

**Te Puni Kokiri
Māori Housing Network Seminar
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**Te Āhua o te Kainga
Shaping the House**

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the wider determinants that will enable Māori housing to reach high standards. It recognises the role of Te Puni Kōkiri as a Government agency closely linked to te ao Māori and also to the renovation and establishment of kainga.

The paper is divided into two parts. Part 1 discusses the broader significance of *Housing For Māori* with a particular focus on the dual parameters of whānau and community. Part 2 is more closely aligned to the significance of a kainga for Māori and the importance of whānau, whenua and whanaungatanga (connections). Essentially, Part 1 is about *housing* and Part 2 is about *the house*. Part 1 concludes with five challenges for improving housing for Māori while Part 2 identifies ten markers that have special relevance for kainga.

Houses world-wide have universal functions – to ensure protection from adverse weather and predators, to provide comfort and warmth, especially for children and older people, and to enable families to live well together. But housing for Māori has an additional distinctive dimension that is captured to some extent in the term '*kainga*'. A kainga embodies a house or a group of houses built around cultural values that connect with tikanga Māori, with the land on which kainga stand, with whānau and local communities.

Part 1 WHĀNAU CENTRED AND COMMUNITY LED

Te Puni Kokiri Māori Housing Network is both whānau-centred and community-led i.e in meeting Māori housing needs it identifies whānau as the major beneficiaries and community leadership as the main vehicle for making progress.

Whānau-centred

The design, location, connections, conventions and retention of the kainga are primarily related to whānau wellbeing.

The overall aims for whānau wellbeing are that whānau should be able to:

- adopt healthy lifestyles
- enjoy full participation in society
- have confident participation in te ao Māori
- experience economic security and active involvement in wealth creation
- celebrate cohesion within the whanau

- practice self-management & self direction (Taskforce 2010)

A whānau centred-aim expects that kainga will play significant parts in enabling those outcomes. Where homelessness, poverty, or marginalisations exist, the need for an affordable and quality kainga will warrant priority. In Canada the *Homeless Hub* principle of ‘immediate access without imposed conditional requirements’ warrants further attention in the New Zealand context (Homeless Hub, 2019). Urgency will be even more important where children or older people are involved.

A whānau centred approach does not necessarily demand that whānau should be able to demonstrate high levels of wellbeing before qualifying for a kainga; indeed the purpose of the kainga is to help address adverse circumstances. In the process it will be important that the provision of a kainga be associated with community agencies for ongoing support, advice and encouragement. When that is not available health and social development will continue to struggle (Allport T et al 2017). Whānau Ora collectives and other Kaupapa Māori services working in collaboration with housing agencies will be critical for creating an integrated response to the attainment of whānau wellness.

Whānau cohesion is taken to another level in papakainga arrangements. Whānau in the closely linked kainga have opportunities to support each other, to share a common heritage and to ensure that the ahi kā principle is maintained for future generations. The whare-land connection is also endorsed.

Community Led

Environmental realities, connections to Māori, community voices and wishes, as distinct from Government priorities will be of high importance in leadership for Māori housing. The assumption is that local leadership will be in a better position to decide on location, need, priorities, levels of urgency, impact on the wider community, the availability of parallel support systems and the appropriate conventions that ought to be observed. ‘Community’ in this sense represents a number of interests and perspectives including:

- Generic societal organisations and agencies
- Iwi and Māori organisations
- Māori land interests
- Environmental interests

Leadership from all four groups will have greater impact and wider applicability if a collective voice is heard. When, for example, the intention is related to meeting critical housing needs, decisions about building a whare will have applicability for social agencies, Māori and Iwi organisations, Māori land interests and environmental interests. Leadership might include deliberate representation from Iwi, or Whānau Ora collectives, or local housing interest groups, or marae, or local authorities.

Ideally a local collective voice would agree on common goals and priorities, adopt a strategic plan to meet them, and negotiate for resources. They would also need to consider how the solution of a housing problem might similarly

address cultural enrichment, build whānau cohesion, and add value to the wider society. Importantly their task would be to arrange appropriate socio-cultural-economic support as part of the housing package.

First hand knowledge of the wider community, including societal interests and Maori interests, would be important so as to prevent any housing scheme being compromised by environmental, social, traffic, noise or economic risks, or from risks associated with isolation from whānau, friends, and associates. Papakainga housing could also be compromised if housing zones or minimal land requirements favoured conventional urban development.

