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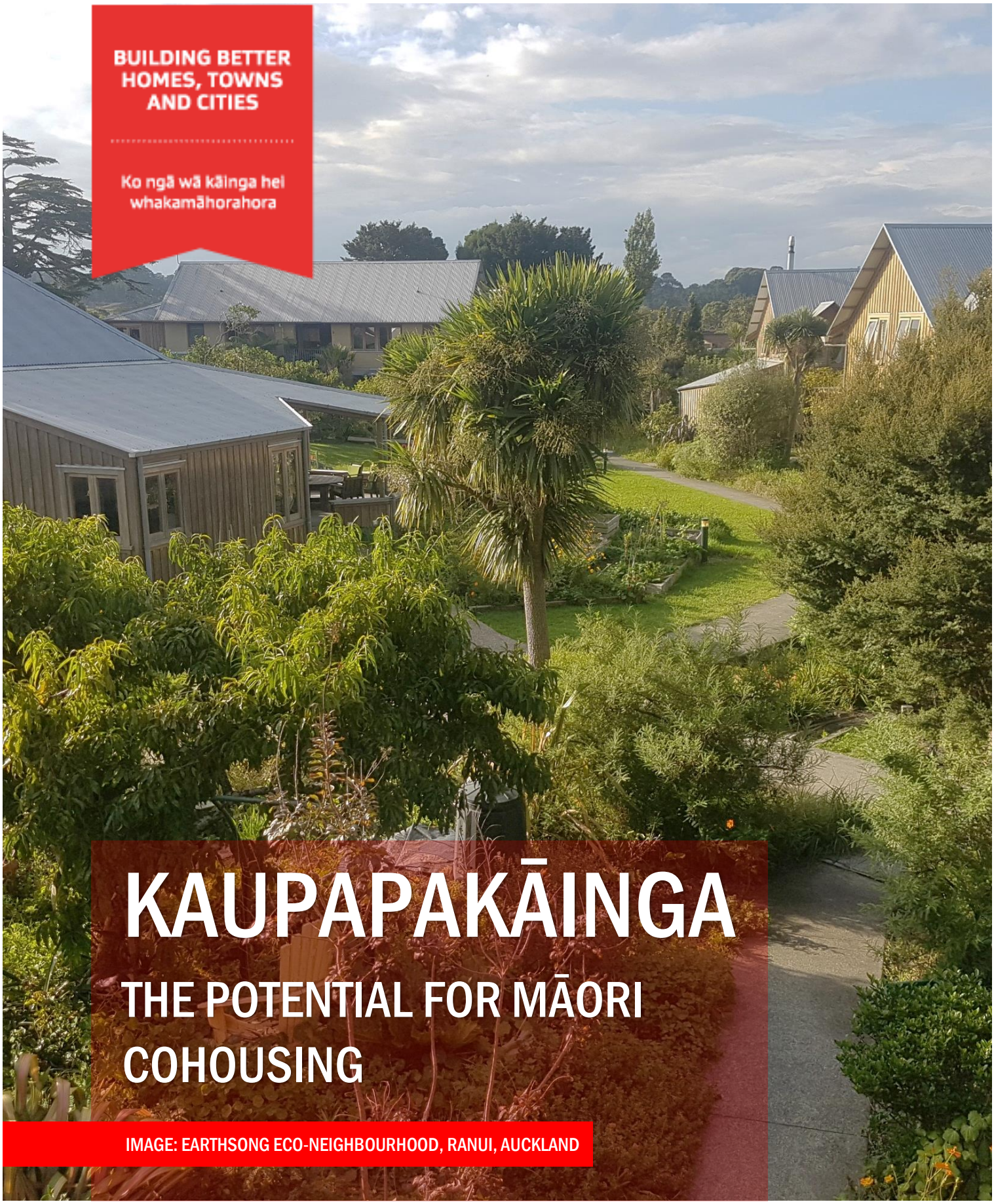

# KAUPAPAKĀINGA

## THE POTENTIAL FOR MĀORI COHOUSING

IMAGE: EARTHSONG ECO-NEIGHBOURHOOD, RANUI, AUCKLAND

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Every effort has been made to ensure the soundness and accuracy of the opinions and information expressed in this report. While we consider statements in the report are correct, no liability is accepted for any incorrect statement or information.

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# Kaupapakāinga:
# The potential for Māori cohousing[1]

James Berghan, PhD[2]

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# 1. Introduction

Māori conceptions of 'home' are relational and multi-dimensional. They often extend beyond the physical house, drawing on connections and relationships within (and between) whānau, whenua, and whakapapa (Cram et al., 2019; Boulton et al., 2021). However, as a result of the colonial regime, normative assumptions of housing and development in Aotearoa New Zealand have tended to promote values of individualisation, private property rights and the nuclear family unit (Durie, 1998; Mead, 2003). Consequently, much of our housing stock to date is reflective of those values which do not necessarily align with a relational Māori world view.

More recently, a growing body of literature is emerging on housing approaches that might better suit Māori needs and aspirations. Scholars have explored trends and contemporary barriers to Māori achieving their housing aspirations (e.g. Flynn et al., 2010; Palmer, 2016), devised papakāinga (Māori housing) design principles (e.g. Awatere et al., 2008; Badham, 2011; Kake, 2015; Rolleston & Awatere, 2009), and established toolkits to guide the development of papakāinga (e.g. Hoskins et al., 2002; Reddy et al., 2019; Te Puni Kokiri, 2017). These references are advancing the state of knowledge around papakāinga and the potential for kaupapa Māori housing and neighbourhood design approaches.

