Māori medicinal knowledge), Māori taonga in a whare wānanga for music and performing arts, and natural medicines. The knowledge developed through the whare wānanga would be shared as a cultural experience with tourists staying in solar-powered Bora Bora huts located along the shoreline. The proposal also had performance theatre facilities, a cultural centre, a boutique vineyard, forestry along the boundary and self-sufficient gardens.

1. Leasehold houses
2. Whanau houses
3. Whare tāonga
4. Communal marae
5. Tennis courts
6. Recreation centre
7. Orchard
8. Processing plant
9. Vinyard
10. Food garden
11. Wind turbine
12. Stadium
13. 5 star hotel
14. Bridge to Weymouth
15. High rise hotels
16. Rock pool garden
17. Club med tourist facilities
18. Fishing charters
19. Sea horse farm

Fig. 66 The third proposal developed in the visioning wānanga by the Hawke family for Te Karaka 1
(Palmer, F., 2013)

Fig. 67 The forth proposal developed in the visioning wānanga by the Hawke family for Te Karaka 1
(Palmer, F., 2013)

The third proposal, named Tame Haaka Panapa (Fig.70), planned to pay for a two-stage
future development by leasing 50 acres at the front of site. Under this scheme, each owner
would get 10 acres to house their extended whānau with the provision of a family whare
taonga (treasure house), communal whare hui (meeting house), tennis courts, recreation
centre, an orchard with a processing plant, a vineyard, and a large maara kai (food garden)
to feed the community. The whole development would be serviced by wind turbines
to generate power to the site. A stadium and five-star hotel connected by a bridge to
Weymouth, and high-rise buildings along the waterfront, serviced by a bus company, would
provide income and jobs for the inhabitants. Along the waterfront there would be a rock pool
garden with Club Med-style tourist facilities, fishing charters and a seahorse farm.

Of the three schemes, this proposal had a more intensive housing development. To get back
neighbouring land, the strategy was to intermarry with neighbours.

A fourth proposal was also developed, but unfortunately the data that was recorded was
lost. To the right is an image of it, showing extensive development.

Fig.68 Detail of the third proposal designed by the Hawke family (Palmer, F., 2013)

How successful was this visioning wānanga?

The proposals generated by the Hawkes, allowed the family to collaboratively imagine what would be required if they wanted to develop a site to support their families and generations to come in a sustainable way.

These proposals involved the input of mixed generations, so that multiple and different needs of family members were considered. In each instance, the families proposed a broad range of businesses and community facilities, and local amenities to support their housing development. Alongside food production and cultural activities, the creation of different business enterprises to support families, was seen as being critical to making any development accessible and affordable to multiple shareholders.

Unlike the wānanga I developed for He Korowai, which was confined by funding and objectives that that had been developed by the Trust and their facilitators which controlled certain aspects of their proposals, for this wānanga there were no restrictions. I also attempted to remove myself from having any control over what would be developed by the family by not referring to Māori-centred guidelines (Awatere et al., 2008), or being physically present. Without prompts (apart from the physical props I supplied), or the influence of my presence as an outsider/expert to facilitate and oversee their creative process, I felt this gave the family more freedom to imagine an alternative future and articulate their own objectives, and I was interested in seeing what they came up with. As they were not limited by financial constraints, the proposals that the family presented were more ambitious and imaginative than those generated for the Whare Ora project. Also, even without prompts, the family's ideas reflected many of the principles associated with the Māori-centred guidelines (Awatere et al., 2008), such as, an interest in activating the life force of the site and supporting future generations to come, by protecting local wildlife, and boosting biodiversity, building ecologically sustainable housing, and providing a range of facilities to nurture cultural, economic and social well-being for future generations to come, by protecting local wildlife, and boosting biodiversity building ecologically sustainable housing, and providing a range of facilities to nurture cultural, economic and social well-being .

It was humbling to see the design thinking and intelligence reflected in the proposals created by the family. In advocating for what he termed "non-pedigreed architecture" Bernard Rudolfsky (a Moravian-born American architect) argued that communities do not need outside experts such as architects to design beautiful schemes to meet their needs (Rudolfsky, 1972). Communities, just need to find a way to dismantle existing structures of control, so that aspirations for sustainable housing that draw on and reflect their values can be enabled.

As an experience, the family, said that they enjoyed participating in the wānanga. They said it was fun being able to contribute and plan for an alternative future, and it opened up a discussion over what they wanted to do next.

I did not extend the development of these proposals into a further realisation. The family had to take time to consider what they would do. But in asserting aspirations for future development which challenge assumptions made by the district plan, if the family did intend to develop their property in the future, these proposals could be used to renegotiate the terms by which the local council is able to support the families right to self-manage, and control their land in accordance with their preferences and Treaty of Waitangi obligations.

The Te Karaka wānanga also helped to refine the method I developed for the Whare Ora project. The family were able to create their own aspirations for development to reflect their values and aspirations without the influence of my presence overseeing the productions as the expert. I felt that this was more respectful and more empowering for the family.

As a postscript to this project, I have remained in contact with the Hawke family. The family are currently in the process of finding a way to synthesis the best ideas generated during the wānanga into a proposal which they can use to pitch to various government agencies and the Auckland City Council to garner support.

While these collaborative and inclusive wānanga seemed to work for creating proposals for individual blocks of land like Te Karaka and Whare Ora, I wondered if a similar approach could be applied at a regional scale. The following project developed for the North Hokianga tested this out.

North Hokianga

This final project is located in the North Hokianga, a region that is predominantly Māori owned. I begin by looking at Mitimiti (my ancestral home) to consider the impact of historical transactions that occurred through Māori Land Court partitioning. By comparing zoning maps with shareholder data, I show how people have been exiled from this area. Under current legislative requirements, local communities are highly restricted in what they can do. Working at a regional scale, in collaboration with seven marae, and drawing on hui held in the region, I then present visualisations of aspirational development for this region. The process involved in generating these visualisations differed significantly from the previous two projects as this project operates at a regional scale instead of being focused on individual blocks of land. At a regional scale, involving multiple sites, the physical three dimensional models were too big to enable groups to easily work on them collectively. So instead of using physical models, I adjusted my methodology. The visualisations for this area were presented to the community in a pamphlet during a garden festival. But before discussing this in detail, it is important to consider some of the historical transactions that occurred through Māori Land Court partitioning in order to understand how this history has displaced people from this community and adversely impacted on development in this region.

Historical Context -Alienation from Mitimiti

When I was young, I went with my grandmother to my first Māori Land Court Hearing in Pungaru. I always believe that there must have been a reason that I was there as a witness at this hearing, as without this encounter, I would have been ignorant of the inequalities and oppression that our communities face. The purpose of the hearing was driven by a government initiative to amalgamate what was deemed to be unproductive Māori land into a forestry trust that would be leased to Jukken Nishu, a wood-processing company supported by Japanese interests. The government's strategy was to resolve unemployment rife in the north Hokianga region through a programme of tree planting and forestry management which would employ locals.

While the initiative created employment in the area, it also created problems. Along with a reduction in the biodiversity and progressive degradation of soil fertility, it exiled thousands of people from their ancestral land and, in turn, this prevented people working in the forest from building houses in the area. At the time I was too young to realise the significance of what happened; it was only much later in the early 1990s when the trees had grown, ready to be felled, that I became aware of problems to do with building houses on Māori land. I attended one of the few public annual general meetings that the forestry trust has ever held. At the AGM, local forestry workers were asking if they could build houses in their ancestral area. At 2682 hectares, the forestry trust (Te Puna Topu O Hokianga) has one of the biggest
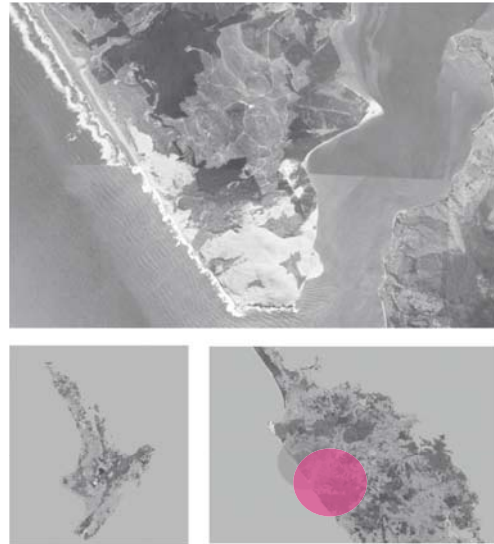
Fig. 69 Aerial view North Hokianga composite generated from images downloaded from Google Earth, 2014

land holdings in the area. According to Māori Land Court online records (2011), this land is currently owned by over 2355 shareholders who, under current conditions, will never build houses or live in this region.

Then, in the 1990's a series of house fires occurred in the Far North that resulted in five deaths in separate incidences. The fires had been caused by candles, and had occurred in temporary caravans situated on Māori land.

These two events piqued my interest. If Māori owned land, why could they not build permanent dwellings on their ancestral lands? Why were families living in caravans? And more specifically in the North Hokianga region, why were beneficiaries working for the forestry trust, and who had ancestral links to this area, unable to build houses locally? I wondered who and how many people were affected, and were exiled?

Te Tao Maui hapū

Te Tao Maui and associated hapū (subtribes) are located to the north of the Hokianga harbour. The hapū traditionally occupied the west coast between the Hokianga and Herekino harbours, and claim ancestry mainly through Tū Moana, a founding chieftain of Te Rarawa, but they are also closely connected to other hapū associated with Te Aupouri.

Because of its remoteness and rugged farm land, this area initially seemed to emerge unscathed from the massive land sales and confiscations that occurred in other parts of the region, although deep concerns had already been expressed relating to the rapidly dwindling forestry resources when the Warawara forest became gazetted by the Crown in 1875.

The area is bordered by large sand dunes to the north of the Hokianga, sandy beaches along the west coast, and steep forested hillsides of the Warawa forest to the east. The land was marginal for farming purposes, making it unattractive to settlers, but for centuries rich forestry and fishing reserves amply sustained communities living in the area.

Te Tao Maui was governed by an ethos of close social bonds, cooperation and reciprocity that meet the collective survival and reproductive needs of the hapū (Metge, 1976; Walker, 1990). Towards the end of the 19th century the various hapū in the area were led by a paramount chieftain called Atama Paparangi. His leadership was not autonomous but depended on his relationship with other members of the hapū in what is sometimes referred to by anthropologists as a 'reverse dominance hierarchy' or 'social cage'. This controlled a chieftain's ability to cheat or gain personal advantage as everything depended on collective decision making. Distribution rather than the accumulation of wealth formed the basis of the economy, while kaitiakitanga or guardianship governed notions of land ownership. Under this system, land was not owned privately, but was held in trust for succeeding generations to come (Ballara, 1998, Walker, 1990; D. Williams & Tribunal, 2001).

Fig. 70 Areas along west coast occupied by Te Tao Maui hapū with initial partitions imposed by the Māori Land Court overlaid in green, later subdivisions yellow (Kennedy, N., 2010).

Fig. 71 Early survey map of the region showing geographical features such as the sand dune headland (Allen, T.,)

Fig. 72 Māori owned land in the North Hokianga downloaded from Māori land online 2010

The partitioning of land

The first Māori Land Court hearings relating to this region were held in 1889 and 1897, and refer mainly to transfer of one of the blocks of land at Moetangi. Beginning in 1902 another series of land court hearings was held to determine ownership of Māori land.

The land was only marginally suited to European models of farming practice. The hapū had survived for centuries by working together as a community, relying on plentiful sources of seafood to supplement food grown communally in gardens located in fertile valleys or food gathered from the Warawara Forest. As a community, the hapū had access to extensive resources and didn't rely on a surplus economy, taking only what was needed.

On 15th October 1902, a hearing was held in Rawene for Matihetihe (about 500 acres) and Wairoa (about 1000 acres) (Māori Land Court Minute Books 1902). The next hearing took place in Rawene on the 25th June, 1905 for Matihetihe's 1740 acres. By the time the third hearing took place at Kaikohe in 1905, a council had divided the area into 41 blocks, each designated with equal shares.

By 1913 under the new cadastral system imposed by the Māori Land Court, land occupied by Te Tao Maui hapū had become a commodity distributed among four tūpuna (ancestors): Atama Paparangi, represented by Hohaia and Wano Tahana; Paoro Wharerua, represented by Mane Hotere; Rikihana, represented by Takou Kamira; Tupakihi, represented by Ngawati Kamira. The distribution of blocks of land relied on the integrity and agreement of the committee members to distribute it, which meant that they also became instrumental in enforcing actions which would exile families. Today the principle shareholders of land and trusts in the region are directly linked to the original council members.

In 1959 Kahakaroa, a block comprising the sand dunes on the North Head of the Hokianga, was partitioned, alienating 419 owners. Other large blocks of land such as Waireia and Tapu Wai also become inaccessible when they were amalgamated into farm co-ops and ownership shifted into general title. In the early 1970s the Labour Government initiated further amalgamation of land for the development of Te Puna Topu O Hokianga Forestry Trust. The trust aimed to turn what was deemed to be unproductive Māori land into a pine plantation to encourage employment in the Far North, although critics of these forestry schemes like Manuka Henare have argued that Government initiated pine regimes *forcefully* transferred Māori land into pine plantations (Henare, 2015). At 2682 hectares, Te Puna Topu O Hokianga is one of the biggest land holdings in the area. When this trust was formed, shareholders and beneficiaries instantly forfeited their right to live on their land. According to Māori Land Court online records (2012), this affects over 2355 shareholders. While in a patronising way the forestry scheme might have been well meant, by enforcing long-term Māori investment of land into pine plantations and providing cheap labour, the influence of this industry on developing the well-being of the local community, supporting local economies and protecting ecosystems has been less than desirable with escalating numbers of shareholders alienated, and few benefitting from the initiative. Juken Nisshu and its managers have been the main beneficiaries of this enterprise.