A community led approach would be mindful of the environmental impacts of new housing, and the overall impacts on local resources and facilities. But it would also need to consider the risks of doing nothing and the long term effects of intergenerational poverty and unstable housing arrangements. A decisive shift away from homelessness or seriously sub-standard housing could have impacts into the future, for generations yet to come as well as for the community as a whole.

Part 1 Five Challenges

1 Responding to Need

The identification of distress that derives, at least in part, from inadequate or absent housing will have implications for homeless people as well as people who live in overcrowded houses or in houses that are unsafe. Sleeping in a car or on streets, or in crowded conditions especially where it includes children or elderly or disabled people, will warrant co-ordinated action that could include reconnect with the wider whānau, with te ao Māori and with tikanga and with local agencies.

But there will be parallel concerns by proprietors and helping agencies as to whether tenants can afford the rent, or will be able to care for the whare or will continue to practice unhealthy lifestyles that will diminish the standing of the whare. In contrast, a Canadian approach where entry into emergency housing is based on need rather than ongoing social, behavioural or economic difficulties, prioritises need over behaviour. (*Homeless Hub 2019*)

A challenge nonetheless will be to weigh those two dimensions - need and behaviour - and to adopt values that are consistent with tikanga Māori as well as universal ethical standards.

2 Collaboration

It is clear from the literature, as well as the Wharenui experience, that a kainga divorced from community will create difficulties for whānau. The value of a kainga will depend on a range of influences from community agencies, whānau priorities, Iwi leaders, Māori community leaders, employment opportunities, and government and local authority policies.

Collective decision-making is already part of the TPK approach and organisations such as Te Matapihi focus on bringing community voices together (Te Matapihi 2016).

Importantly collaboration between Government sectors will also be enabling. Housing cannot be separated from policies for Māori, health, employment, families, social welfare, and education. The ministries that have responsibilities for land and the wider environment, along with the Māori Trustee will similarly have potential to increase housing opportunities, the more so if there are able to agree common goals that will increase housing prospects for Māori. The role of TPK as a catalysing force at policy levels will be critical.

The challenge will be to ensure that local community decision-making along with the range of Government policies are aligned and focused on common goals. The combined and synchronised energies offer greater prospects for addressing a housing crisis that has multiple determinants.

3 Cultural Preferences

The distinction between a kainga and a house may seem superfluous when urgent action is needed. But evidence from other disciplines suggests better outcomes occur when cultural perspectives are valued (HLC 2018). That has been especially evident in education and health where the introduction of Māori cultural values and processes has been incorporated into policy and practice.

Papakainga housing is a clear example of the application of Māori preferences for utilising jointly owned land and promoting whanaungatanga. But it is less applicable in urban areas where land is largely in private ownership and utilisation is determined by local and regional authorities. As a result opportunities for neighbourly support and encouragement are few.

The challenge will be to institute a strong cultural dimension that endorses whanaungatanga in ways that embrace tikanga and kawa. The involvement of local marae might also create a further pathway where kawa relating to the Wharenui, can be seen to have relevance for the kainga. Just as tangata whenua for a Wharenui are proud of their distinctive kawa, the occupants of a whare may also be proud of the ways in which day to day living has been guided by the values and principles that underpin marae kawa.

4 Aspirational Goals

While an immediate concern might be to provide for urgent housing needs, the wider question of housing for Māori should also focus on Māori aspirations for housing into the future. The shift from a crisis model to an aspirational model recognises the need to consider future trends for Māori and future housing possibilities. The Māori population is growing at a faster rate than the New Zealand population growth generally; there will continue to be a relatively greater number of children and young adults. Further, Māori are living longer. More older Māori will bring additional housing demands along with a corresponding need to avoid segregation of kaumatua and kuia.

Māori housing aspirations for the future will also need to take into account Māori global citizens who return to Aotearoa intermittently, mainly so they can retain whānau and cultural ties and continue to be part of te ao Māori. They will want to be 'at home' even when they are away from home.

A futures focused approach to housing will also be influenced by a stronger emphasis on Māori decision-making and Māori participation as active partners in policy formulation, community leadership, architectural design, housing construction, and regulatory processes.