Approaches to kaupapa Māori development such as papakāinga housing bear similarities with collective housing models such as cohousing. Cohousing, a Danish model of collective housing, combines private dwellings with shared spaces and facilities in an effort to foster socialisation (Lietaert, 2010). Papakāinga and cohousing communities often share aspirations for social, environmental and economic sustainability, so arguably, dialogue between the two models has merit. There may be the opportunity for Māori to utilise elements of the cohousing model in a contemporary context to progress alternative, but culturally-appropriate, pathways into housing. While papakāinga typically denotes an ancestral connection to the whenua, Māori are predominantly an urban population so for many Māori, their primary residence may not be located on or near their ancestral land. Collective models could offer lessons for developing and managing communal infrastructure (physical and social) in urban settings, but which better reflect a pā style of living. While this may not be the preferred option for all Māori, it may hold value for some.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the potential for Māori to co-opt aspects of the cohousing model. A hybrid approach, combining elements of cohousing and papakāinga (as co-papakāinga, or 'kaupapakāinga' (kaupapa-based kāinga)) could offer an alternative entry point into the housing market for Māori. The paper begins by contextualising Māori housing, to understand the concept of papakāinga as a uniquely Māori way of living. The paper then shifts to introduce the cohousing model, a Western housing typology with social aspirations which tend to align with some of the values underpinning papakāinga. Drawing on lessons from three case study sites ((1) Kāinga Tuatahi, an urban papakāinga in central Auckland; (2) Earthsong, a cohousing community in West Auckland; and (3) the Hamilton Kaumātua Village, a manifestation of what a 'kaupapakāinga' community could look like), the paper considers the potential strengths and weaknesses of a hybrid Māori cohousing approach. The paper concludes that

kaupapakāinga, or a Māori cohousing approach, could have potential to contribute to Māori housing aspirations, particularly for urban Māori and those living away from their ancestral lands.

# 2. Research design

This paper draws on research carried out as part of the author's PhD thesis, with *he awa whiria* as the methodological basis for the research design.

## He awa whiria

He awa whiria is an approach to research which draws on the metaphor of braided rivers. Within a braided river, different streams of water can converge and diverge periodically as the streams make their way to the ocean. Similarly, he awa whiria conceptualises two streams of knowledge: Indigenous knowledge and Western science. Each stream maintains its own integrity as a valid knowledge stream, but at times, the two knowledge streams can come together and provide opportunities for collaboration and shared learning:

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

As a researcher with dual Māori-European heritage, coupled with my positioning as a researcher within a Western institution, and investigating housing models steeped in Māori and European histories respectively, the winding and crossover of Indigenous and Western knowledge streams is inevitable. He awa whiria offers a framework to utilise this positioning as a strength, and potentially explore richer understandings than either stream could provide alone (Durie, 2004; Cram & Mertens, 2016).

One of the dangers of a collaborative framework like he awa whiria is that it has the potential to assume neutrality between the different worldviews and perspectives underpinning the two streams of knowledge. This means care must be taken to not just make the realities within each stream visible, but also to make visible the source of each stream – their position, power and privilege. Proponents of kaupapa Māori research stress that an important strength of kaupapa Māori research is its ability to make those positions of power, control and privilege visible. Accordingly, my adaptation of he awa whiria includes the addition from Cram and others (2018), where the knowledge streams flow over a common whaiawa (riverbed) representing kaupapa Māori. That is, while I draw from different knowledge streams and approaches, principles of kaupapa Māori research (including taking a strengths-based approach and seeking to elevate Māori potentiality) provide the foundation to guide and dictate how knowledge is generated.

## Methods

Data for this research were primarily garnered through semi-structured interviews with twenty-one households: ten households at a papakāinga development in central Auckland, ten households at a cohousing community in West Auckland, and one household at the kaumātua village in Hamilton. All interviews were carried out *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face), at residents' homes. Recognising that

housing experiences are complex, contextual, and nuanced, interview data was complemented with guided site visits, researcher observations, diagrammatic analysis of community layouts and content analysis of secondary data and literature. One interview was also carried out with an architect or project manager from each of the three case study sites, to elucidate lessons on facilitating the development.[3]

Formal interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed, whereas other methods were recorded by the author through written and verbal field notes and reflective summaries during and after visits to different communities. Data were analysed iteratively, combining a concept driven coding frame to explore initial ideas with a data driven coding frame to allow for new and in-vivo codes to be created during the process – and to respect and prioritise the voice of participants.

# 3. Context: Papakāinga

## Defining papakāinga

The term papakāinga is not uniquely defined in literature. It can mean different things to different people or groups, depending on the time, context, and purpose. Literally, papakāinga means 'a nurturing place to return to', although a variety of definitions for the term exist. One approach considers the etymology of the term (Tane, 2018): 'kāinga' means home, village, or settlement, whilst 'papa' can either refer to Papa-tūā-nuku (the Earth mother) or it can refer to whakapapa (ancestry, genealogy, layering). Thus, papakāinga could be considered as a village or settlement deriving from the Earth, or a village or settlement formed from the layering of successive generations over time. Some definitions consider papakāinga as the domain of mana whenua only, whereas others consider papakāinga as encompassing mana whenua, mātāwaka and tauiwi alike. Some definitions posit that papakāinga, as a concept, can only exist on ancestral Māori land, while others do not place restrictions on the status of the land. Similarly, papakāinga can be described as primarily for residential activity, whilst others speak of papakāinga as comprising a range of activities and facilities to support the economic, social and cultural functions alongside housing. This paper subscribes to the inclusive nature of 'papakāinga', based in part from the definition suggested in the 2014 edition of the Ki Te Hau Kāinga guide:

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

That is, this paper subscribes to the notion of papakāinga as a type of 'umbrella' term, which can encompass many different iterations of collective Māori housing. To better understand some of the many 'layers' of papakāinga, we can consider how Māori settlements have evolved over time.

[3] The project coordinator at Earthsong is also a resident in the community, and so was interviewed in their dual-capacity of both roles.

## Evolution of Māori settlement

Early Māori settlements tended to be temporary, crude and seasonal. Māori were mobile, moving around to take advantage of different resources throughout different seasons (Anderson, 1982; Brown, 2009; Buck, 1952; Davidson, 1987). Whilst seasonal use persisted, over time, settlements gradually became more permanent, with tribal groups settling in areas where they were both protected from enemies, and maintained access to key resource and food sources (Davidson, 1987; Knight, 2009; McFadgen, 1991). These more permanent settlements took one of two forms: kāinga (unfortified settlements) were the site for day-to-day life, with the option to retreat to pā (fortified settlements) for defence in times of conflict (Ballara, 1979; Buck, 1952; Knight, 2009; McFadgen, 1991; Vayda, 1970).

With increasing permanence, a distinct Māori architecture began to emerge. Kāinga housed a variety of buildings such as wharepuni (sleeping houses), pātaka (storehouses) and wharenui (meeting houses). The different buildings served different purposes, but were typically clear in separating out uses based on tapu (sacred) and noa (profane) (Davidson, 1987). Characteristically, more substantial houses in the kāinga incorporated a sheltered but open porch (a distinctive feature commonly seen with marae) (Beattie, 1994; Brown, 2009; Davidson, 1987; Prickett, 1974; Williams, 1896).