Fig. 73 Te Puna Topu Forest is a government initiated scheme that that was set up in the 1970's to amalgamate Māori land, effectively alienating thousands of shareholders from this region (Palmer, F., 2015)

Restrictions

When land was partitioned into individual titles through the Māori Land Court, the hapū lost its self-determination and an ability to control how they would occupy their land through the overlay of cadastral law. This led to the assertion of exclusive property rights which created conflicts between families. The assumptions that were made with partitioning have since been transferred under the jurisdiction of territorial legislation through the Resource Management Act 1991, which determines how land can be used, as defined in zoning maps.

For instance, if we look at zoning maps relating to the area occupied by Te Tao Maui, all areas that are still designated under Māori ownership are restricted to coastal or rural zoning. Coastal zoning limits the number of houses that can be built to one house per 20 hectares. Rural zoning limits the number of houses that can be built to one house per 12 hectares of land. Papakāinga (Māori village) developments follow the same housing density for each zone as above except that houses can be located closer together. For any Papakāinga development, a resource consent is required as Papakāinga are a discretionary activity that can only be approved by the Far North District Council ("Rural Environment", 2012). While these densities support building several houses on each block, a low-density housing model comes at a cost to developing sustainable economic infrastructures, as (aside from farming) the zoning for this area does not encourage other types of occupations or a diverse range of businesses to be developed that may be unrelated to farming, nor does it recognise the rights of multiple owners that are associated with Māori land blocks which exceed the densities allowed for each site.

Looking more closely at the effect of zoning and densities associated with Māori land in this area, the composite map of the region (above), shows land that remains in Māori ownership. It is coloured to show intensities of shareholders. Yellow represents sites occupied by small numbers of owners. The darker red colours refer to areas that have increasing numbers of shareholders. The dark red block is Te Puna Topu O Hokianga. White land blocks are under general title ownership. In this district more than 2355 shareholders will never be able to build on their land unless the Trust can come to an agreement separate some shareholders from this block so that they can build.

Because this area only has a low-density rural zoning designation, less than five percent of all shareholders are able to build houses in the region. Under regulatory control all other shareholders are exiled with no rights to occupy their ancestral land. A threat of complete alienation and the inability for existing blocks to sustainably support occupants as farmers make it impossible for Māori to agree on approving a licence to occupy for a small minority of shareholders.

In this area, there is no zoning for high-density residential, industrial or commercial use or mixed-use development (which would be more economically sustainable, and support communal living and occupation by multiple shareholders). Designated papakāinga areas are located in flood-prone areas. The zoning maps also do not consider how significant natural resources such as local fisheries or the Warawa Forest and Kahakaharoa (the sand dunes) to the north of the Hokianga harbour, which are under negotiation as part of the Treaty settlement process, can be used to sustainably build local economies. The hapū traditionally relied on fisheries as a local economy, but it has been difficult to maintain livelihoods based on this industry because of the way it has been regulated.

The loss of self-governance imposed by the Māori Land Court, and subsequently enforced by territorial authorities through indifferent legislation and government policy, led to a shift from a fluid society focused on the people, its community and access to shared resources, to a focus on the individual, land, its ownership and exclusive occupancy. By comparing housing densities allowed under the district plan with shareholder densities, we can see how the influence of a complex system of jurisdiction and control enforces the exile of multiple families and restricts the occupation and development of this region.

At the moment, existing legislation does not deal with, or address the fundamental restrictions it imposes through existing political, economic and institutional structures, which

The density of shareholders on Māori land blocks at Mitimiti

Legend:
- Less than 10 shareholders
- 10-20 shareholders
- 30-40 shareholders
- 50-60 shareholders
- 70-80 shareholders
- 80-90 shareholders
- 100-200 shareholders
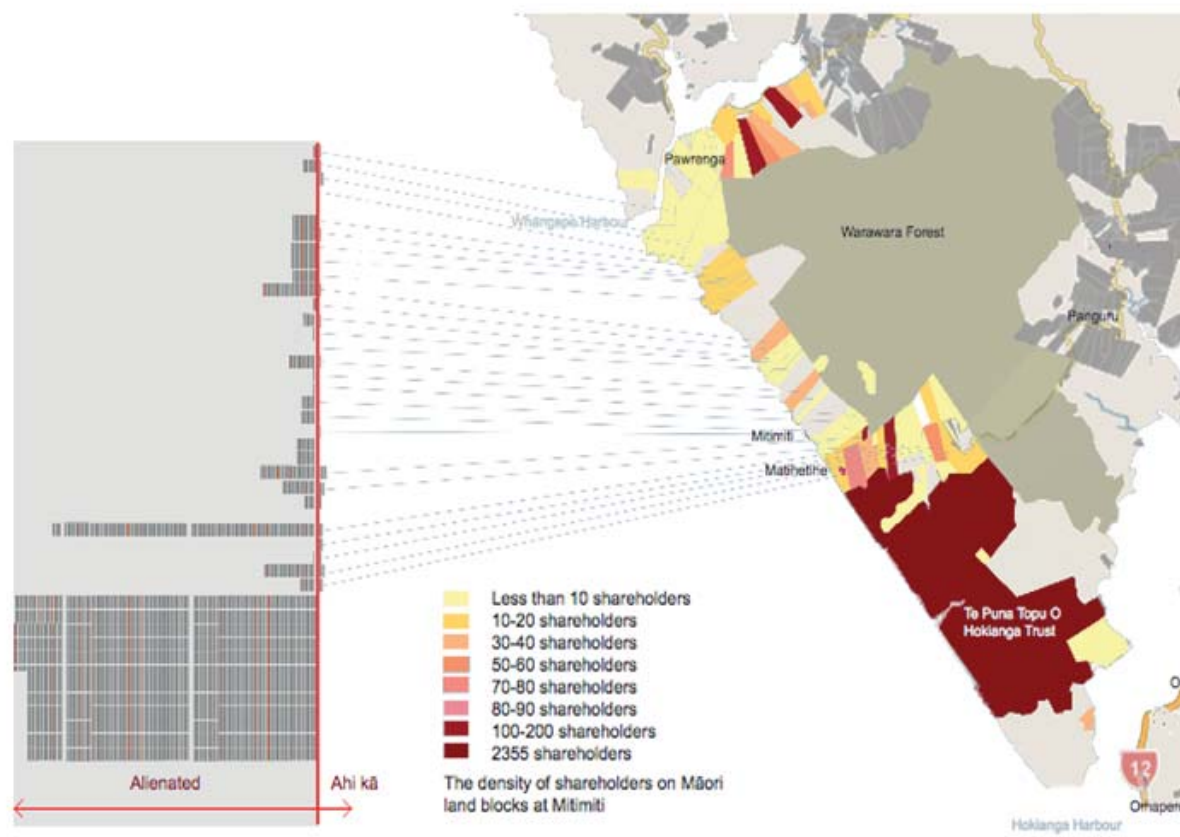- 2355 shareholders

Alienated — Ahi kā

Fig. 74 A composite map showing the extent of alienation imposed by territorial legislation (Palmer, F., 2010)

hinder sustainable economic development. Nor does it address the way legislation continues to enforce alienation, or how it degrades local ecologies and hinders economic growth and the social well-being of this community.

While there is always a risk of over-romanticising the possibility of proposing an alternative structure or counter-map, in looking at the relationship between the density of shareholders against the densities of houses permitted on each site, I believe that by understanding the fundamental restrictions imposed through the RMA, a focus can then be directed towards considering other ways of building sustainable communities that aren't necessarily solely dependent on farming, forestry or extractive industries (which adversely affect local ecologies), but which encourage a diverse range of occupations to emerge and support the multiple shareholders exiled from the region.

Fig. 75 Large scale polystyrene maps of sites in the North Hokianga (Palmer, F., 2015)

Envisioning a Future for the North Hokianga

In 2012, a series of hui were held amongst 7 marae (Matihetihe, Ngati Manawa, Waipuna, Motuti, Waihou, Ngati Tupoto and Waiperera) and 6 entities to discuss options for future development in the North Hokianga region. The community was interested in transforming itself by focusing on the strengths and needs of its people.

The intention was to:

- Identify and discuss existing requirements and future initiatives that will elevate health and well-being

- Identify skills and strengths and think of ways to support local initiatives

- Explore the shared visions and values of the community to establish a plan of action.

- Ensure that the North Hokianga has a future - by developing a plan to make the region a sustainable and vibrant place to live in, where our children thrive

- Stop practices that damage our social well-being and natural environment

- Enable businesses and housing to be developed in the region in a sustainable way

The community was interested in development that focused on:

- Health and well-being

- Affordable housing

- Economic development

- Protecting local ecologies

The North Hokianga faces certain challenges. It is isolated. There is a lack of autonomy and disempowerment within the community, which has also lead to a loss of social cohesion, and problems associated with violence, drug and alcohol use. The region has a high rate of suicide amongst its younger population. People rely on low subsistent level incomes with few alternative employment options and limited access to educational programmes beyond high school level. The region lacks infrastructure, and many houses are substandard. Under current zoning laws, less than 5% of Māori shareholders who whakapapa to this region can occupy this area. The zoning is indifferent to multiple shareholders. Through non sustainable land use practices, local ecologies have been extensively degraded which has reduced biodiversity and the region faces conservation problems associated with deforestation, agricultural farming practices, water contamination and the introduction of pest species.

Fig. 76 Above, brochure Kai Rangitira, Panguru (Palmer, F., 2015)

Finding another way to create aspirational visualisations of future development

The following proposal for the North Hokianga involved a shift in scale. This required a change in my methodology. The rational for this change was in response to the following issues:

When I began preparing for this project I initially thought I would simply replicate the techniques I had developed in the previous wānanga (Whare Ora and Te Karaka) by using three dimensional models to engage local communities in imagining future development. Because the region is vast in scale, instead of making large 1:1000 scale models which is the scale I used for the previous wānanga, I reduced the scale of the models, and constructed a series of larger 1:2000 scale contour maps of 6 locations where there were already dense clusters of settlement in the region (Mitimiti, Motuti, Motukaraka, Te Karaka and Rangi Point, Waihou). I made my previous site models out of cardboard and plywood but for this project, I used polystyrene to make them light enough for me to carry. But at a reduced scale these site models were so bulky, that I realised I would need a truck to transport them to the Far North. Also at the 1:2000 scale, replica models of houses became reduced to the size of a dress maker's pin. To make these models, I relied on Regional Council GIS data which did not have highly detailed contours, and the landscape features became so distorted they weren't able to be easily recognised when I tested them out with locals. I realised that models constructed at a scale of 1:2000 were difficult to work with. Models constructed at a scale of 1:1000 would have been better, but how could I transport models this size? How could I afford to make them without any funding? And how big would our meeting space have to be so we could collectively work on them with community groups from 7 marae? I realised that I had to use a different approach that could still make the information generated through the visualisations accessible to the local community.

There also were other issues involved with this project. For instance, the collaborative visualisations developed during wānanga for the Whare Ora and Te Karaka 1 projects were created for individual sites. This meant that these proposals were confined to fixed areas and did not have to grapple with the politics over negotiating across adjacent and multiple sites owned by individual groups who sometimes retained old grudges over the histories of conflict and displacement enforced through Māori Land Court partitioning and the division of land into cadastral boundaries. These conflicts needed to be overcome if we wanted to create a collective vision for the region. The question was how to achieve this?

Another difficulty associated with working at a regional scale was the fact that the seven marae also wanted any visualisation for the region to involve everyone, and it was difficult to coordinate the larger group. Prospective wānanga were cancelled, and the community began showing signs of fatigue when nothing seemed to eventuate from multiple meetings that were held. Within this context, I also had my own agenda in wanting to able to apply what I had learnt from the previous visioning workshops in setting up a vision for this area and also to deliver a research outcome from the work I had undertaken so far. I realised that I needed to set something up that would not be too taxing or too demanding on a community that I knew was already overworked.

To overcome difficulties over coordinating a large group, and the residue of internal conflicts associated with Māori Land Court partitioning, drawing on discussions that had taken place during hui, my response was to create a pamphlet that presented a series of proposed visualisations of aspirations for future development across the region.

The thinking associated with the development of the pamphlet was loosely aligned to Mor-

gan's Mauri model of development in asserting our role as kaitiaki by thinking of alternative ways of using land to activate the mauri (2006), and the papakāinga principles developed within the Tū Whare Ora guidelines (Awatere et al., 2008).

The focus of the visualisations within the pamphlet, was on thinking of ways to revitalise the region, protect local ecologies and boost food security through sustainable land use practices, and identifying favourable locations for papakāinga that would benefit all shareholders regardless of whether they were currently living in the region. Conflicts over Māori Land court partitioning were dealt with by imagining that there were no limitations over boundaries. Unlike the previous projects, I created the visualisations for this pamphlet, based on information that had been discussed during hui on the community's behalf. This information was distributed to the community during a Kai Rangatira Festival, an event set up to promote community Involvement.

Fig. 77 Internal spreads brochure (Palmer, F., 2015)

The Proposals

The following aspirational visualisations of future development for the North Hokianga focuses on asserting our role as kaitiaki through removing the barriers and structures of control that have led to the exploitation and devastation of our forestry's and fisheries and degradation of Papatūānuku through practices, which hinder how we access local resources. To make a positive change this proposal includes a plan to replace Pine plantations with indigenous trees species such as Manuka, Kanuka, Kauri and Totara (which are proven to maintain soil and water values), and to actively protect biodiversity and replant pastoral land areas with mixed tree species to improve productivity, reduce erosion and incorporate timber production with other products such as nuts, fruits, honey, herbs and fungi. This increase in species and systems will in turn provide different sources of income, and increase insect and disease resistance. These ideas are expressed within 2 dimensional maps, and perspectives of different parts of the region that show the location of fish hatcheries, and which identify areas which will be replanted to reduce erosion and flooding and boost local ecologies and enhance food security through a diverse range of land use practices. Other ideas identified in this proposal include the creation of a range of industries to boost local economies to support the wider community, based on high end production not just the extraction of raw materials, and also by considering other benefits associated with developing educational programmes focused on health, sustainable food production and the protection of local ecologies.