The assumption that individual houses will best suit Māori needs recognises the longstanding Kiwi tradition of home ownership on a defined section of land. But other models may also warrant attention. Creating a papakainga-equivalent in urban settings where kainga would be built around communal facilities with collective responsibility might better suit some whānau. It might also be an improved model for housing for older Māori who could enjoy a unit of their own but within a marae-like setting. That approach has already been implemented in some urban areas where Māori land is available. Could it also become a reality on general land set aside as a reserve for Māori housing?

The challenge will be to recognise Māori aspirations when considering housing needs. A futures planning dimension in Māori housing will go beyond immediate need to embrace future possibilities, including the establishment of a Māori Housing Commissioning Authority.

5 Location

In the 1960s Government policy was to increase Māori migration from rural to urban areas and to adopt a 'pepper potting' approach to housing as a way of avoiding segregation (Hunn, 1961). The underlying premise was that the unprecedented increase in Māori urban migration would result in Māori ghettos. There was also an implication that Māori adaptation to urban living would be better achieved by learning Pakeha ways and assimilating into the community.

The 'pepper potting' policy was shown to be counter-productive. It disrupted longstanding whānau and societal connections while downplaying the importance of retaining cultural norms. It also placed many whānau in the position of being neither part of te ao Māori nor part of te ao whānui.

Those two considerations - whānau connectedness and cultural affirmation - are now regarded as important precursors for wellbeing and have applicability for the location of new housing projects.

Papakainga housing addresses some of those concerns and reverses the broad intentions of the 1961 policy by giving priority to rural living, retention of closeness to hereditary title, collective Māori housing hubs, and cultural preferences.

But for many Māori the question of location on papakainga will not be an answer or even an aspiration. Preferred location will depend on other variables and an

increasing challenge for the future will be how best to implement policies that favour whanaungatanga and tikanga Māori, while at the same time ensuring closeness to services and amenities as well as avoiding housing in depreciated areas of town or city with their inherent risks and pressures.

PART 2

TE MAURI O TE KAINGA

Building or renovating kainga should occur within a framework that is shaped around whānau – the people who will live in the kainga, - around whenua – the land on which kainga will stand, and around whanaungatanga – the connections that will enable the kainga to flourish.

Whānau

Whānau wellbeing is closely linked to Māori cultural values, alongside social and economic priorities (Te Puni Kokiri, 2015).

Whānau wellbeing has also been prioritised by Whānau Ora. The overall aims for whānau wellbeing are that whānau should be able to:

- live healthy lifestyles
- enjoy full participation in society
- have confident participation in te ao Māori
- experience economic security and active involvement in wealth creation
- celebrate cohesion within the whanau
- practice self-management & self direction (Taskforce 2010)

Living healthy lifestyles has particular significance to whānau and kainga, whānau participation in te ao Māori, whānau economic security, whānau relationships, and whānau self determination.

Whānau leadership will be key to realising aspirations and implementing a refreshed agenda for whānau. There has been a discernable shift away from external ‘experts’ making decisions for whānau, to whānau setting their own direction and being self-determining. Whānau leadership will be increasingly expected to take a lead in assisting with the resolution of complex contemporary problems.

While a house will not by itself address all socio-cultural and economic circumstances, for whānau who have been living in sub-standard housing, it will be an important step towards wellbeing (Rigby 2017). The association of inadequate housing with poor health has been well documented; cold, overcrowded and poorly ventilated houses remain a major determinant of sickness and distress for many whānau (Kukutai et.al. 2017). That does raise the question of access and affordability for whānau whose needs are high but resources low. Avenues for support and resourcing will be important.

Whānau wellbeing implies that the focus of housing for Māori should be on whānau aspirations, whānau priorities, and whānau participation in te ao Māori

and in te ao whānui. Housing designs that are geared to multi- generational cohorts and can reflect whānau cultural expectations, will be more likely to foster positive and responsible attitudes, and will strengthen the mauri of the whare and the mana of the whānau.