At first, the arrival of European settlers had relatively little impact on the Māori built environment and architecture. Māori whare persisted, albeit with the gradual adoption of some European building techniques and materials, such as sawn timber, nails, windows and chimneys (Martin, 1996). However, the beginning of the 20th century saw more wholesale changes to kāinga based on 'health concerns': from the perspective of the government and various Pākehā commentators, Māori whare were considered substandard and unhealthy, and better replaced with European style buildings (Brown, 2009, pp. 103, 117-118).[4] This resulted in physical changes to Māori buildings: separate buildings were replaced and brought together under one roof, albeit with internal walls to maintain separation between different use areas, but values and meanings (such as the separation of tapu (restricted) and noa (profane) spaces, or the ability to manaaki (host) guests) were mostly able to be translocated too:

> *…by early in the 20th century most Māori lived in houses that were ostensibly European…[though] there is evidence that many aspects of traditional meaning were transferred to the new building, so that symbolically it remained distinctively Māori to its inhabitants* (Martin, 1996, p. 2).

Changes to Māori housing, at least in these early stages, were largely limited to physical changes to the built form. Over time, though, the impacts of urban migration and the significant loss of Māori land would compromise Māori economic, social and cultural wellbeing.

[4] Despite estimates of the thermal performance of raupo whare actually exceeding recent and contemporary minimum building standards (Isaacs, 2015, p. 61).

## Land loss and urbanisation

The loss of Māori land was dramatic over the 19th and 20th centuries. Prior to 1840, most of the land in Aotearoa remained in Māori hands. In 2017, however, only about 5% of the land area of New Zealand remains as Māori land.[5] Three of the main causes of Māori land loss can be attributed to private and government land sales,[6] land confiscation,[7] and the introduction of the Native Land Acts (and the associated Native Land Court), promoting individualisation of title and private property rights.[8] As well as the loss of the land and resource base, this significant land loss also meant a loss of access to sites and areas of cultural significance.

Similarly, Māori urbanisation had a dramatic effect on the state of Māori housing. Often described as one of the fastest migrations of any population (e.g. Haami, 2018), the rapid urbanisation of Māori following World War II seemed a concerted effort to bring Māori "into the so-called 'modern world'" ("NZ race relations: The Second World War and Māori urbanisation", 2014). Government policy of 'pepper-potting' Māori households amongst non-Māori homes in towns and cities was an attempt to assimilate Māori into urban life and avoid Māori congregating together and creating 'slums' (Kukutai, 2013). Urban environments were predominantly Pākehā-centric and held Eurocentric ideals of what houses and settlements should look like, largely based on the nuclear family.[9] This was at odds with Māori whānau dynamics, creating a disconnect between the types of housing (and property) available, and the type of housing that may have better suited Māori needs.

## Māori housing today

The scars of colonisation are evident in the state of Māori housing today. Prior to World War II, Māori home ownership rates were higher than overall average home ownership rates in New Zealand as homes were mostly tribal and rural, but when Māori migrated to urban centres in the mid-20th century, home ownership rates dropped as urban Māori were largely renters. Rates have continued to drop and, as at the 2018 census, home ownership rates for Māori were only 31% while for people of European ethnicity, that figure sat at 57.9% (Stats NZ, 2020).[10] Low home ownership rates have a number of implications: research shows that renters are more mobile (typically not by choice) and therefore tend to be less involved with local communities (Eaqub & Eaqub, 2015; Statistics New Zealand, 2016), have a decreased sense of stability

[5] Calculated from Māori land figures cited in Māori Land Court (2017).

[6] Including the Crown right of pre-emption (i.e. Māori could only sell to the Crown). Additionally, many promises from government sales also never materialised, such as the government purchase of most of the South Island from Ngāi Tahu.

[7] The government passed legislation following the New Zealand Wars in the 1860s, to expressly allow for the confiscation of Māori land from Māori who had 'rebelled' against the Crown. Waikato lost the majority of their land through confiscation, or raupatu.

[8] With the goal of assimilating Māori ownership of land into British law.

[9] For instance, separation from rural marae and traditional support structures led to attempts by Māori to use their individual urban homes for community cultural practices such as tangihanga (see Paringatai, 2018).

[10] Though noting these measures are contestable and are primarily included to illustrate the general disparity between Māori and European ethnic groups. Census measurement criteria for home ownership have changed over time, and imputation to fill data gaps in the 2018 Census may have disproportionately affected Māori.

and control over their circumstances (Howden-Chapman & Wilson, 1999), their rental housing tends to be of poorer quality (negatively impacting on health and susceptibility to illness) (Johnson et al, 2018; Keall et al., 2013), and renters tend to miss out on the transfer of wealth between generations from the sale or inheritance of homes (Goodyear, 2017).

Māori are also over-represented in homelessness or severe housing deprivation statistics, with estimates suggesting that prevalence rates for Māori are four times that of Europeans (Amore et al., 2021). Notions of homelessness, though, can extend beyond the lack of shelter and can include disconnection from social or cultural factors including from te reo (language), whānau (family), whenua (land) or general cultural practices. In that sense, notions of home extend beyond the physical house and encompass a wider set of relational dimensions.

The multi-faceted of nature of home, particularly for urban Māori, can be expressed in the phrase 'kāinga tahi, kāinga rua' (literally, first home, second home). This phrase recognises that for some Māori, they have multiple homes. Their current residence (kāinga rua, often in a city or urban area) may be away from their ancestral whenua or homeplace (kāinga tahi).[11] For example, as at the 2013 Census, only 16% of Māori in Tāmaki (Auckland) are mana whenua (Hoskins et al., 2019). This begs the question of how notions of home can survive and thrive in a context which might be a 'second home' for many Māori, especially for those who are not mana whenua. Hirini Matunga eloquently describes this as:

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

Increasingly, efforts are being made to provide culturally-appropriate and mana-enhancing Māori housing solutions that work towards 'homing' rather than just 'housing'. There is a growing body of literature in the form of Māori urban design and house design principles, papakāinga guides and toolkits, as well as a wider decolonising research agenda around cultural landscapes and Indigenous place-making. These promising approaches are introducing Māori understandings and values into housing, land development and development processes in ways that existing Western frameworks have not been able to achieve. One such example is Kāinga Tuatahi[12] (introduced below), an urban papakāinga located on the ancestral whenua of Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei.