In these maps, parts of the region are rezoned to encourage the development of pockets of intensive mixed use housing located in safe areas to mitigate against flood risk and located where families could return to live and work in the region and participate in the education programmes, forestry replanting schemes and create a range of local business to boost local economies. The Waireia block which has been returned under Treaty settlement presents an opportunity to enable intensive settlement in the region for families who have been exiled with the establishment of Te Puna O Hokianga Trust or who have had problems negotiating a license to occupy on multiply owned land elsewhere. To reduce costs and environmental impact, areas of proposed mixed use housing areas are clustered close together, like a traditional papakāinga with small gardens connecting to common shared areas at a ratio of 20 – 25 houses per hectare New houses will be designed to maximise energy efficiency, collect rain water, use solar energy for heating and hot water and have technologically advanced composting toilets. The Waireia township will encourage the emergence of local business, establishment of community facilities such as, food co-ops, play grounds, health and education centres and provide a diverse range of commercial and other businesses activities in the region.

These initiatives take a long term view, by supporting the development of a wide range of local businesses in a way that that remains respectful to the rights of Papatūānuku. These maps show areas where the biodiversity and abundance of the region can be strengthened through developing non exploitive land-use practices, and imagine places where our community can live and be educated in ways that resonate with Te Rarawa world views and culture, and revitalise the area by attracting people back to live in settlements like Waireia.

ENVISIONING A FUTURE

A SPECULATIVE PROPOSAL FOR THE NORTH HOKIANGA
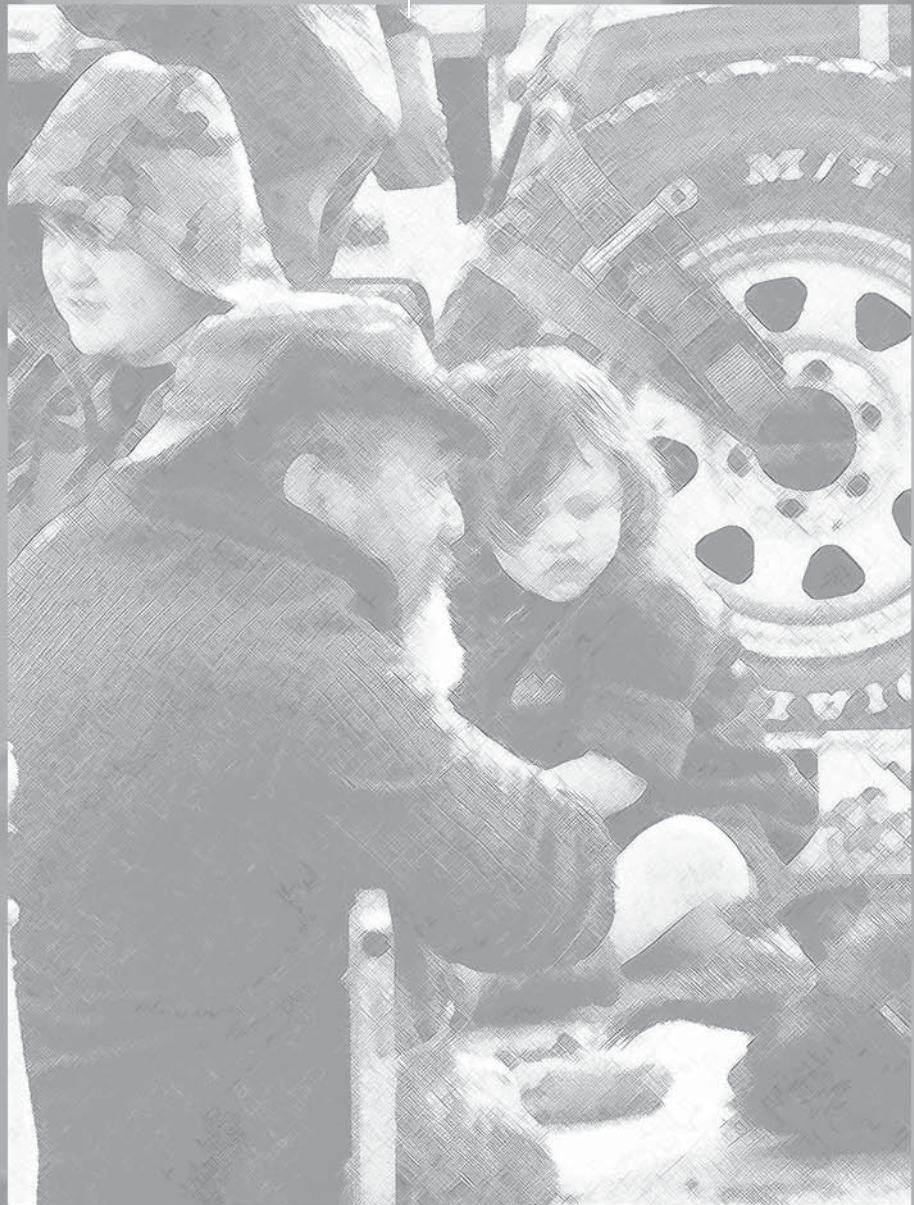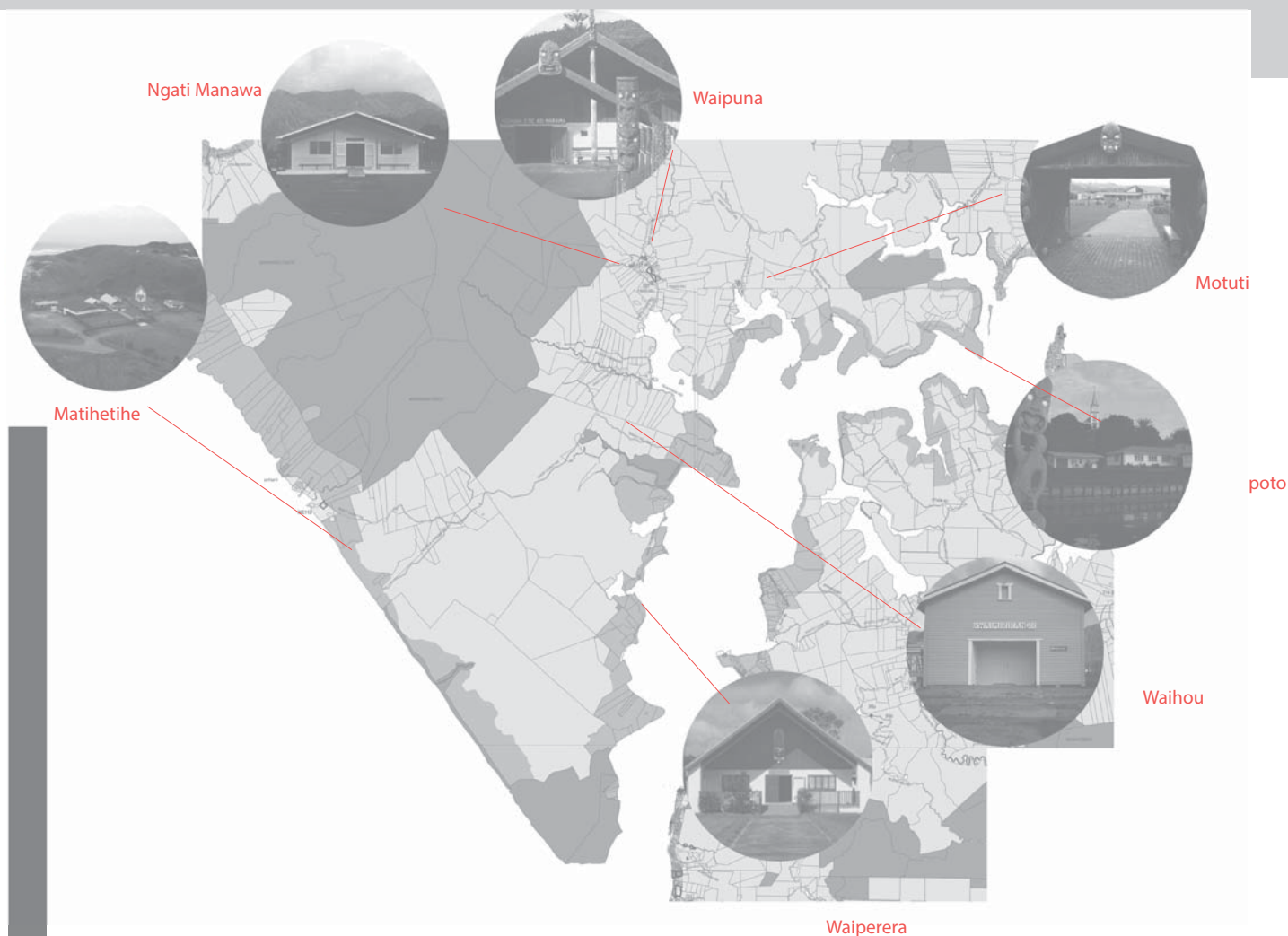
Ngati Manawa

Waipuna

Motuti

Matihetihe

poto

Waihou

Waiperera

In 2012, a series of hui were held amongst 7 marae (Matihetihe, Ngati Manawa, Waipuna, Motuti, Waihou, Ngati Tupoto and Waiperera) and 6 entities to discuss options for future development. The community was interested in radically transforming itself by focusing on the strengths and needs of its people.
The intention was to:
1. Identify and discuss existing requirements and future initiatives that will elevate health and well-being
2. Identify skills and strengths and think of ways to support local initiatives
3. Explore the shared visions and values of the community to establish a plan of action.
4. Ensure that the North Hokianga has a future - by developing a plan to make the region a sustainable and vibrant place to live in, where our children thrive
5. Stop practices that damage our social well-being and natural environment
6. Enable businesses and housing to be developed in the region in a sustainable way

THE COMMUNITY WAS INTERESTED IN DEVELOPMENT THAT FOCUSED ON :

1. HEALTH AND WELL-BEING
2. AFFORDABLE HOUSING
3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
4. PROTECTING LOCAL ECOLOGIES

1962
PEOPLE LIVE IN THE NORTH HOKIANGA

AVERAGE INCOME IS $14,700 PER ANNUM

70% POPULATION ARE MAORI

34% POPULATION SPEAK MAORI

44.5% HAVE NO FORMAL QUALIFICATION

67% EARN LESS THAN $20,000 PER ANNUM

28% ARE ONE PARENT FAMILIES

26.9% ARE YOUNGER THAN 15 YEARS
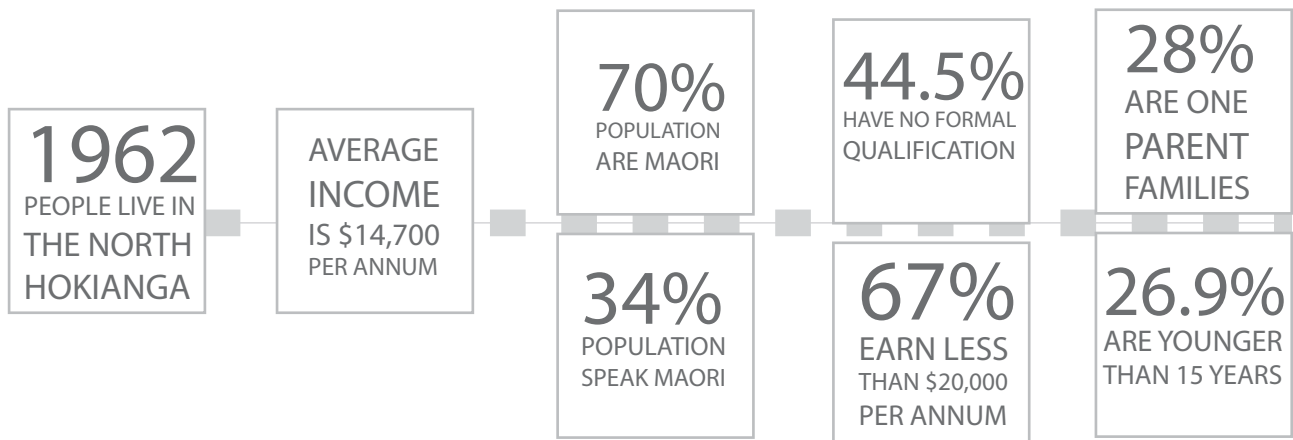
OUR CHALLENGES:

The region is isolated. There is a loss of heritage, lack of autonomy and disempowerment within the community, which has also lead to a loss of social cohesion, and problems associated with violence, drug and alcohol use. The region has a high rate of suicide amongst its younger population. People rely on low subsistent level incomes with few alternative employment options and limited access to educational programmes beyond high school level. The region lacks infrastructure, and many houses are substandard. Under current zoning laws, less than 5% of Maori shareholders who whakapapa to this region can occupy this area. The zoning is indifferent to multiple shareholders.

Through non sustainable land use practices, local ecologies have been extensively degraded which has reduced biodiversity and the region faces conservation problems associated with deforestation, agricultural farming practices and the introduction of pest species.

Over the last 100 years, vast tracts of Maori land in multiple ownership has been planted in pines or developed as beef or dairy farms. Indigenous trees have been extracted from the Warawara forest and our fisheries have been depleted. No assessment has been made to take into account the ecological, social and economic aspects of how our resources have been used in this area. There has been no consideration of the on-going effect of alienation through the establishment of forestry trusts and Maori Land Court partitioning which have both had a lasting impact on our communities.