A warm, comfortable and safe whare provides whānau with the chance to work towards achieving their immediate and more distant goals. Whānau leaders who have the wellbeing of their people at heart will accelerate that process. They will be assisted by Whānau Ora teams and other Kaupapa Māori health and social services, as well as a range of housing agencies, including Te Puni Kokiri. Further, building relationships with neighbours and local services will also increase the prospect of inclusion and opportunities for mutual support (Allport et.al, 2017). The pepper-potting policies of the 1960s were intended to avoid creating Māori 'ghettos' (Hunn,1961) but they also reduced opportunities for Māori to retain culture and affiliations. An alternative is to deliberately locate whare for Māori in close proximity to other whare, establishing thereby a papakainga arrangement.

While kainga may be intended solely for a kaumatua or kuia, closeness to other whānau will make it easier for ongoing connections with siblings, aunts and uncles, cousins and mokopuna. When kainga are built with intergenerational needs in mind, they will contribute to whānau cohesion and wellbeing into the future. Whānau stories about the positive impacts of new housing opportunities more than justify the whānau focus (Te Puni Kokiri 2019).

Whenua

Although the kainga may be the centre of attention, the land that grounds the house is of equal if not greater significance. Future owners or tenants should be informed about the land on which the kainga will stand. The history of the land, its ownership, distinctiveness and value will be important. If the land is Māori land then its ownership status should be confirmed; does a trust, a consortium of whānau, a tribal authority or a commercial company own the land? If the land in question is general land, its earlier ownership by Māori should be made clear, so that new occupants are better informed about the history and associations with the whenua.

Regardless of whether the occupants are owners or tenants, the name of the land and the legal title should be part of the 'handing over' process. Further, the classification of neighbouring lands should be made clear. The kainga and the land on which it stands are as one. Caring for the land is as important as caring for the kainga; eco-friendly policies are relevant to both the house and the immediate environment.

The significance of land to kainga is especially relevant on papakainga (Kake, Hoskins 2011). The possibility of papakainga, clusters of houses built on Māori land, has attracted increasing support both because of the expanded housing option but also because of the importance of ahi kā for future generations. Whānau living on whenua Māori will act as kaitiaki in the years to come. They

will also share a marae-like space – a common land base - where generosity, hospitality and open discussion can occur. Within papakainga there is the prospect of ready whānau support, joint decision-making about land usage and other matters, and collective energies when repairs or maintenance are needed.

Papakainga might also be established on general land in urban areas. Though not having longstanding attachment to the land in question, the concept of group housing for Māori in towns or cities allows for mutual support, shared responsibility, joint planning, and a greater sense of connectivity – to land and to whānau. It also fosters collective duties of care between the several households that make up the papakainga.

A further aspect of land is related to the ways in which land, and other environmental features are taken into account during planning and building. Does the kainga face the east (a rising sun), does it look out towards maunga and pae (mountains and ranges), does it relate to trees or to waterways, and does it leave opportunities for land utilisation (gardens)?

The aim will be to ensure kainga fit comfortably in an ecosystem that is conducive to healthy living and retains a visible link to nature. Owners or tenants become kaitiaki for the land and the environs as well as for their whare and the papakainga as a whole.

Whanaungatanga

Building kainga will be more beneficial when connected to other Māori initiatives. Iwi for example will have increasing opportunities to become partners and investors in social housing ownership, construction, and materials manufacture and distribution (Mika e al, 2016).

Local Māori organisations will be especially important. Early discussions with kaumatua leaders and Whānau Ora and Kaupapa Māori service leaders as to the need, the site, the access, the style, and the intention will accelerate the process and go some way to ensuring local endorsement. It also offers an opportunity to identify any sites that may have special significance for tangata whenua and whether there are areas where buildings would not be appropriate.

Housing for Māori is a community responsibility (Te Matapihi, 2016). 'Community' in this sense represents a number of interests and perspectives including:

- Whānau interests
- Territorial authorities
- Generic societal organisations and agencies
- Iwi and Māori organisations
- Māori land interests
- Environmental interests

Tangata whenua involvement in ceremonies to dedicate the land and then to open the kainga, will serve to increase connections and ongoing relationships

with Māori. It will also help ascertain the likely impacts of a new whare on local communities.

Constructing and moving into new kainga, or a recently renovated kainga, is a significant event, not only for the occupant(s) but for the wider whānau, new neighbours, and people involved in facilitating and building the kainga. Karakia when the project starts and again when it has concluded recognises a spiritual element associated with the kainga agenda. Conferring a name on the kainga is also an opportunity to increase the mana of the house and to respect its uniqueness. The name might reflect the history of the site, or an environmental feature.