This paper aims to contribute to the growing list of initiatives that might better serve Māori needs and aspirations, particularly for urban Māori living away from their ancestral land.

[11] For Māori who have lived in the city long enough, the roles may reverse, and they might consider their urban home to be their 'kāinga tahi'.

[12] Literally, 'first home'.

## Case study 1: Kāinga Tuatahi, Ōrākei

Kāinga Tuatahi is a 30-home development in Ōrākei, Auckland and one of the first medium-density, urban papakāinga to be constructed in Aotearoa (see Figure 1). As the first stage of a long-term strategy of re-establishing Ōrākei as a vibrant community for the Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei hapū, Kāinga Tuatahi fosters a papakāinga way of living in the city by enabling tribal members to live on (and return to) the Ōrākei papakāinga. The first of the two- and three-storey homes were completed in early 2016, with the remainder completed later that year.

Three standalone homes lie at the western edge of the site, while the rest are side-attached homes clustered in groups of three or more. The homes vary in size from two to four bedrooms, with the larger homes also having the option to convert the garage into a study, studio or fifth bedroom, and are linked by shared driveways, children's play areas and māra kai (communal gardens). The land is held in common ownership by the hapū, while individual whānau own their houses and have long-term leases over the land on which their home sits. Residents manage the kāinga themselves, through a 'cuzzy corp' (i.e. a cousin corporation, as a play on the 'body corporate' entity found in Unit Title developments).

Kāinga Tuatahi is a whakapapa-based papakāinga; residents must be tribal members (or spouses) to own a home in the papakāinga, and the development is located on ancestral whenua in the city. In that sense, the kāinga is in a minority; the ancestral lands of most iwi and hapū are more rural.

Figure 1: Kāinga Tuatahi aerial photo (development shown in colour). The development is bisected by Kupe Street down the centre, with the East Block (12 homes, in four clusters of three homes each) to the right of Kupe Street, and the West Block (18 homes) on the left.

Figure 2: Exterior of side-attached homes (viewed from internal laneway).

Figure 3: Māra kai (communal gardens).

Figure 4: Example of incorporating te reo Māori onsite, on these carparks for manuhiri (visitors).

Figure 5: Shared internal laneway, including some permeable pavers to allow rainwater to soak through.

Figure 6: The internal laneways are one-way, limiting entry/exit points onto Kupe Street and making it safer for residents (especially tamariki).

Figure 7: The development was the first to include Tesla power batteries, where energy produced from solar panels on the roof is stored and distributed to households.

Figure 8: Shared area for māra kai and play space for tamariki.

Figure 9: Cluster of three homes under the one roof (viewed from Kupe Street).

# 4. Context: Cohousing

## Defining cohousing

Cohousing refers to an approach to housing, combining (and balancing) both private and shared spaces in ways that respect individual privacy as well as fostering social interaction and feelings of community (Lietaert, 2010). The origins of the model lie in Denmark, from the Danish *Bofælleskaber*, meaning 'living communities', and were a response to frustrations with the isolation of nuclear family life. The idea of these living communities was that conventional private dwelling spaces would be supplemented with access to shared resources and social capital, through shared childrearing duties, household chores, and fostering social interaction. Importantly, the model is not to be confused with fully communal housing such as communes where everything is shared. Cohousing residents retain access to their own self-sustaining households but gain additional access to shared resources and facilities as an *extension* of the private home.

Several years after the model was established in Denmark, a pair of visiting American architects took the concept back to America and popularised the term 'cohousing' (Sargisson, 2012). Various iterations of the model have been established around the world, including in America, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand (Nelson, 2018).

## Social-centric design

While cohousing community layouts take on different forms and layouts, they tend to exhibit common physical characteristics which are specifically designed to support and facilitate social outcomes. Community layouts tend to follow a roughly circular structure, with individual units in a ring-like orientation around central common space. Similarly, parking facilities (e.g. garages, carports, uncovered car parks) are often co-located away from individual units, and usually at the periphery of the site. A network of

footpaths connects the common parking areas with individual units and other spaces around the site, creating opportunities for spontaneous social interactions (or 'bump points') between residents as they move around. While elements of physical design cannot necessarily *create* community, done well, it can help to provide conditions for sociality and neighbourly interactions to take place (Kearns et al., 2017).

Cohousing communities distinctively have a 'common house' or shared multi-purpose space. Common house facilities typically include a kitchen (commercial standard) and dining facilities, library, shared laundry, guest rooms, kids' playrooms and sometimes particular hobby rooms (e.g. photography dark room, music rooms, computer room, gym equipment). Importantly, the common house is seen as an extension of the private dwelling; the common house supplements the facilities available within individual household units, rather than replacing them (i.e. individual units remain self-sustaining, with their own facilities such as kitchens, lounges, bathrooms and bedrooms) (Larsen, 2019).

## Organisational structures

Physical architecture aside, cohousing communities tend to have distinct organisational arrangements. In contrast to conventional housing development (where residents of a community usually have little direct influence on the overall shape and form of things such as footpaths, road layouts and vegetation in their immediate neighbourhood), cohousing communities explicitly involve future residents in the design process from the outset. Residents work with built environment professionals to co-design aspects of the community from the overall layout, down to architectural details of individual units. While this collaborative approach can take longer (and therefore, be more expensive), incorporating co-design opportunities is described as a foundational principle of many cohousing developments, and ensures that future residents have a stake in how the physical form of the neighbourhood takes shape (McCamant & Durrett, 2011).

## Cohousing in Aotearoa New Zealand

Cohousing is not particularly widespread in Aotearoa New Zealand. The first urban cohousing community, Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood in Auckland, was constructed in the early 2000s. Since then, though, only two more cohousing communities have been completed to the point of being occupied (Delhi Village, Whanganui; and Toiora High Street Cohousing, Dunedin). Several communities are in various stages of development, including groups currently searching for a site, groups working on concept designs or communities currently under construction.[13] While interest in alternative collective models seems to be strong, the relatively low uptake of cohousing in Aotearoa to date is likely the result of a financial and regulatory property regime which does not easily allow for such alternatives.

[13] A further number of other collective models such as eco-villages also exist in various stages of completion. See www.cohousing.org.nz for further examples.