While industries associated with pine plantations and traditional Western models of farming practices argue that they are sustainable, and profitable, scientific research, concludes that pine plantations and mono-cultural farming practices are not ecologically sustainable as they:

- Cause soil nutrient decline, and accelerated soil nutrient loss.
- While pine trees initially store carbon dioxide in biomass, in the long-term they emit carbon through manufacturing processes that are heavily reliant on fossil fuels. This cancels any environmental benefit
- Reduce biological diversity
- Create a susceptibility to pests and diseases.
- Pollute soil, ground water and the sea by using toxic herbicides, pesticides and fungicides.
- Degrade waterways
- Introduce invasive species
- Enforce the loss of customary rights of indigenous people and their ability to access the land by creating a legally binding structure that alienates multiple owners
- Create a land use structure that alienates multiple owners
- Are not always able to economically support the wider community or provide local employment
- Large scale farming and forestry operations cause a gradual decline in rural populations, which leads to the closure of rural schools

TO MAKE POSITIVE CHANGES TO TRANSFORM THE REGION WE NEED TO:

STEP 1 - ASSERT OUR ROLE AS KAITIAKI
Remove barriers and structures of control that have led to the exploitation and devastation of our forestry's and fisheries and degradation of Papatuanuku through practices, which hinder how we access local resources, and assert our role as kaitiaki

STEP 2 - REFORESTATION
Develop and aspirational plan of action to make a positive change that aims for a better future for our community that includes a plan to replace Pine plantations with indigenous trees species such as Manuka, Kanuka, Kauri and Totara which are proven to maintain soil and water values, and actively protect biodiversity and to plant pastoral land areas with mixed tree species to improve productivity, reduce erosion and incorporate timber production with other products such as nuts, fruits, honey, herbs and fungi.
This diversity of species and systems in turn will provide a diverse income source, and increase insect and disease resistance.

STEP 3 - EDUCATE OUR PEOPLE
Develop an educational programme focused on the creation of a diverse range of industries to boost local economies to support the wider community, and back up this plan with a business model that demonstrates the benefits this will bring to the community. This includes the benefits associated with the financial boost that comes with developing a diverse range of local economies focused on high end production not just the extraction of raw materials, and also considers other benefits associated with developing educational programmes focused on health, sustainable food production and protection of local ecologies.

STEP 4 - REZONE
Rezone the region to encourage the development of pockets of intensive mixed use housing located in safe areas to mitigate against flood risk and located in areas where families can return to live and work in the region and participate in the education programmes, forestry replanting schemes and create a diverse range of local business that boost local economies.

These initiatives take a long term view by supporting the development of a diverse range of local economies in a way that that remains respectful to the rights of Papatuanuku. This is enabled by strengthening the biodiversity and abundance of the region through developing non exploitive land-use practices, and by educating our community in ways that resonate with Māori world views and culture, and revitalising the region by attracting people back.

Existing aerial view

Intensive mixed use housing and tourism businesses clustered close together, like a traditional papakainga with small gardens connecting to common shared areas at a ratio of 20 – 25 houses per hectare.

Rezone areas to allow for intensive mixed use housing

Replant the Tapawae block in agro-forestry plantation to boost local food security

Along harbour develop sustainable fishing enterprises

Distribute bee hives for honey based industries

Perspective of proposed development

Existing view

Motukaraka

Occupied by Ngai Tupoto hapu for nearly 20 generations, Motukaraka is the gateway to this area. To attract descendants into the region, and boost local economies this plan shows sites of increase density at Motukaraka, and on the Tapawae block . The Tapawae block is also planted in agro-forestry to boost food security.

Local businesses will be primarily driven by tourism, honey based industries and developing sustainable fishing enterprises.

New housing will be clustered close together, like a traditional papakainga with small gardens connecting to common shared areas at a ratio of 20 – 25 houses per hectare. Existing houses in the area will be assessed and retrofitted to reduce energy use and make greater use of renewable resources. New houses will be designed to maximise energy efficiency, collect rain water, use solar energy for heating and hot water and have technologically advanced composting toilets.

Perspective of proposed agro-forestry plantation

Perspective of existing valley

Panguru

Street view before and after

One of the more densely populated areas in the region, Panguru is prone to flooding. To mitigate against flood risk, and the Panguru plain will be planted in nutritionally high yielding agro-forestry co-ops. The trees will act as a barrier to floodwater, prevent soil erosion, and reduce sediment going into the river. The trees will lower peak flood levels and crops from the trees will also provide a regular source of income for people living in the area.

Replace pine plantation with indigenous trees including a mix of Kanuka and Manuka for honey production.

Existing housing will be assessed for flood risk and all new housing located on higher ground.

Agro-forestry map
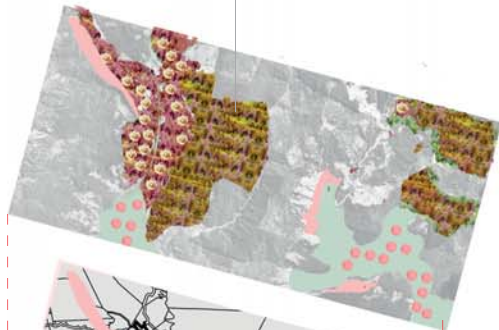
Intensive housing development areas
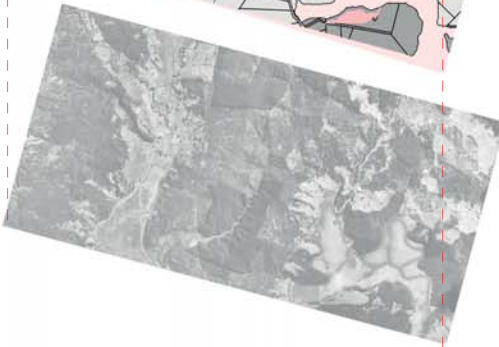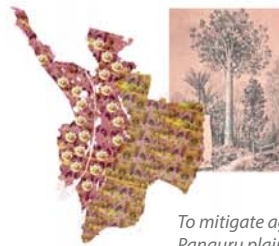
To mitigate against flood risk, the Panguru plain is planted in nutritionally high yielding agro-forestry crops, with indigenous tree shelter belts, and under grazed with free range hens.

Existing aerial view

Sustainable fish hatcheries developed in estuary.

Street view before below and after above

Panguru

Perspective of proposed agro-forestry orchard

To boost food security and diversify local economies, flood prone valleys like Waihou and Panguru will be planted in nutritionally high yielding agro-forestry crops, interspersed with native trees used as shelter belts, and undergrazed by free range hens. The trees will provide annual crops and slow down soil erosion.

Perspective of stream revitalisation

Along streams an extensive planting scheme will boost bidiversity and clean up and revitalise our waterways making them more vibrant.

Existing housing will be assessed for flood risk and all new housing located on higher ground.
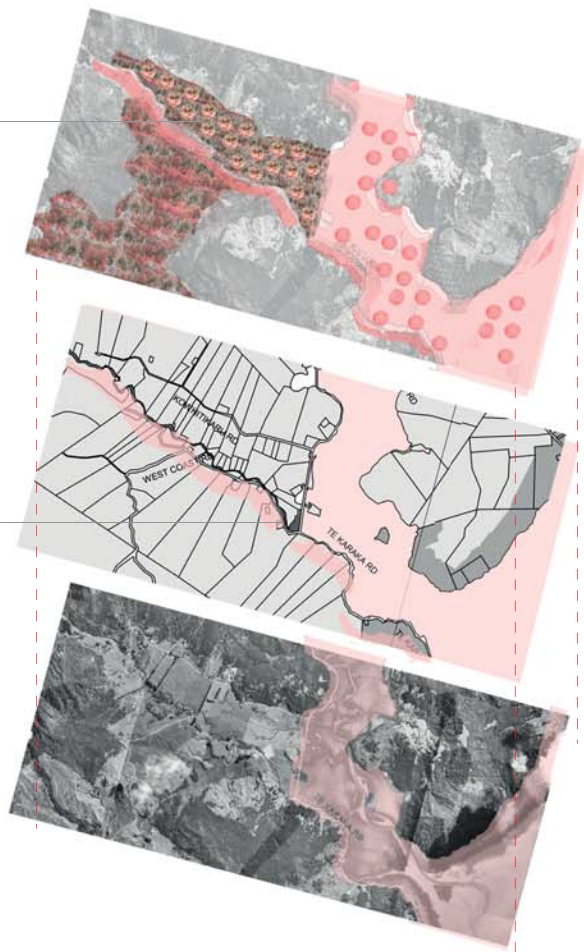
Agro-forestry

Housing areas

Intensive housing development areas

Agro-forestry crops, with indigenous tree shelter belts, undergrazed with free range hens.

Existing aerial view

Housing areas

Fish hatcheries developed in estuary
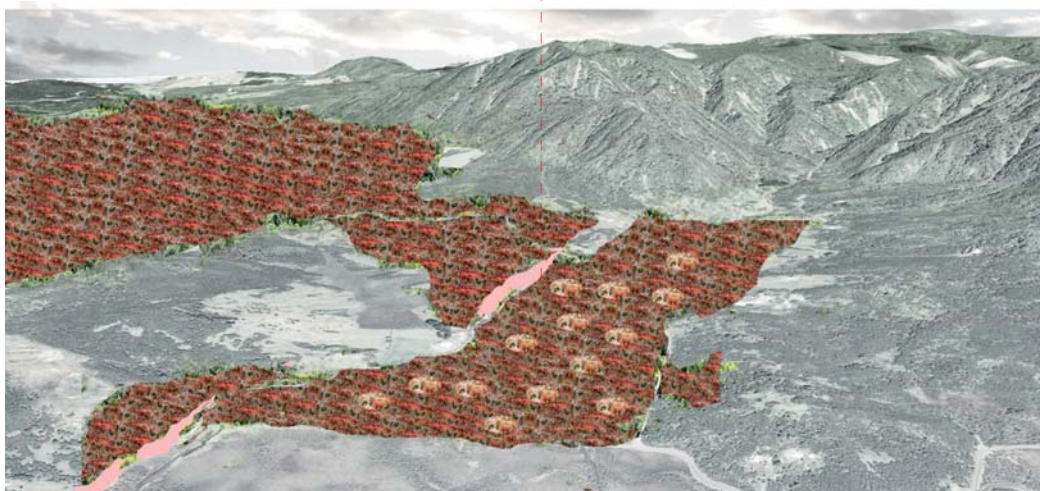
Perspective of proposed development

Waihou

A fertile food growing area, Waihou is vulnerable to flood risk and accessing suitable land to build new housing. To mitigate against flood risk the plain is extensively planted in a mix of agro-forestry crops and indigenous tree species. Existing housing will be assessed for flood risk and all future housing will be located on elevated ground.

Distribute bee hives for honey based industries

Agro-forestry plantation
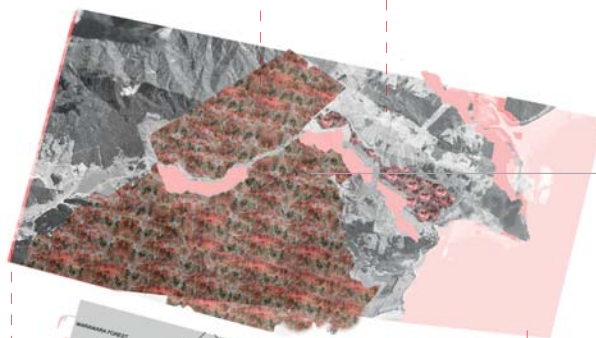
Agro-forestry map

To diversify local economies and local food security, Waireia is planted in nutritionally high yielding agro-forestry crops.

Waireira township

Waireia township will have intensive mixed use housing, community facilities, an education and health centre and vegetable and food processing co-op. New houses will be clustered close together, like a traditional papakainga with small gardens connecting to common shared areas at a ratio of 20 – 25 houses per hectare, and designed to maximise energy efficiency, collect rain water, use solar energy for heating and hot water and have technologically advanced composting toilets.

Existing aerial view

Housing areas

Waireira township
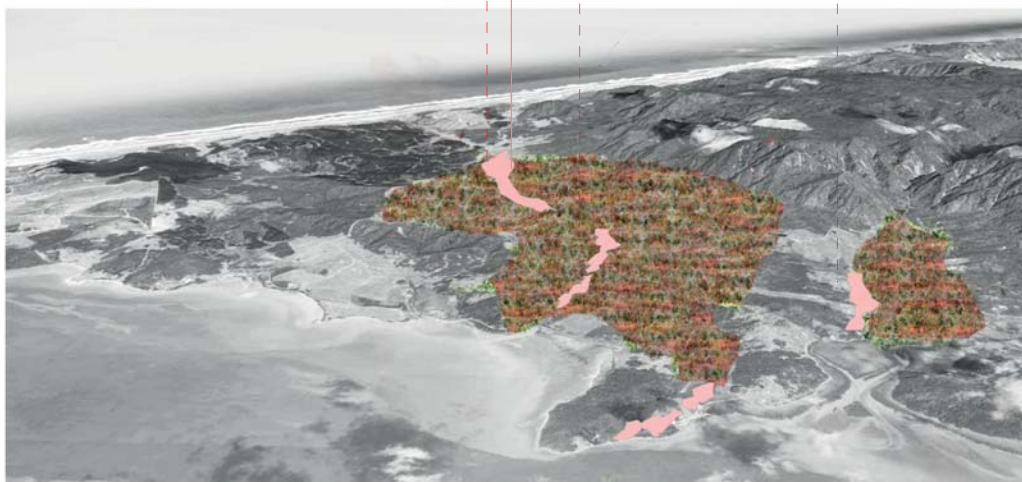
Perspective of proposed development

Waireia

Returned as part of Treaty settlement, Waireira represents an opportunity to enable intensive settlement in the region for families who have been exiled with the establishment of Te Puna O Hokianga Trust or who have had problems negotiating a license to occupy on multiply owned land in the region.

A mixed use development housing will be clustered close together, like a traditional papakainga with small gardens connecting to common shared areas at a ratio of 20 – 25 houses per hectare. The new houses will be designed to maximise energy efficiency, collect rain water, use solar energy for heating and hot water and have technologically advanced composting toilets.