Links to te ao Māori will be strengthened by involvement with a local marae, with a kaupapa Māori school or haka group, with a wānanga, with Māori health and financial services, with faith-based groups, with Māori sport and recreational organisations, with a local roopu, and with hapu or Iwi. Although maintaining ties between Māori living in urban centres and their respective Iwi and hapu will present challenges in the future, the link to te ao Māori will ensure a major level of support and inclusion (McGuinness, 2010).

The links between family housing and wider society have attracted increasing attention within Aotearoa and have led to the active involvement of Iwi, local authorities, charitable organisations, investment companies, and whānau. The links recognise the importance of adopting an integrated social-cultural-economic-environmental approach so that housing is not considered in isolation of factors that impact on the day-to-day lives of whānau, and on their histories, and futures (Kake, 2017).

Being part of a papakainga incorporates many aspects of a community. A whare that stands alone risks isolation and neglect, for itself and for its whānau. Connection to society also includes being close to health services, schools, employment, friends, and neighbours. It also means being distant enough from areas where there are known risks so that children in particular are not exposed to harmful behaviours. Societal inclusion and connection enables ongoing support to the whare and its people should financial or practical backing be necessary.

Do Kainga Have Mauri?

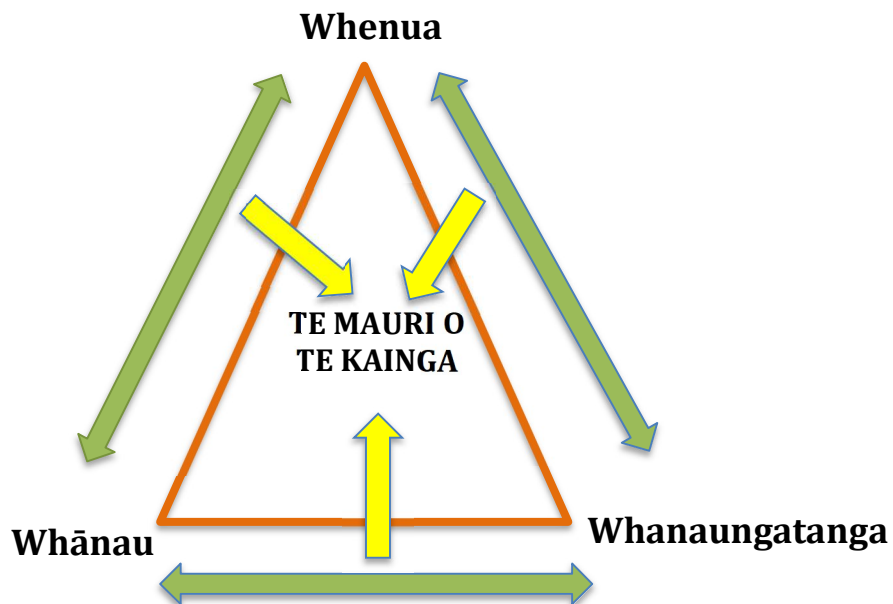
All species have a mauri. The human mauri is built on vitality, spirituality, personality and energy and is sometimes referred to as a 'life force'. The mauri is a whole-of-person reflection – spirit, mind and body, relationships with others and with the environment. For Māori, the mauri is also about a sense of connection with te ao Māori and with whakapapa. Although there are shared dimensions, the mauri of each person is unique. Trees, fish, birds, rivers, some stones and taonga pounamu also have mauri. Their mauri is enhanced by the ways in which people interact with them, by their links to the natural environment, and by their sustainability over centuries.

Kainga can also have a mauri. It is most obvious in a whareniui. Whareniui on marae illustrate the multiple connections and functions of a marae-based whare (Simon M, 1990). Most marae are distinguished by a large house – the whareniui – which is at the centre of proceedings. It upholds the distinctiveness of local Iwi and whānau; it provides for manaakitanga (hospitality); and it is a safe haven for local whānau. The whareniui strengthens the mana of its people, adds value to the identity and integrity of the people and enables its people to stand tall as tangata whenua. It is beautified by whakairo, tukutuku, kowhaiwhai and pou.