## Tenure

In New Zealand, while some cohousing units may be rented, most are typically owner-occupied through unit titling (Southcombe, 2020). In a unit title subdivision, units are owned individually, and all unit owners have shared ownership of the common spaces, managed through a body corporate. Individual ownership of units is somewhat at odds with cohousing's purported focus on the collective and means that cohousing units tend to be bought and sold in much the same way as homes on the general, individualised property market. As a result, New Zealand cohousing units are (unintentionally) generally only accessible to the middle class (Southcombe, 2020).

Tenure arrangements in Danish cohousing, on the other hand, are more varied. Aside from a small number of cohousing communities managed as rental public housing, most Danish cohousing is either owner-occupied or held in cooperative tenure (Larsen, 2019). Under a cooperative tenure arrangement, the cooperative retains shared ownership of the land and housing. Occupants buy shares in the cooperative based on a formula (rather than market value), in return for the right to occupy a unit within the community (Larsen, 2019). Residents pay 'rent' to recover the initial construction costs, along with interest and maintenance bills, so rent payments can actually reduce over time as the level of debt reduces. Lower upfront costs are likely to be a key factor in making cooperative tenure-based cohousing communities more accessible to lower income groups than owner-occupied communities (Jakobsen & Larsen, 2018).

## Case study 2: Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood, Ranui

Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood ('Earthsong') is a 32-unit development located in Ranui, West Auckland (see Figures 10-16). Constructed in two-stages, the cohousing community comprises a mixture of self-contained terraced homes and apartments, ranging in size from one bedroom studio units to four-bedroom homes.

Figure 10: Earthsong Eco-Neighbourhood aerial photo (development shown in colour). The aerial photo illustrates how clusters of homes are elongated east-west to provide north-facing living areas in each unit. Car-parking is kept to the Western edge of the site, keeping the network of footpaths available for pedestrians.

Figure 11: A key feature of cohousing developments is the common house, a shared multi-purpose space which acts as an extension of the private dwelling.

Figure 12: Homes in the development are connected by a network of footpaths, which are a common ‘bump point’ or site for interactions between neighbours.

Figure 13: The community includes a number of shared areas, including a large lawn and children’s play equipment, demonstrating the value of sharing resources.

Figure 14: The ground floor walls of the homes in Earthsong are built with rammed earth, helping to reduce the embodied energy in constructing the homes.

Figure 15: Shared vegetable gardens (and the subsequent produce) are available for all residents.

Figure 16: Residents can choose to be kaitiaki or guardians of shared resources including food, such as these kumara.

The homes were constructed from non-toxic, sustainably sourced materials and construction on the final homes on-site was completed in 2006. Clusters of homes are oriented east-west for passive solar gain and are linked together through a network of shared paths and common areas. Car parking is kept to the Western periphery on the site, keeping most of the site for pedestrians. The development includes a 340m$^2$ multi-purpose common house at the centre of the site, which is owned jointly by all residents and comprises a dining hall, fireplace, sitting rooms, kitchen, children's playrooms, guest room and shared laundry.

Earthsong is a kaupapa-based whānau: residents share common aspirations of living in more socially-connected ways and with a particular focus on environmental sustainability. Like papakāinga, cohousing is premised on a misalignment between resident's aspirations of socially-based living and normative assumptions of housing and settlement (which is largely based on individualisation). A dialogue between the two models has potential for cross-cutting lessons and how a kaupapa-based papakāinga (i.e. not so embedded in the whenua that it is on) could be facilitated.

# 5. The potential for kaupapakāinga / co-papakāinga

## Defining kaupapakāinga

Definitions of papakāinga vary, at least in written literature. As noted above, I subscribe to the inclusive nature of the term; that it can exist on ancestral land or general land; for mana whenua or Māori more generally; that it can be for residential activities (i.e. housing) or a range of activities that support Māori aspirations. Given the variability across definitions, though, the introduction of more specific terms under the umbrella term of 'papakāinga' could help us to think and talk about different iterations of the model and what they mean.

Two possible terms are 'whakapapakāinga' and 'kaupapakāinga' (see Figure 17). Tane (2018) and his supervisors coined the term 'whakapapakāinga' as part of his doctoral thesis. He describes how the term could be compartmentalised as 'whaka-papakāinga'[14] or as 'whakapapa-papakāinga'.[15] At risk of over-simplification, another interpretation could position the term as a papakāinga based on whakapapa, where the kāinga exists on ancestral Māori land and residents are connected through shared whakapapa as members of a specific iwi or hapū. This begs the question of whether other forms or categorisations of papakāinga could exist in other contexts.

[14] 'Whaka', when used as a prefix, gives the meaning 'to act' or 'to cause'; 'papakāinga' meaning village or home. Thus, whaka-papakāinga could translate as "the act of creating a village or marae-community" (Tane, 2018, p. 59).

[15] 'Whakapapa', as "the genealogical layering of people, time, space and events" (Tane, 2018, p. 59); 'papakāinga' as reference to "the ancestral home or village with a marae at its centre" (Tane, 2018, p. 67). Thus, whakapapa-papakāinga is "concerned with the layering (past, present and future) of both people and land within a papakāinga context" (Tane, 2018, p. 63).

Figure 17: Papakāinga as a potential umbrella term for whakapapa-based kāinga (whakapapakāinga) and kaupapa-based kāinga (kaupapakāinga).

Kaupapakāinga (or kaupapa-based papakāinga) could be a term for another form of collective Māori housing which is based on the kaupapa of papakāinga but is not necessarily located on ancestral Māori land. Residents are connected by a common kaupapa, rather than shared whakapapa. Such a model could bridge the gap by providing an alternative to 'true' whakapapa-based papakāinga, drawing on similar notions and aspirations of Western housing models such as cohousing.