Forestry map
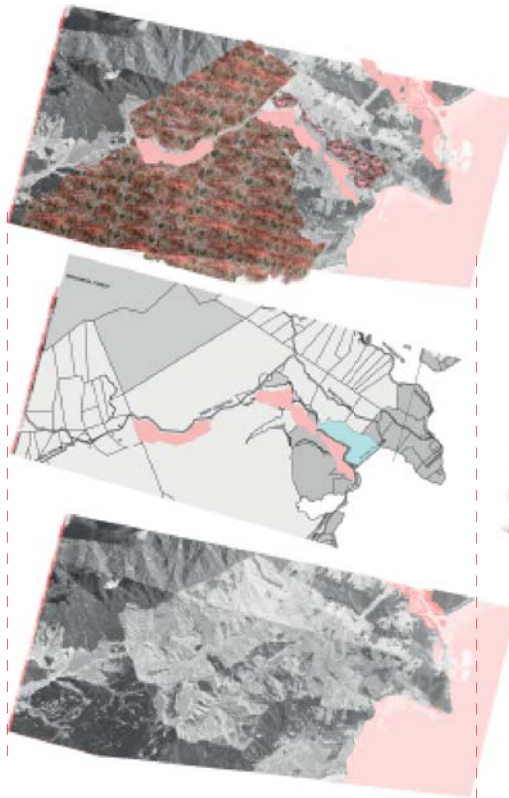
Existing housing
assessed for sea level rise risk, all
new housing located on
higher ground with adjusted
road access.

Intensive housing
development areas
along coast

Replace pine plantation with
indigenous trees including a
mix of Kanuka and Manuka
for honey production.

Along harbour develop
sustainable fishing enterprises
and oyster farms

Existing aerial view
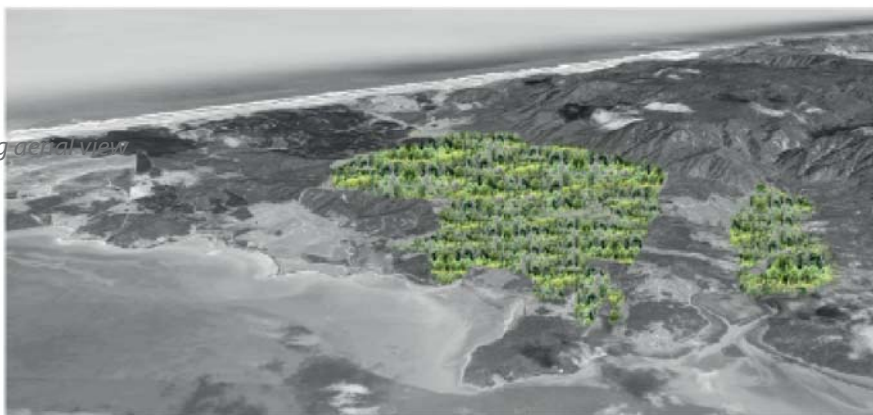
Rangi Point and Te Karaka

At the Northern entrance to the Hokianga harbour, Rangi Point and Te Karaka are sites of early settlement.
These coastal areas are vulnerable to flooding and sea level change.
To mitigate against flood risk and prevent erosion, the coastline will be extensively planted. Alternative road
access, will be developed.
The main business ventures will focus on tourism and fisheries.

Forestry map

New artists residency, gallery
and visitors centre
to celebrate Ralph Hotere
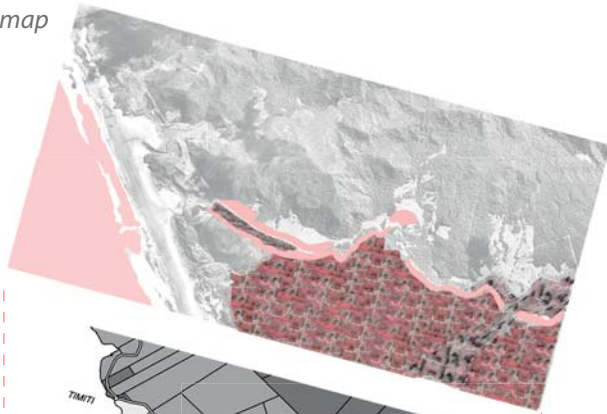
Intensive housing
development areas
along road access.

Existing housing stock
assessed and upgraded.
New intensive housing areas
located near road access ways,
but avoiding flood prone valley
which is extensively planted in
Agroforestry crops.
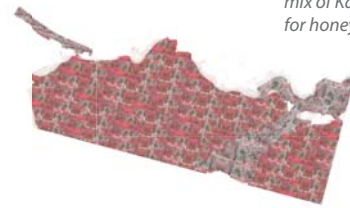
Replace pine plantation with
indigenous trees including a
mix of Kanuka and Manuka
for honey production.

Existing aerial view

Mitimiti

The region will be reinvigorated with rezoned pockets of intensive housing development along access ways
clustered close together.
The main business ventures will focus on honey production, forestry, and tourism ventures and art centre and
gallery.

HEALTHY HOUSING:
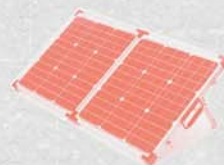
All houses to have solar panels installed $14,000

Anaeobic Digestion Reactor

Biogas outlet

Biowaste inlet

Filter

Liquid outlet

Sludge outlet

Sludge settlement
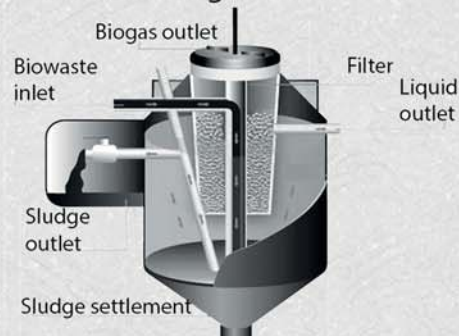
All houses to have biodigesting sewerage or solar powered system installed

New houses will be clustered close together, with small gardens connecting to common shared areas at a ratio of 20 – 25 houses per hectare, and designed to maximise energy efficiency, collect rain water, use solar energy for heating and hot water and have technologically advanced composting toilets.

Existing houses in the area will be assessed and retrofitted to make them safer and healthier.

Appliances will be energy efficient.

The aim is for our town centres to be vibrant and reflect our cultural needs and connect us to our mountains forests, rivers and sea.
Parts of the region will be rezoned so that our mokopuna can build pockets of intense clusters of low cost, houses and develop local business located near town centres that have community facilities such as, food co-ops, play grounds, health and education centres and a diverse range of commercial and other businesses activities.

Fig. 79 Eating locally grown kai during the Kai Rangatira Garden festival, where visioning proposal was distributed Panguru (Palmer, F., 2015)

Fig. 80 Discussing options for Panguru in the Kai Rangitira Garden Festival (Palmer, F., 2015)

How successful was this visioning Proposal?

With the treaty settlement process, tribal entities are looking for ways to participate in rebuilding their economic and cultural capacity. The question is how to do this in an effective way?

The proposals for future development articulated in the pamphlet were aimed at harnessing the potential of individual as well as collective interests within the North Hokianga region, by acknowledging Māori world views, and a connectivity to the environment and reinforcing our role as kaitiaki in support of future generations. This process enabled individuals to overcome fears associated with individual prejudice, by thinking and looking collectively at wider concerns, such as where would future papakāinga be developed, or how would this community deal with sea level rises or the destruction of biodiversity through global warming and the exploitation of local resources, and how could food security be better established through more sustainable land use practices and developing local fisheries.

In this pamphlet ambitions that had been raised in the hui, were synthesised by visualising this information on the community's behalf. This overcame problems associated in coordinating the aspirations across the 7 marae. By creating 2d maps of the region instead of relying on 3d models it was also an efficient way to show the transformation of land use, and in formatting the visualisations within a pamphlet it meant that they were presented in a way that could be widely distributed amongst other marae.

While I feel the visualisations captured some of the aspirations of the community I also recognise that they were influenced by my own biases, as, unlike the previous 2 projects, these aspirations were filtered through me. This placed me back into the role of master planner. This was something that I had tried to avoid in my previous collaborations, as I was wary of making assumptions. But in creating visualisations of aspirations for future development in the North Hokianga I have realised that I have learnt something through these collaborations. I have a clearer understanding of the impact of spatial injustices that our communities face and the implications of our history of colonisation.

Through collaborations for the Whare Ora and Te Karaka projects, I have become more confident in thinking of how we can find ways to connect with our communities and develop alternative strategies to assert our aspirations in a way that reflects Te Ao Māori. Although it may seem arrogant, in creating a visualisation of aspirations for proposed development for the North Hokianga, on my community's behalf, I have created something that our community can reflect on, talk about, think of ways to engage with dreams for a better future, and see advantages in making changes without having to invest too much time in imagining how to express these ideas to initiate changes in the first instance.

By asserting a shared vision of future prosperity aimed at meeting the needs of the whole region, this proposal is not a definitive blueprint. It simply imagines a way that the community could move forward, build trust, and think of how to instigate changes to strengthen and enable the region to self-heal. Rather than providing a singular map the main purpose of this visioning exercise was to create a platform for having a conversation that touches at the heart of a system of values and beliefs that are already present within our community.

After the festival, the pamphlet was presented to the Te Rarawa Rūnanga by Abe Witana from Panguru, and was well received. Since then, I have been asked to forward copies to all rūnanga delegates (23 marae) and invited to do more visioning work with this community. I have also begun discussions with the Far North District Council and local community to initiate zoning changes and apply for infrastructure development grant.

What does this research reveal?

"Research that contributes to the survival, recovery and development of Māori communities, governance, structures and institutions is urgently needed." Engels-Schwarzpaul p166

The three projects documented in this thesis highlight several significant problem areas relating to legislative control and government policy that hinder Māori housing development.

Under current legislation, Māori communities are caught up within multiple overlapping tensions that affect their political, social, cultural and collective requirements. Within this environment, Māori who have been alienated through colonisation struggle over how they can connect to their ancestral land. They find it difficult to build economically sustainable and affordable housing settlements in ways that reflect their cultural values, located in areas where they may now be living. The struggle for housing is always linked to a struggle for land, and access to well-paid jobs and access to other amenities, such as health and education facilities.

The main issue faced by Māori communities relates to how far district councils are prepared to go to change rules embedded within the legislation and planning laws, which are indifferent to Māori social and economic development, and to proactively find ways to support Māori communities. In the three projects documented in this research, visualisations of Māori aspirations for development, located within different regional and urban contexts, consistently conflicted with the provisions under existing legislation.

Why the Resource Management Act hinders Māori development

The Resource Management Act (RMA 1991) explicitly recognises "Māori spiritual and cultural values and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi" - all development requires consultation with iwi" (Backhurst et al., 2004; Fisher, 1991). When these laws are linked to the Tiriti O Waitangi in Māori, the RMA rhetoric reaffirms the "relationship between the Māori people and the Crown" and the recognition "that land is taonga tuku iho of special significance to Māori people" (1991). This supports the "retention of ... land in the hands of its owners, protection of wahi tapu", and it also aims to "facilitate the occupation, development, and utilisation of that land for the benefit of its owners, their whānau, and their hapū" (M. Kawharu, 1998). This seems positive. However, there is always a conflict at stake in relation to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi: it primarily relates to kawanatanga, the right of government to govern and make laws, in direct opposition to rangatiratanga, the right of iwi and hapū and their sovereignty and right to self-manage and control their resources in accordance with their tribal preferences.

Under current legislation, the right of the government to assert laws overrides the ability for Māori to control the way they use their land. This breaches the principle of partnership or duty by the government to act in good faith. It also undermines the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' endorsement of Māori participation through the articulation of their own visions (Wiessner, 2011). This can be observed in a regularly occurring discrepancy between the RMA rhetoric and the actual practical application by district councils when they write their own regulations concerning land use, and subsequently when they apply those regulations, thereby effectively regulating how Māori live. This was evident in the three projects developed for this research. For instance, in the case of the Whare Ora project, there was no designation for papakāinga development within the residentially zoned land in central Kaitaia. To access the integrated development rule, which allowed for papakāinga development, and to be eligible for Kāinga Whenua loans, He Korowai Trust had to turn their site into Māori title. Alongside this restriction, zoning conditions also did not allow for any economic activity apart from farming practices to be developed on the site, and the consent process did not support alternative, more culturally sensitive types of infrastructure. Similarly, the visioning proposals for Te Karaka 1 and the North Hokianga also faced a disjuncture between what legislation allowed and the community's aspirations for sustainable development. The community wanted to set up local businesses in order to make housing more affordable and land accessible to all shareholders. Despite an inclusive and reaffirming rhetoric, current legislation creates overwhelming obstacles, which make it impossible for Māori to make headway and assert their own world views. In a damning critique of the lack of effective support of 28 district councils for Māori interests since the development of the RMA, Jeffries and his team of researcher's state that councils "need to do better at identifying Māori issues and incorporating these into their plans" (Jefferies et al., 2002). In their analysis, they observed that district plans "not only lacked reference to relevant iwi issues", but "failed to fully take account of the Māori worldview" and "other issues of importance, such as kaitiakitanga" and mandates to "translate Māori concerns into relevant objectives, policies, methods, rules, and anticipated environmental results". Jefferies' team argues that this failure is largely due to the fact that the government has not provided guidance to district council's implementation in support of Māori communities. The impact of this lack of guidance was apparent as the Whare Ora project was developed. Existing legislation did not allow for papakāinga development on general title land and, while this was partially resolved by transferring the block into Māori title, other requirements caused overwhelming delays in getting the application approved. This created additional costs and jeopardised its realisation.

Although the Treaty of Waitangi obligations mean that Māori have to be included in consultations under the RMA, this process in reality does not enable Māori communities to

significantly change existing policies and legislation that adversely impact on the way Māori live, and the resources they control or have access to. Because it is so difficult to make significant changes to the status quo, institutionalised racism towards Māori is enforced through existing discriminatory planning and zoning laws and restrictive government policies, which actively hinder the economic, social and cultural development of Māori communities.