The mauri of a whareniui can be felt by manuhiri when they enter the house. It is reinforced during formalities within the whareniui, and at night when manuhiri sleep. Unlike the marae atea, where confrontation and the potential for disagreement can be debated, within the whareniui there is a sense of calm, mutual respect, and companionship – attributable to the calming effect of the whareniui mauri and the establishment of houhanga i te rongō.

Residential whare do not have the same prestige as whareniui but every kainga has a distinctive mauri. The mauri of kainga is mirrored by the way whānau communicate with each other, care for children and older whānau members and respect visitors. It is also a function of the design of the whare, the nature of its link to land and environment, and to the provision for communal spaces.

The mauri of a kainga is sensed by family members, and forms part of their own sense of wellness. It is strengthened by memories, a feeling of safety, comfort and shared experiences within the whare over the years.



HOUSING FOR MĀORI – KEY MARKERS

Based on the Whenua-Whānau-Whanaungatanga triangle it is possible to identify **ten key markers** that have special relevance to the mauri of the kainga.

- 1 *Housing for Māori affirms the significance of **mauri***
In addition to the structure and appearance of the building, the mauri of kainga will be shaped by multiple factors that relate to whānau, communities, land and the environment. The mauri is strengthened by its people but it also strengthens them. The mauri of the kainga is felt, rather than seen or heard.
- 2 *Housing for Māori contributes to **whānau wellbeing***
Whānau wellbeing is a central aim of housing for Māori. It recognises spiritual, emotional, physical and whānau dimensions. In addition the assurance of safety and comfort coupled with a sense of being grounded and included provides a solid foundation for wellbeing. Whānau participation in strategies, planning, and implementation of housing projects should be a fundamental part of the process.
- 3 *Housing for Māori requires multi-sectoral **collaboration***
A multi-sectoral approach to the provision of housing recognises the complexities that impact on the lives of whānau and their efforts to increase wellbeing. Alongside Government and community housing efforts, whānau leaders, kaupapa Māori organisations, Whānau Ora navigators and marae kaumatua will be able to provide additional levels of socio-economic support to complement gains from new housing and to support improvements to housing.
- 4 *Housing for Māori depends on **local leadership***
Māori community leadership that includes whānau leaders, will increase relevance, aid access to local resources and knowledge, and add first-hand information for the assessment of need. Environmental realities, connections to Māori, whānau voices and wishes, will be of high importance for renovating existing homes and building new houses. The assumption is that local leadership will be in a better position to decide on location, need, priorities, levels of urgency, impact on the wider community, the availability of parallel support systems and the appropriate conventions that ought to be observed.
- 5 *Housing for Māori endorses **papakainga***
Papakainga on Māori land is a preferred option for some whānau. Multiple houses built on land already owned by whānau will add to the significance of the whare and will provide shared facilities as well as mutual support. It will also carry whānau responsibility to demonstrate kaitiakitanga for the land involved. Whānau in the

closely connected whare have opportunities to share a common heritage and to ensure that the ahi kā principle will protect the land for future generations.

- 6 *Housing for Māori supports **urban collectives***
In urban settings whare 'compounds' can also be considered – establishing a type of papakainga. They may not be located on Māori land but the land will nonetheless have particular significance and its history, past ownership, and earlier uses will warrant attention. Urban collectives offer ongoing support, common spaces for recreation and gardening, and assistance with maintenance and renovations. They are papakainga equivalents.
- 7 *Housing for Māori demands **resources***
Renovating and building whare requires guaranteed funding and other resources. Whānau will benefit from advice and support to identify sources of funding and assistance with applications for funding. There are various possibilities but accessing them is not always straightforward for whānau.
- 8 *Housing for Māori builds on **cultural foundations***
A cultural dimension for Māori housing will include the application of tikanga and kawa to building the kainga, the utilisation of te reo inside the kainga and in documents and preliminary processes, and in the ongoing interaction between generations.
- 9 *Housing for Māori involves **Iwi***
The involvement of Iwi in housing policy and process will provide opportunities for housing to be seen as part of a wider developmental agenda that includes economic, social, health, cultural, and environmental matters. In addition Iwi may wish to make financial investments in new housing especially when a papakainga is within an Iwi rohe.
- 10 *Housing for Māori respects **Whānau Decision Making***
Housing for Māori will be more effective when it is led by whānau. Whānau decision-making, whānau implementation, and whānau accountability will all be important aspects of housing programmes for Maori.

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