## Rationale

A critical challenge with whakapapa-based papakāinga relates to urbanisation and the dynamic of kāinga tahi, kāinga rua. Statistically, Māori are an urban people: at the 2013 census, approximately 84% of Māori reside in urban areas (Kukutai, 2013; Meredith, 2015).[16] For many urban Māori, though, their urban residence is located away from their ancestral whenua, and of those Māori, there will be some for whom a permanent return home is not possible. A kaupapakāinga model of housing would draw on the notion of papakāinga as a way of living together and of living as Māori, without being embedded in whakapapa, and could have the potential to contribute to a sense of identity, belonging and sense of place for mātāwaka.[17]

Some of the aspirational notions of cohousing align with traditional notions of pā and kāinga for Māori (the latter long pre-dating the rise of the cohousing movement). For example, Māori notions of kotahitanga and the importance of the collective align with cohousing's "emphasis on the betterment of the group than on the walled-in property approach of the suburban individualist" (White-Harvey, 1993, p. 75). The collective nature of both papakāinga and cohousing approaches are at odds with dominant development patterns promoting individualised ownership and nuclear family style housing. Co-opting lessons from cohousing and bringing them together with Indigenous knowledge could create a uniquely Aotearoa model of development.

[16] Though being careful to note that definitions of 'urban' include settlements of more than 1000 people, so 'urban Māori' also includes Māori in smaller towns and settlements, not just cities.

[17] "[A]ll *Māori* living in urban areas who do not hold traditional links to that area" (Ryks et al., 2016, p. 32, italics in original).

## Strengths of a hybrid approach

Drawing from lessons from the case study sites, this section considers five potential strengths of a hybrid Māori cohousing approach: (1) access to social capital, (2) flexible criteria for belonging, (3) mana motuhake (self-determination), (4) cultural connection/re-connection, and (5) support for ageing in place.

### i. Access to social capital

A strength of collective housing models is their ability to facilitate access to 'social capital'. Putnam introduced the concept to describe how social relationships can be leveraged to create tangible outcomes:

> *Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them* (Putnam, 2000, p. 19).

The intangible notion of social capital, established and garnered through relationships, can produce tangible outcomes which benefit both the individual and the collective. Residents at both Earthsong and Kāinga Tuatahi reflected on how social capital from readily accessible social networks gave them access to tangible outcomes:

> *If you want to borrow anything, you can borrow it from someone. If you want to do something with someone, there's always someone to go out with or have coffee with, or go and cry on their shoulder*… (Interview – Earthsong #8).

> *…some of my neighbours borrowed my pie dishes and I came home last night and the pie they made, there was one for me in the fridge, you know. So it's not just 'borrowing'…* (Interview – Kāinga Tuatahi #3).

Social capital would often be built from small, irregular connections between residents like in the examples above, but could also come from more formal or planned events and interactions. Earthsong residents hold regular events like monthly meetings, or an annual working bee. Similarly, Kāinga Tuatahi residents have held occasional events like a Christmas party in the lane. Regular events can help provide a structure to build trust, and foster those networks of social relations, to supplement the connections that are made informally.

As well as the social interactions themselves, community layout and design can be used in ways to help support social capital building. A large portion of cohousing literature is dedicated to sociopetal design elements, or design techniques which encourage social interaction and for people to come together (for instance, through clustering dwellings or limiting the 'highways' of footpaths through a site). As noted above, good design itself cannot create community (e.g. Kearns et al., 2017), but it is one way to hardwire sociality into the layout of the community so that interactions between residents can happen subconsciously.

### ii. Flexible criteria for belonging

At their core, both papakāinga and cohousing approaches prioritise the collective, but have different requirements for membership. In papakāinga (where shared ancestry is a common binding factor from the

outset), residents enjoy common bonds through whakapapa even prior to moving into their homes. In Kāinga Tuatahi, residents who did not whakapapa to the tribe (for instance, spouses or flatmates of tribal members) felt less secure at times, from not having those blood-ties themselves:

> *It's a little bit hard for myself, not being [a member of the tribe], because if [my partner and I] were to separate, I'd lose the house. I could live here but I couldn't do anything with the house* (Interview – Kāinga Tuatahi #2).

On the other hand, membership in cohousing communities is typically based on a shared kaupapa or vision for the community. At Earthsong, members subscribe to shared goals of environmental sustainability, social sustainability, and education. While different members can hold different levels of commitment to the kaupapa, having a shared vision and shared values of what underpins the community can help to forge comparable community bonds over time. While Earthsong membership is not voluntary (i.e. prospective residents must be members before they can move in), there is the ability to 'opt-out' in a way that is not possible with whakapapa-based communities though.

A kaupapakāinga approach, adopting a kaupapa-based membership as opposed to whakapapa, could help to improve the sense of security and stability for taura here, or domestic migrants. Spouses or flatmates could hold 'equal' rights where they were committed to the kaupapa. Similarly, urban Māori living away from their ancestral lands could retain or access employment in the city, within a papakāinga style of living, if they are away from their ancestral land:

> *We always wanted to live in Auckland for our careers…we had always planned to come to Auckland and Ōrākei seemed like the perfect place to be because we had whānau support here and it's a community Māori* (Interview – Kāinga Tuatahi #5).

Whānau in Kāinga Tuatahi spoke about papakāinga as a way of living together, and of living as Māori, which has the potential to transcend strict boundaries of whakapapa.

### iii. Mana motuhake (self-determination)

A key feature of the cohousing model is the participatory design process. Future residents of the community are expressly involved in the design of the community, both physically and how it will be organised and managed on an ongoing basis:

> *I can't stress enough how much the cohousing by-line of 'designed and managed by the residents' is true. It's totally up to those of us that have been here, been involved, and everyone as they come along. There's no developer, there's no boss. It's up to us* (Interview – Earthsong #10).

Similarly, approaches to papakāinga emphasise the need for mana motuhake, or self-determination, by involving whānau in the housing process to co-design and co-determine outcomes where possible. Allowing whānau to see and be involved in the build process means they can start forming connections with their future homes as early as possible:

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

A hybrid kaupapakāinga approach should co-opt elements of the resident-led participatory model in cohousing. This could include holding wānanga with potential future residents to co-determine the shape and form of the community (both physically and metaphysically) from the outset.

### iv. Cultural connection and re-connection

Whānau in Kāinga Tuatahi spoke about the papakāinga as being about living amongst Māori, which made it different from 'normal suburbia'. This sense of cultural connectedness went beyond just social connections and interactions that can be contrived by a well-designed development. Latent factors of community life can really have an impact:

> *I guess it occurred to me through Matatini, when you'd walk out there and every TV you hear is tuned in and you just heard waiata and all that down the street. And that draws on you and just makes that connection stronger. It's these little flavours that draw at you, that make you feel comfortable and grounded as opposed to living in* ***normal suburbia*** *(bold for emphasis)* (Interview – Kāinga Tuatahi #6).