In places like the North Hokianga, rural areas under Māori ownership have literally frozen, with little development over the last hundred years. In areas where extensive land loss occurred (as evidenced in the Kaitaia and Karaka projects), blind spots have arisen within territorial legislation, which fails to recognise the particular needs of Māori who are predominantly occupying these areas as tenants, either as manuhiri (a displaced people who have come from elsewhere), or as mana whenua (local people who have also been displaced with nowhere to go to).

Disenfranchisement from ancestral lands, and segregation from ownership of land in urban centres, have left Māori unable to build their own housing settlements that reflect their aspirations, or make significant changes to existing legislative control. This means that in some districts Māori communities are deprived of access to the same level of facilities enjoyed by other ethnic groups.

That said, there are some examples of good practice and better Papakāinga provisions evident in some parts of New Zealand, especially in the Western Bay of Plenty and the Hawkes Bay regions, and more recently changes within the Whangarei and Auckland Unitary Plans have begun to find better ways to support Maori led housing developments.

The impact of council apathy

In a weak gesture to address these issues, district councils currently determine what they *think* Māori communities need, by relying on consultations with Māori through hapū development plans, or through the input of iwi representatives such as kaumātua. However, as environmental scientist, Garth Harmsworth notes in his report on the effectiveness of councils to respond to Māori aspirations, the individuals that councils talk to, represent only a small a minority of multiple shareholders or stakeholders associated with Māori land, and these representatives are not always able to, or interested in, asserting the aspirations of the wider community, nor are they able to relay the concerns of those who have been disenfranchised and exiled through the processes of colonisation (Garth Harmsworth, 2002). By relying only on a small minority to develop territorial legislation, and Pākehā methodologies for capturing opinions that influence the development of legislation, this means that councils end up reinforcing a colonial bias inherited through the Māori Land Court which has become enforced through Crown control over local resources.

While extensive research identifies key concerns relating to the importance of recognising indigenous concepts in development to support local communities (Backhurst et al., 2004; Garth Harmsworth, 1999; Rolleston & Awatere, 2009; Whangapirita, Awatere, & Nikora, 2003), the difficulty of getting adequate representation to determine how legislation is created, means iwi and hapū as collective entities do not have strong ways to assert alternative development strategies to ensure that significant changes emerge within district plans. Such changes need to be able to sustainably support the economic development

of local communities and create opportunities to build houses and other much needed infrastructure (Backhurst et al., 2004; Livesey, 2010). Although tricky to set up, and costly to implement, marae-based wānanga and the creation of aspirational visualisations involving a collaboration with the wider community might address this deficit. Wānanga encourage an inclusive process that enables communities to assert alternative Māori-centred models of development instead of defaulting to existing models.

Why visualisations are useful

In advocating for an assertion of rights, Māori activist Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that self-determination relies on an ability to "imagine a world in which indigenous peoples become active participants". Self-determination allows Māori to prepare "for the possibilities and challenges that lie ahead" (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999a, p. 124) by recontextualising and rethinking how Māori live, in a way that supports Te Ao Māori (Māori world views).

Aspirational visualisations help communities imagine and strategically plan for a future unbound by legislative or budgetary constraints and they also enable Māori to assert mana whenua (authority over land) and reactivate mana motuhake (self-determination) within rural and urban contexts in a way that is inclusive of a wider representation of stakeholders. Within this research, collaborative visualisations of aspirations for development were created for:

- The Whare Ora project in collaboration with He Korowai Trust. This led to a Māori -centred proposal for an affordable 18-house development in Kaitaia.

- Te Karaka No 1 Trust which enabled the Hawke family to consider how they could use their land to benefit all shareholders.

- Seven marae located in the North Hokianga. This project was part of a larger-scale assessment which considered ways to sustainably support local community development at a regional level.Working at different scales within rural and urban contexts, these visual aspirations of future development addressed not just long-term ambitions for better housing but also considered other aspects critical to making housing development economically and environmentally sustainable, such as the provision of infrastructure, and community facilities, such as whare hui, educational and health centres, mahinga kai and rongoa gardens, and also thinking of ways to boost economic development by planning for businesses and commercial activity using local resources, and asserting kaitiakitanga by developing long-term planning strategies to support future generations.

While the visualisations of a proposed development for the Whare Ora project were heavily constrained by a budget, the Te Karaka and North Hokianga projects were not. This gave these projects greater freedom to imagine a range of alternative options.

The North Hokianga proposal also differed from the Kaitaia and Te Karaka projects as it operated at a regional scale and a different mode was used to visualise aspirations for this area.

Instead of focusing on individual blocks of land, to overcome the divisive legacy of Māori Land Court divisions, the visualisations for the North Hokianga project worked across boundaries and imagined a future that would support multiple shareholders and future generations by allocating pockets of high-density, mixed-use settlements, with houses, educational facilities and businesses clustered close together. Imagining what could happen at a regional scale also encouraged the assertion of kaitiakitanga. This enabled the community to collectively re-imagine how land could be sustainably used, to mitigate against flood risk, boost biodiversity, enhance food security, and create a more diverse range of local economies. These combined factors provided an alternative model of regional development for Māori living in this area

Finding ways of being more inclusive

An important aspect to community based projects is assessing how inclusive they are. Within this research, collaborations supported input from people who are normally left out of consultations over local development. For instance, input was not limited to the views of elders, or kaumātua, or iwi-designated representatives or professionals normally called upon to represent Māori interests in making changes to district plans. Instead, the collaborative wānanga allowed other people to participate, such as children, unemployed youth, solo mums, exiled multiple shareholders and those who have no place to call home. These are the most disempowered and marginalised within our communities, as they have no voice or authority, but they carry the legacy of decisions made on their behalf by iwi representatives who do not always have the means, collective mandate, energy or personal interest to change the status quo on their behalf.

In getting wider community representation, and by focusing not just on housing needs, but also by looking at economic and social development, considering the long term impact on local ecologies, and cultural knowledge, these speculative visualisations encouraged other ways of considering how communities might break through the oppressive bureaucratic controls that prevent them from determining their own futures, by asserting an alternative way to develop land and create Māori-centred pockets of development, that have the potential to make housing more accessible, affordable, culturally relevant and sustainable. While words are one mode of expressing ideas, the transformation of ideas into visual representations can concretise ideas and communicate a collective intention that is difficult to express orally or through writing alone.

As a device for encouraging modifications within territorial legislation, the types of visualisations documented within this research form a blueprint for advocating for zoning changes within territorial legislation to support Māori aspirations for local development and providing better infrastructure where legislation and associated economic restrictions have fallen well short of meeting the needs of Māori communities.

What else impacts on access to housing?

Within research gaps emerge that offer other rich avenues to pursue, that are significant to building a more extended body of work. In recognising this shortfall, the following areas have been missed

Building regulations

While this research has attempted to find a way to overcome legislative constraints by asserting Māori-centred models for occupying land in a way that supports economic development and a connectivity to the wider environment, it does not explicitly address problems related to how we construct our environments. This is controlled by the Building Act 2012. Māori have built their own settlements for centuries, but housing is highly regulated. As Deidre Brown writes, "The professionalization of architecture, through building regulations, is another impediment that must be overcome in the return of architectural practice to Māori communities." (Brown, 2009, p. 159).

The leaky home crisis has led to legislative changes within the Building Act 2004, which puts the control of designing, documenting and building houses firmly in the hands of professionals and registered practitioners. This discourages self-build options. There are examples worldwide where communities construct their own living environments, enabling them to build their own informal settlements (Hamdi, 1995; Turner, 1972, Rudolfsky, 1972). Kepa Morgan's whare uku houses (Cheah, 2014; Morgan, 2005), and houses built using adobe or straw bale technology have potential to enable self-built housing to be generated.

As housing becomes more inaccessible and unaffordable, the question of who has control over the production of housing, and what housing types are permitted, is highly relevant. In *Freedom to Build*, *dweller control of the housing process*, a book that looks at developing tools for self-built houses in Peru, architect John Turner argues that objections to making changes to the way we build housing is based a fear that if we enable communities to build their own housing, the standard of housing would be lowered. But in enforcing unrealistic unilateral standards and making assumptions that determine how housing should be built he notes that this only serves to worsen the housing conditions of poorer communities (Turner, 1972). He adds that "In order to make the best use of housing resources,...each household must have an adequate choice of alternative structures and ways of building and using them. People who do not have these freedoms in housing are generally unable to use housing as a vehicle for their existential ends." Turner, 1972. p 174)

The Whare Ora project documented in this thesis represents one exemplar of how centralised control imposes conditions that don't serve to meet the needs of Māori communities. I have also included in Appendix A, the refurbishment of Tū Moana which was also carried out while this research was being developed. This project provides another example of how centralised control enforces unrealistic standards which our communities cannot meet, as they do not have access to the financial resources required for building in this way.

While more research needs to be done in this area, some ways to resolve some of these problems might be through:

- Adjusting approval requirements so developments can be built incrementally and inter-generationally over a long timeframe, instead of being completed in two years which places an unrealistic financial burden on families wanting to build.

- Creating an archive of a variety of one-, two-, three- and four-bedroom house plans and specifications, designed specifically for Māori families, using different materials (such as timber, straw bale, adobe or whare uku), which can be self-built, with pre-approved building consents specifically designed to meet the needs of Māori occupiers.   Like a library, these plans could be made available through a publically funded website, which offers technical support, and accessed for free by families wanting to build affordable housing. This would save time and cut out the expense of having to pay for design fees and a building consent.

- Develop a consented design for foundations and self-contained services that can be applied to any timber framed relocatable house.

- Providing free technical assistance to modify consented plans to suit different contexts.

- Setting up collaborative training schemes to enable self-built development using local, sustainable resources.

- Designing smaller portable off-grid houses that do not need consents.

Affordable building materials

How communities access sustainable and affordable materials to build housing settlements, is another area worth investigating.

Prior to the 1950's, under Crown management of the New Zealand Forest Service, timber extracted from indigenous forests provided an abundant and cheap supply of materials to construct housing settlements. But as the demand for timber increased, non-sustainable methods used to extract timbers from virgin forests exhausted this supply. To meet the shortfall, and an increasing demand, faster growing exotic species grown in large plantations replaced lumber drawn from indigenous forests. This industry was heavily subsidised and administered by the Crown, which kept the cost of materials used for building housing relatively low. But in the 1980's the control of the forestry industry shifted from a State owned enterprise into private ownership, and with this transfer of assets, the processing of timber and other building products became monopolised by corporations such as Carter Holt Harvey and Fletchers, who have pushed up the cost of building materials within a non-competitive market. When our building products were compared to two other countries, it was found that we pay 30% more than Australia, and 60% more than the United States for the same materials (Taylor, 2014). While some research has been undertaken into building alternative structures (Morgan, 2005), finding alternative sources of sustainable materials could have a significant impact on housing affordability

Mitimiti
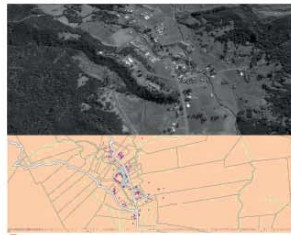
Panguru
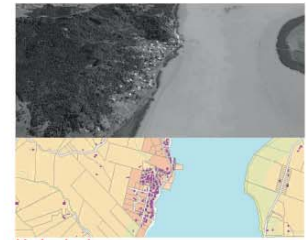
Kohukohu

Motukaraka

Waihou
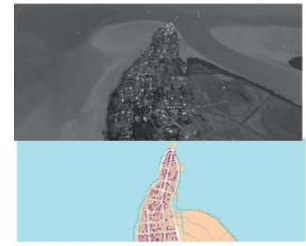
Rawene

Motuti

Rangi Point

Fig. 81 A comparative analysis of land use in the North Hokianga. Settlements on General title land in the Hokianga such as Kohukohu and Rawene are more intensively developed and have a bigger range of land use options (see image above), while settlements on Māori land such as Mitimiti, Panguru, Waihou, Motukaraka, Motuti and Rangi Point are more dispersed and land use options are more limited.

(Palmer, F., 2014)

The Māori Land Court, Te Ture Whenua Act and Treaty settlements

The Māori Land Court, Te Ture Whenua Act and Treaty settlements influence access to land that communities can build on. This field is complex and the intricacies of property law are not addressed here. Apart from land that is in government ownership, which I think should be returned to iwi, it is difficult to improve access to land and resources under a system which does not recognise tuku whenua, and where land has been legally transferred into ownership of private individuals. If tuku whenua was recognised, and Māori retained control over local resources, land development across New Zealand would be very different.

In 2014, I attended a Māori housing conference in Wanganui. During one of the sessions, somebody noted that the problems Māori are facing could be resolved if we just got rid of the boundaries. While obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi have been ignored, international laws protecting indigenous rights such as the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Assembly, 2007), which New Zealand is signatory to, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, could provide better models that recognise Māori forms of governance.

Concluding thoughts

"To remain indifferent to the challenges we face is indefensible. If the goal is noble, whether or not it is realized within our lifetime is largely irrelevant. What we must do therefore is to strive and persevere and never give up." Dalai Lama XIV

When I began this research, although I had a hunch, I had no proof to demonstrate how much discriminatory legislation and government policy adversely affects Māori communities and their access to housing.

As I spoke to other people about this research, critics responded by saying, "What about Pākehā? Issues relating to affordable housing are not just a Māori problem!" Or, "What about Treaty settlements? Surely, Māori have been getting money that they can use to set themselves up properly!" Because I had no concrete evidence to back up my suspicions, I was unable to respond.

However, as I investigated the implications of legislative restrictions across the three projects in this research, I found explicit examples of how discrimination plays out, both within rural and urban contexts. This actively prevents Māori families from being able to build healthy and affordable housing. The effect of the adverse influence of legislation over land use and access to housing was apparent in the impediments to both rural and urban developments.