Similarly, spouses and flatmates who were taura here (domestic migrants) showed that it is possible for Māori to embrace a papakāinga style of living on their kāinga rua, or home away from their ancestral home. Engaging with mana whenua, learning the histories of the land and area, and getting involved with the local marae community can help to 'centre' taura here in areas they do not hold a whakapapa connection to:

> *I think there's a deeper connection living here, because you feel you're a part of this. I don't whakapapa here...but I still feel connected here through [my partner]. [The iwi] are all welcoming and it's that community spirit I guess...I think there is a deeper connection to it and just being so close to the marae, and being able to get involved with doing activities and whatever else they've got going on* (Interview – Kāinga Tuatahi #6).

This resonates with Cram's discussion about Māori living away from their ancestral lands as feeling a sense of obligation to those whose lands they are on, and who are hosting them (Cram, 2020). In that sense, 'Māoritanga' could act as a shared binding factor in kaupapakāinga in place of common bonds through shared iwi- or hapūtanga, and can be a way for Māori to connect with their taha Māori (Māori side) if they are away from their own ancestral land.

### v. Support for ageing in place

A kaupapakāinga approach has the potential to support residents to age in place and delay the need for residential care (or bypass it altogether). Collective housing models such as cohousing and papakāinga help to facilitate multi-generational living and support (James & Saville-Smith, 2017). Older generations can participate in community activities (such as shared childminding) and access sociality in collective housing. Earthsong is reaching a stage now where some of the first children who grew up in the community have become adults and are starting families of their own:

> *I love that my grandson is growing up in community and that my son and daughter-in-law moved back. That's probably the most gratifying part of living here really…another generation is coming in. It's a wonderful place for children* (Interview – Earthsong #9).

Pragmatic benefits of collective living include sharing facilities and therefore sharing the associated work for maintenance or upkeep. Residents participate in the community in different ways: for instance, at Earthsong, older residents who struggle with some of the physical work during working bees will contribute instead by cooking meals and babysitting children. Everyone has a place and can contribute relative to their interests and abilities. This dynamic is dependent, though, on a diverse community, with a range of residents and ages who can offer different contributions to the collective.

Collective housing models are also increasingly prioritising universal design standards (in shared areas, as well as by providing some accessible units), to further support residents to age in place:

> *I don't really want to go into a rest home or anything. The good thing about this particular unit is that it's accessible. The whole thing is accessible* (Interview – Earthsong #1).

A kaupapakāinga approach could incorporate the same multi-generational focus. While the support for some older reasons will be beyond the capabilities of a resident-only community, and some older people might prefer not to live inter-generationally, a collective approach could contribute to the suite of housing options available to our ageing population.

## Challenges of a hybrid approach

While a hybrid approach could yield potential benefits, there are possible challenges to a Māori cohousing approach. Again, drawing from lessons from the case study sites, this section considers four of those potential challenges: (1) it's not on ancestral whenua, (2) it's a different way of living, (3) inflexible regulatory frameworks, and (4) it's not over once it's built.

### i. It's not on ancestral whenua

One immediate challenge to a hybrid Māori cohousing approach is that it is not located on ancestral whenua. A core tenet of whakapapa-based kāinga are the connections to the whenua and the generations that have come before:

> *It's really not so much the whare itself…it's where it is that's made the difference, and who we're living amongst, and the fact that it's just so close to the marae, our urupā's just down the road…* (Interview – Kāinga Tuatahi #7).
>
> *I take the dog for a walk down to the urupā and down to our beach, and I walk back up and I think, 'oh wow, we're so lucky'. I feel where our tūpuna are down there, and now I know all of the history, for me it's really important* (Interview – Kāinga Tuatahi #8).

Notions of home and home-making, particularly for Māori, are grounded in deeper conceptualisations of place. Place-based relationships are bound up in cultural landscapes and narratives which act as markers of identity, linking people to place through time (past and future). A kaupapakāinga approach will never be able to recreate the same connection to ancestral whenua (and it is not intended to). Rather, it can be a pragmatic approach to improving the sense of home away from home:

> *…you would be quite hard pressed to find something like this in an urban setting* (Interview – Kāinga Tuatahi #6).

A Māori cohousing approach needs to be clear in its intention, to provide a particular style of living amongst Māori but located for pragmatic reasons, rather than an ancestral connection to the whenua.

### ii. It's a different way of living

The collective and social nature of cohousing and papakāinga communities can be both a drawcard and a challenge:

> *The flipside of knowing people is that sometimes they drive you nuts* (Interview – Earthsong #6).
>
> [Interviewer question: If you could change one thing about living here, what would it be?] *I would say the same, that sometimes it's whānau all around. Sometimes you can't escape!* (Interview – Kāinga Tuatahi #2).

Most housing in Aotearoa New Zealand to date has typically been very individualised. It is not unexpected, then, that there are common perceptions about the lack of privacy and autonomy in collective models which can put off prospective residents. The shift to collective models requires a shift in mindset, but an important lesson from urban cohousing communities is that residents can adjust. Communities develop their own rules, social norms and behaviours to help provide residents with privacy in a community layout designed to encourage socialisation:

> *…there's body signals and clues…if you put the blind down on your front door, then that indicates that you're not available to people [to socialise with]* (Interview – Earthsong #5).

Residents living collectively must consider the collective in their own, individual decision-making processes, which can challenge conventional ideas of housing autonomy. One resident described this as the responsibility of living collectively:

> *…as time goes by, people start coming up against things, and start to find that in with all the advantages of living in a collective way, that there comes some responsibilities with that. You don't have the same degree of autonomy that you do if you're living separately* (Interview – Earthsong #4).

Residents stress the need for accurate and early information, particularly around the amount of work or input required on an ongoing basis. Educating prospective residents around the expectations of collective living (and how they differ from more conventional housing types) is critical for facilitating a good quality of life for residents in developments with communal aspects (Dupuis & Dixon, 2006). That being said, collective models inherently require time and effort to respect and consider others, which will not necessarily suit everyone (Wardle, 2013).