Impediments to Rural Development

As noted in the introduction, less than six percent of all land in New Zealand is Māori owned. This figure does not take into account land that comes under General Title. What land is left in Māori ownership tends to be located in remote, marginal, rural areas, with little infrastructure and limited options for building affordable housing, or for building local economies to make development sustainable. An analytical map of Mitimiti which compared housing densities allowed under the district plan (Far North District Council, Rural Environment, 2012) to shareholder densities, revealed that less than 5% of shareholders are able to occupy ancestral land. In other words, existing legislation, which limits the density of houses to one house per 12 or 20 hectares of land (Far North District Council, Rural Environment, 2012), does not recognise multiple shareholders or their right to occupy their ancestral areas. Existing zoning, which only allows houses or community facilities to be built, also restricts other economic activities that may be unrelated to farming practice to occur. In the North Hokianga, where the average income is low, families also have a limited capacity to afford loans for housing. Restrictions over the types of activities that can occur are also coupled with problems associated with Māori Land Court jurisdiction and the ability to get a license to occupy multiply owned land and borrow money to build housing. It is the combination of these factors that impact on housing.

When the density of existing housing settlements on General Title land is compared to existing settlements located on land under Māori Title (as in the example shown left of the North Hokianga region), it also becomes apparent that residential development on Māori land (at Mitimiti, Pangaru, Motukaraka, Waihou, Rangi Point and Motuti) is widely dispersed, while General Title areas (like Rawene or Kohukohu) have a denser range of residential and commercial activity occurring. Although ferry traffic would support denser settlement and more commercial activity in Kohukohu and Rawene, the settlement pattern doesn't account for population growth associated with Māori owned areas. With limited options to develop local economies, and restrictions on the use of local resources for the development of alternative businesses, isolated rural areas like Mitimiti, Pangaru, Motukaraka, Waihou, Rangi Point and Motuti have stagnated.

In urban/rural fringe areas like Te Karaka, similar issues exist in relation to legislative restrictions over rural land development (Auckland Council District Plan, Operative Franklin Section, 2014). Restrictions determining how land is used, conflict with Māori land owners' aspirations for development. This conflict was apparent in the aspirational visualisations created by the Hawke family. In the Karaka region, neighbouring sites have been designated for higher density land use under the proposed Unitary Plan. With this change, there is more potential to alter the District Plan to meet shareholders' needs. Being close to Auckland also means that the region has access to better infrastructure and a diverse range of employment options, so any proposal here would be more likely to be affordable.

In Māori owned rural land, like the North Hokianga and the Te Karaka site in South Auckland, zoning regulations reinforce assumptions imposed by the Māori Land Court. Under current regulations only a small minority of Māori landowners are allowed to occupy their land, with strict limits on what they can build, the businesses they can develop, and consequently the funding they can receive. Zoning regulations and government policies also do not recognise the fact that Māori might not want to only be farmers, but might prefer to develop alternative businesses to support their families, as evidenced in the aspirations for development created for both these regions.

Impediments to urban development

Due to land loss and lack of economic opportunities, 80% of Māori now live in urban areas. The Whare Ora development made it obvious that legislation and government policies concerning urban development in the Far North do not recognise the needs of Māori who have been displaced by colonisation. These communities have to buy back lands in urban areas to build housing, if they want to live close to jobs, schools and other facilities, and set up businesses to support their families. The Far North District Plan makes no provision for a papakāinga development within the residentially zoned parts of Kaitaia (Far North District Council, Urban Environment, 2012). Papakāinga development is only permitted on rurally zoned land (Far North District Council, Rural Environment, 2012).

How responsive are local governments in supporting papakāinga development?

The Whare Ora project exposed assumptions embedded in legislation: Māori models of housing development within residentially zoned areas are not recognised and a widespread inertia towards actively supporting Māori-led aspirations for development is evident. This became apparent in the difficulties associated with meeting the stringent council requirements regarding the approval of consents and loans. The problems associated with the Whare Ora development are particularly relevant to development within urban areas, where displaced Māori now live. It is imperative that zoning for urban areas actively recognise the housing needs of Māori communities, and their preferences, which may differ significantly from models defined within existing legislation. Similarly, building code requirements need to be responsive to enabling, rather than hindering, development – especially in the face of a lack of funding.

While the Whare Ora project presents one example of how the housing needs of a Māori community living in an urban area might be affordably met, it is important to pursue other options, and different models of housing. This is an area where this research should be extended.

Although some District Councils have been slow in its response to support Maori housing development, other Districts like the Western Bay of Plenty and the Hawkes Bay have been more proactive, leading to significant changes to support local communities.

Asserting Māori-centred ways to occupy urban and rural areas.

When three Māori communities from Kaitaia, Te Karaka and the North Hokianga expressed their aspirations for housing development, these aspirations conflicted, in each instance, with current legislation. Beyond meeting the collective housing needs of multiple shareholders, these communities were also interested in making their developments affordable. They wanted to create local businesses, build communal facilities, and assert their role as kaitiaki through protecting local ecologies. The projects documented in this research highlight the indifference expressed in current legislation towards Māori aspirations for development. They also reveal how zoning regulations and legislative controls perpetuate oppression of Māori, by restricting Māori occupation and use of land. Legislation also fails to recognise the widespread displacement caused by colonial settlement, which leaves Māori living in urban areas with limited options regarding affordable buildings for their communities. Under current zoning restrictions, the majority of Māori have little choice but to live in either substandard or overcrowded housing on Māori-owned land in remote rural areas, or to live as tenants in poorer parts of our urban centres.

Many people are reluctant to admit that the foundations of prosperity in Aotearoa/New Zealand are linked to colonisation, or to consider that New Zealand's economic, political and legal systems were set up to privilege and benefit Pākehā, while covertly oppressing Māori. People like to believe that New Zealand is egalitarian, and that Māori have access to the same privileges and types of housing s Pākehā. These views ignore the fact that Māori face structural barriers most Pākehā are not even aware of and never have to face.

The restrictions enforced through legislation bind Māori by controlling how they use their land and use local resources to develop sustainable communities. This has an ongoing impact on self-determination, health and well-being. It is as if there is a lingering fear that, if Māori communities are not properly controlled by legislative mechanisms they might, instead of being dependent, go their separate ways. Sustainable settlements (like Parihaka) could develop as culturally strong enclaves within our cities and towns, with their own political autonomy and governance structures to nurture succeeding generations. Although tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty and self-determination) as a political structure was guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi, this continues to challenge an Imperialist agenda of assimilation, dependency, and State control over local environments. Even in a permissive neo-liberal environment (which allows for minor power sharing under co-governance structures), government legislators still seem to fear relinquishing control of territorial governance over Māori Land, which might encourage equitable access to local economies within urban and rural contexts in support of Māori communities.

This research only begins to scratch the surface of what is an extensive and complex field of study. Areas I have not addressed in detail include the influence of Building regulations, lack of financial support, and the intricacies associated with The Māori Land Court, Te Ture Whenua Act and Treaty settlements. These are areas that extend beyond my field of expertise, and I feel they are best considered within a wider research collaboration. I have also not discussed economic factors associated with the unregulated speculative investment in housing and its effect on affordability.

While my focus is mainly directed towards limitations associated within legislation some steps are being taken to implement better procedures to support Maori communities namely through amendments to the Ture Whenua Act and changes to government policies under the Maori Housing strategy (He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata) which has been focusing on developing ways to support better access to housing. These developments are also supported by Te Puna Kokori (the government agency responsible for allocating funding to housing projects).

The three projects documented within this thesis, insofar as they concern the implications of territorial zoning on housing development, reveal some assumptions within the legislation concerning Māori aspirations for housing development. The visualisations they generated come with certain caveats related to their use and usefulness in serving the interests of Māori communities in practice. This was most clearly apparent in the Whare Ora project, this project was, in spite of Council support, encumbered by Council imposed obstacles that effectively hindered its realisation. In asserting Māori led aspirations for future development, therefore, it is important to consider how these types of visualisations achieve buy-in from multiple stakeholders and instigate change. I realise that my critique of assumptions made by local authorities under their zoning criteria inherently has limitations, even when asserting alternative collaborative Māori-centred models for occupying land (to reflect the aspirations of multiple stakeholders). In presenting this work, I have not addressed how communities are able to achieve their aspirations in reality (although the Whare Ora project touches on practical implications of what is involved). In other words, although aspirational visualisations for development might be possible and desirable, a question remains as to how aspirations can create change, especially when our communities face overwhelming indifference, ambivalence and lethargy within District Councils. In many cases, these prevailing attitudes prevent significant policy changes from being enabled. While aspirational visualisations may serve as models to advocate changes within legislation designed to support Māori development (but, if developed further, also useful for other purposes), further research is required into power sharing and co-governance structures. Further research would also investigate how Māori aspirations for development are realised and endorsed by local authorities and other government agencies responsible for funding.

This project, represents a small part of a much larger project.

Ngā kupu Māori

Ahi kā: maintaining a human presence on one's land

Hapū: a cluster of families descended from a common ancestor

Hui: a gathering of people (meeting)

Iwi: tribes

Kai: food

Kaitiaki: guardian

Kaitiakitanga: guardianship/stewardship

Kaumātua: an elder

Kaupapa Māori premised on Māori philosophical beliefs and values

Kāwanatanga: government

Mana whenua: The people of a place who have always held the occupation rights to that place.

Manākitanga; to offer hospitality, to be courteous and respectful

Mātauranga Māori: Māori knowledge

Māori: a branch of the Polynesian people; pre-European settlers of New Zealand

Māori tanga: those values and symbols which have meaning for people who identify as Māori

Marae: a gathering place; the physical dimension of a group's identity, beliefs, mana.

Mauri: life force

Pākehā: a New Zealander of European descent

Papakāinga: the original area of settlement

Rūnanga: tribal council

Taonga: property, anything highly prized

Te reo Māori language

Tikanga: rule, plan, method

Tino Rangatiratanga: absolute authority or power

Tuku whenua: gifting of land and its

Tūpuna: ancestors

Wairua: spirit

Whakahīhī: arrogant

Whakapapa: genealogy

Whānau: family

Whānaunga: relatives

Wharenui: meeting house at a marae

Image List

1. Mitimiti (Google Earth, 2014)

2. North Island (Google Earth, 2014)

3. North Island (Google Earth, 2014)

4. How this research is presented (Palmer.F., 2016)

5. Map of theoretical context (Palmer, F., 2015)

6. He Korowai wānanga (Yong, K.V., 2012)

7. Māori Housing surveyed in the 1930's, image from Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand Labour Party Papers, Reference: MS-Papers-0270-027-02 (top); MS-Papers_0270-027-01

8. Family living in a skyline garage Rangi Point (Palmer, F., 2012)

9. Who owns Kaitaia? A composite image generated from zoning maps Far North District Council and Treaty settlement data, and Māori Land online shows the spatial segregation of the urban centre of Kaitaia. Māori land is shown in pink. In this map there are only two small sites that are Māori owned in the residentially zoned area, and a small farm in the bottom left hand corner (Palmer, F., 2013)

10. Post settlement land. A composite image generated from zoning maps Far North District Council and Treaty settlement data, shows the return of the Tangonge block schools and reserves and the hospital, but no residential land (Palmer. F., 2013)

11. Council added land. A composite image that includes the addition of council land (Palmer. F., 2013)

12. State houses added. A composite image that includes the addition of State housing data, and a shows a more even distribution of residentially zoned land (Palmer. F., 2013)

13. Exterior of the Motu family cowshed (March, B., Lapwood, M., 2014)

14. North Island (Google Earth, 2014)

15. Far North (Google Earth, 2014)

16. Kaitaia (Google Earth, 2014)

17. Kohuhu Street, Whare Ora site (Google Earth, 2014)

18. Map of Parihaka (Alexander Turnbull Library)

79. Eating locally grown kai during the Kai Rangatira Garden festival, where visioning proposal was distributed Panguru (Palmer, F., 2015)

80. Discussing options for Panguru in the Kai Rangitira Garden Festival (Palmer, F., 2015)

81. A comparative analysis of land use in the North Hokianga. Settlements on General title land are more intensive and have a bigger range of land use options. Settlements on Māori land are more dispersed and there is no commercial activity (Palmer, F., 2014)

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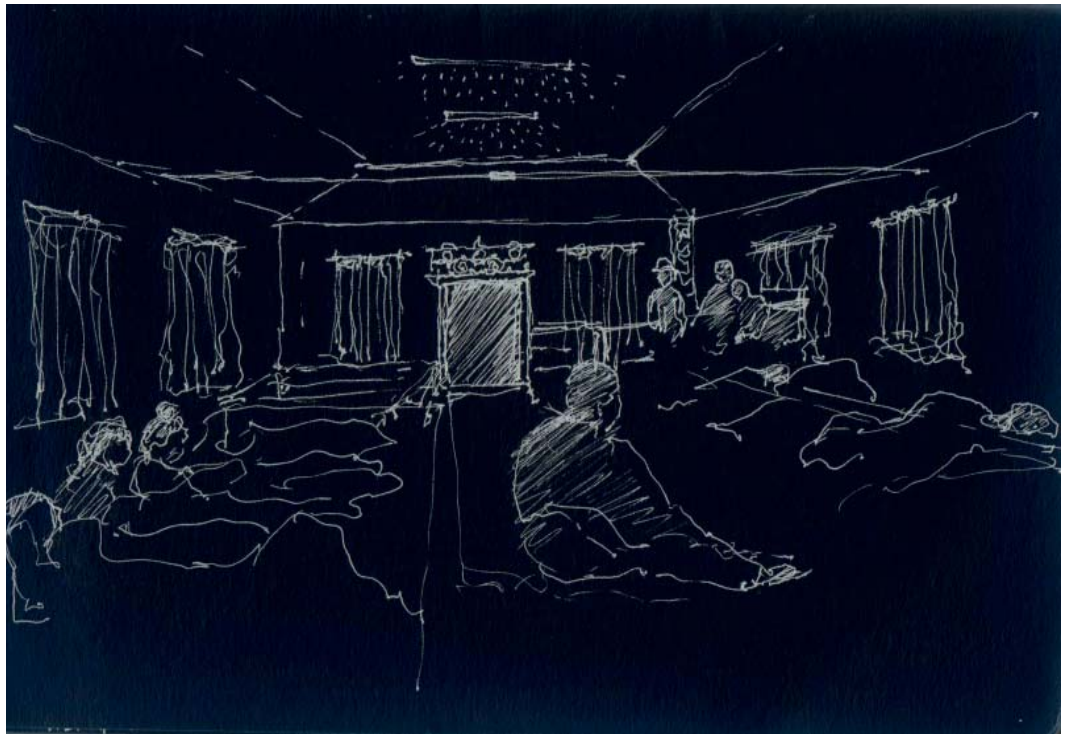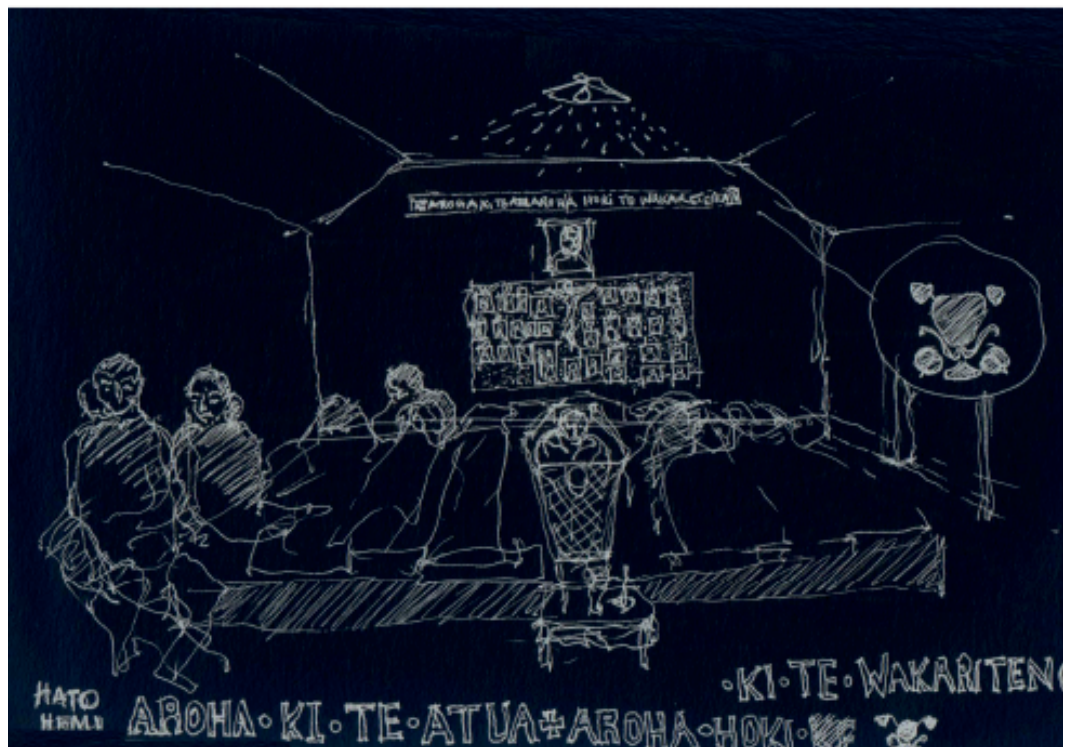
Appendix A The refurbishment of Tū Moana

Tū Moana is a whare hui located at Matihetihe. While conducting this research Te Tao Maui hapūdecided to extend it. The hapū has limited funds so it relied on outside support to re-alise this plan, but this meant that they also had to meet conditions that did not necessarily support the long-term interests of the community. The following text tracks the refurbish-ment of Tū Moana carried out for the DIY Marae television programme.

Tū Moana is the founding ancestor of Te Rarawa. As the reddened sun sinks into the horizon, darkening the sky, the hāpu gathers. A chorus of wails. First one voice, joined by others as kuia call all ancestors whose invisible presence lingers like a memory impregnated into the skin and bones of his structure. Called in from the hills, spirits of the dead draw closer. With ringing cries and tears running down faces, the kuia lament the dead. They fear that the ancestors will be lost, unable to find their way back through the chaos of the rebuild and contamination of their sacred space. Stripped of his skin and internal linings, Tū Moana will be deeply exposed.

The next day, as the kaumātua keep watch, Tū Moana is stripped bare. His Kauri weather-boards and internal linings and porch are wrenched off and dumped into a burial pit, leaving a skeletal frame that shudders under each footfall as the builders work on it.

The rebuild is part of a DIY Marae reality show. There is a three-day time limit to get ev-erything done. It is an ambitious project which also includes repainting the adjacent whare karakia (church). The event brings the hāpu back together and invigorates the community. It is heavily reliant on funding through sponsors, and strict limitations determine what can be achieved in the three-day time frame. The television programme controls the project.
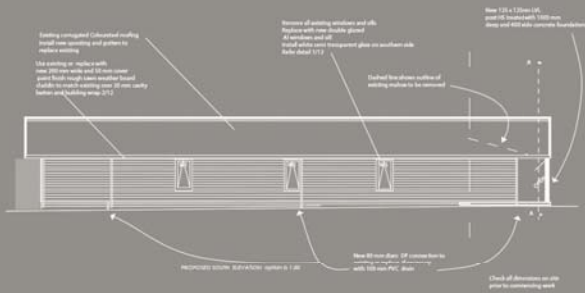
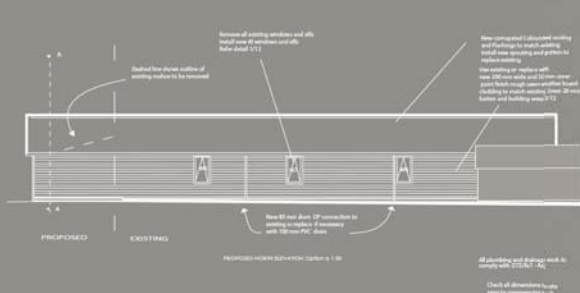Fig 3 Drawings inside Tū Moana (Palmer, F, 2012)
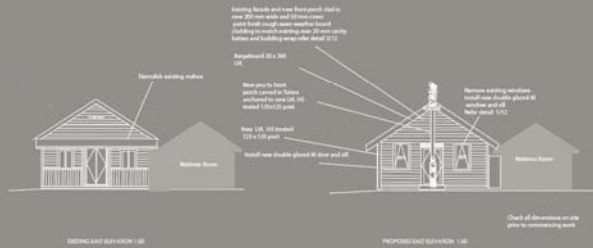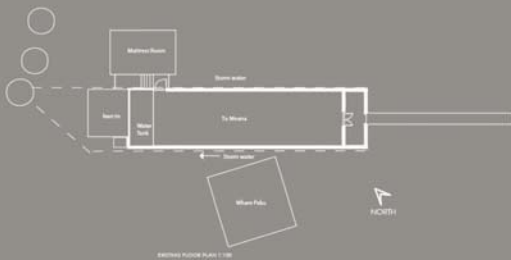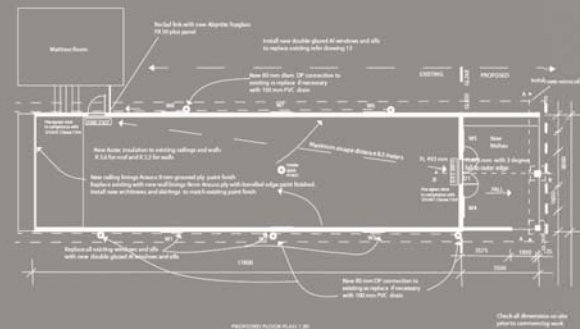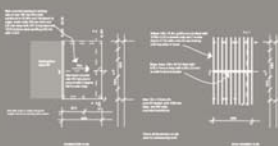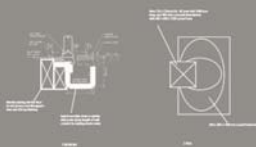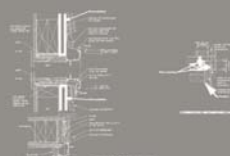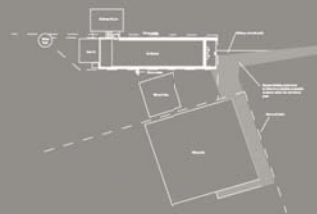
The hāpu want to extend their whare. It is not big enough to accommodate families during tangi. The marae committee asks me what I think. I tell them that I don't think it is a great idea. The whare sits on a flood plain, and the location is vulnerable to future sea level rises. Ideally, instead of a refurbishment, I suggest that it would be better to either move the existing whare to higher ground or build another complex in a different location. If we refurbish the existing whare, we are just going to leave a problem for the next generation to fix. Architecturally, the existing whare is not really worth saving. There are no fixed carvings. The interior has a low ceiling, the internal linings are low grade, with the walls stitched together with rusted steel bottom cords. However, the weatherboards and rafters are Kauri, and are worth saving. I show the committee a model of what a new whare might look like if built elsewhere. But the marae has no money and is not willing to reach out to the wider community who live elsewhere to fund a more ambitious plan. The community is deeply attached to the existing whare and the idea of refurbishing it. While they acknowledge that there is a problem with flooding, they aren't ready to look at alternative options. Any alternative is too expensive.

While the hāpu enthusiastically talk about building a new mahoe (porch), extending the whare and relining, recladding and insulating it, with the support of DIY Marae. Intuitively I know that doing an addition to the whare will be like riding a bicycle down a road filled with potholes. I see obstacles and hidden costs looming, but I keep quiet. I know this project will have to run a gauntlet to get the consent approved by the Far North District Council and the community does not have the finances to cover council requirements. A new build would be a simpler option because the marae would not have to radically upgrade the old whare if we do an extension.

I don't fit the stereotypical profile of an architect that the DIY team typically uses. I am also a woman, which is sometimes seen as a problem. DIY recommends Maurits Kelderman from Design Tribe to do the consent for the project. The DIY team have worked with him before. But the hāpu has no funds for an architect, so I do the building consent as a koha to the community.

"I will need help with the fire report and a structural engineer to check over the drawings for the consent," I tell them.

As I draw up the whare, I wonder what I can do to enhance the atmospheric quality of the space without imposing additional expense. "Can we expose the existing Kauri rafter beams and replace the bottom cords and lift the ceilings to expose the raked ceilings as part of the rebuild? Can we do a more intensively carved mahoe?" I ask. "No," comes the response from DIY Marae, who insist that the project "remains a simple build, not complex."

I send the plans through for feedback. The Far North District Council responds by stating that anything done to the building has to have a fire report and if the building is extended, the internal wall linings have to be upgraded to a two-hour fire rating and extra escape doors added. Because they are deemed a fire risk, the mattresses also have to be stored in a separate area to the main whare, and hanging portraits or carvings will also affect the fire rating. I amend my drawings to suit council requirements and send them back to the marae for comment along with quotes for the fire report. In response to the additional expense this entails, the committee decides to forego their initial plans to extend the whare and instead decides to simply reclad and reline it and build the mahoe.

Fig 4 Drawings Tu Moana for DIY marae (Palmer, F. 2015)

This is simple to document, but the proposal to extend the whare has been compromised. I also don't feel great about recladding the whare. The original boards are rough-sawn Kauri, and although the paint is flaking on them, they are in sound condition. Because it is an indigenous timber, untreated Kauri is resistant to rot unlike pine, which has to be tantalised using toxic chemicals.

 "Can we strip them and repaint the Kauri weatherboards?"

"No." says DIY, "there is not enough time in a three-day build to do this."

That night I dream that we are rebuilding the whare and as we take the weatherboards off we discover that they aren't bevelled. In my dream we turn them over and reuse them.

"Can we do this?" I ask.

"No, we have to use new boards. The old weatherboards have to go!"

I document the consent. In my notes I select materials that are environmentally sustainable. Anything I select is replaced by alternatives specified by DIY Marae based on sponsorship deals.

With time running short, I submit drawings to the council for approval. There is no fire report to go with the consent so I write one. I am not a Fire Engineer, so I limp through a maze of interconnected clauses associated with the different sections of the acceptable solutions outlined in C/AS2 of the New Zealand Building Code. By the time I finish I feel cross-eyed. As I complete the report I notice that we have to install a type two fire alarm in the whare. This is included in the schedule. I have no idea what a type two fire alarm is, but I assume that the people who are familiar with doing this type of building work for marae complexes will know what is needed. They don't, and this ends up costing more than a Fire Engineer.

The project leaves me in a state of conflict. I want to support my hāpu, but I am restricted by what I can do, and what the council allows. The build is heavily controlled by the DIY Marae programme, which is a reality TV show, where benevolent Pākehā producers target poor communities to do good deeds through extensive sponsorship, which radically transforms the marae. But the decisions that determine the outcome of the project aren't always sustainable in the long term, as the time limit of the programme imposes restrictions on what can be done. This guarantees that the programme is able to achieve a radical transformation of the marae over a three-day period, and the event is great for motivating the community. But power relations and an assertion of control always play a part in such acts of charitable benevolence. The practice is paternalistic. To get what they want, the marae is at the mercy of the DIY programme's criteria, which aren't necessarily in the best long-term interests of the community. This reinforces latent social hierarchies. The DIY crew are the altruistic benefactors and the hāpu the grateful recipients. The DIY programme is seen as being pivotal for bringing the community back together, and achieving a significant outcome by refurbishing the wharehui and whare karakia. The programme reinforces co-dependency and a belief that without DIY Marae the community could not have done this project on its own.

Fig 4 DIY marae under construction (Archit, T., 2015)

Fig 5 Refurbished whare (Palmer, F., 2015)