### iii. It doesn't fit existing frameworks and regulations

Although cohousing and papakāinga communities have different foundations, both are attempting to subvert (and improve) conventional development patterns which tend to prioritise individualisation. A challenge, though, is that collective models often do not fit within existing planning regulations, or financial

and legal frameworks. District plans may not explicitly accommodate collective housing approaches, and local authorities can be unfamiliar with (and therefore, apprehensive about) alternatives to the status quo. Banks will often approach collective developments in the same way as a conventional residential development and may be hesitant or unwilling to loan to a collective of individuals rather than an established property developer. The result tends to be that collective communities either compromise elements to fit existing structures and frameworks which were not designed with alternative housing models in mind, or shoulder the burden of the additional resourcing costs to resolve these challenges. Given the budget and risk-averse nature of property and housing in New Zealand, it is likely that collective models will continue to be seen as 'experimental' until they are more widely established.

### iv. It's not over once it's built

The focus on aspects of social life in collective housing emphasise Turner's notion of housing as a verb (Turner, 1972). Narratives which consider housing as a noun tend to describe housing as tangible property, and tend to focus on issues of housing supply and housing construction. Instead, Turner challenges us to conceptualise housing as the verb; that it is about what housing *does,* not what housing *is.* In that sense, collective housing models are never 'completed'. Construction on the physical homes might cease, but the process of living in those homes over time, and in relation to one another, is a key priority of collective models. Earthsong residents describe this as 'the social architecture':

> *Certainly one thing that I would and do suggest to people is that, that social architecture is just as important as the physical [architecture]. And it's ongoing. It needs resources and it needs energy, because when you're living next door to somebody else, it can be really horrible if relationships go sour* (Interview – Earthsong #9).

One resident used the analogy of the community as a garden; that to enjoy the fruits of the garden, you cannot just build it and leave it alone. A garden needs intentional effort and input to look after it. In the same way, residents in collective housing are actively working towards their relationships with place and with one another to be 'housed'.

A challenge for kaupapakāinga is to prioritise the ongoing social milieu of the community. Conceptualising housing as a noun tends to produce housing interventions with a focus on products and structures. Considering housing as a verb can highlight the need for housing interventions and solutions which go beyond physical construction, and place just as much priority on how the community functions on an ongoing basis to enable residents to feel 'at home'.

## Case study 3: Kaumātua Village, Kirikiriroa

The concept behind the Kaumātua Village in Kirkiriroa Hamilton arose from a concern regarding the living conditions of some kaumātua (elders) in the city, and a desire to provide them with warm, safe houses. A joint venture between Rauawaawa Kaumātua Charitable Trust and Te Rūnanga o Kirikiriroa enabled the development to come to fruition. The project was developed in two stages, with stage one consisting of eight units and stage two consisting of six units (see Figure 18). The units comprise one or two bedrooms, one bathroom and either an integrated garage, on-site parking (uncovered or carport) or on-street parking.

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

Figure 18: Kaumātua Village, Hamilton. Stage one (right hand side) consists of eight units arranged in roughly a circular pattern around a central communal area. Stage two (left hand side) comprises six units in roughly an L-shaped arrangement, facing a central communal area.

The design phase of the village included the establishment of a ‘kaumātua committee’, where kaumātua were actively involved in the design process. In this consultative process, kaumātua and designers were able to collaborate to ensure the units were appropriate and fit-for-purpose for the end users.

The Kaumātua Village in Frankton, Hamilton, could be seen as an example of a kaupapakāinga. While not necessarily a conscious attempt to create a Māori ‘cohousing’ community, the kaupapa of the village was an attempt at creating a pā style of living for older people. Residents are not required to be members of the same iwi or hapū, or blood to the whenua on which the village sits. Instead, the village offers housing that allows for collective support and engagement at a level that is not deeply embedded in whenua: the ethos of kaupapakāinga.

# 6. A model for affordability?

Cohousing developments are 'alternative' housing models with respect to their social and spatial characteristics but (at least to date) they are generally not 'alternative' models when it comes to affordability. Most new Danish cohousing communities established since the early 2000s perpetuate existing models of property ownership and the financialisation of housing (albeit with the addition of elements of shared ownership) (Larsen, 2019). Similarly, cohousing approaches in New Zealand are almost exclusively individually owned through unit titles (Southcombe, 2020). For kaupapakāinga to function as a genuine pathway to affordable housing and to be seen as an alternative to conventional, commodified approaches to housing, we may need to look wider than cohousing and reconceptualise how we think about affordability.

## Rethinking land

A kaupapakāinga approach could contribute to affordability by treating land and housing separately. In Kāinga Tuatahi, the land within the kāinga remains in tribal ownership and individual whānau property rights are facilitated through a leasehold subdivision. Individual whānau own their own homes (i.e. the physical structures), and for a nominal rent, secure long-term leases (150 years) over the land on which their home sits, as well as rights to use the common areas.[18] Ownership of the houses can be transferred between tribal members, but the land is excluded from those transactions. This arrangement achieves two outcomes: the land is retained, wholly, in the hands of the tribe as a collective; and the mortgages for individual whānau are less as they just relate to the cost of the build.

Similarly, in Canberra Australia, a land rent programme separates land from housing (ACT Government, 2017). Under the scheme, eligible owners rent land from the government and pay an annual land rent, in much the same way as a landowner pays rates to the local authority. Homeowners can work towards purchasing the land separately in future if they wish to. The cost of the building (and its construction) is managed separately, reducing the upfront costs for residents.

Considering land and housing separately could align with the long-term aspirations of mana whenua. As described above, the key distinction of a papakāinga approach is that it would not necessarily be located on the residents' ancestral land. Kaupapakāinga could be developed in urban centres in ways which either return or retain land under the collective ownership of mana whenua, with residents being hosted on that whenua. An affordable land rent might enable kaupapakāinga to be financially viable, both for mātāwaka residents and for mana whenua hosting them, as well as allowing mātāwaka to understand and connect with the histories of the whenua they are living on. Where land in urban centres is not owned by mana whenua, other landowners (such as local/central government, non-profit groups or even motivated private landowners) could similarly provide land for kaupapakāinga initiatives at low or minimal land rents.

[18] Similar to Community Land Trusts (CLTs).

## Rethinking buying and selling

A long-term perspective on how houses can be bought and sold could contribute to upfront affordability and the retention of affordability. In Kāinga Tuatahi, Whai Rawa (the commercial arm of the tribe) has the first right of refusal if a whānau wishes to sell their home within the first 15 years after construction. Sale prices are fixed, based on the build cost plus factors to account for inflation and general wear and tear. This was a conscious attempt by Whai Rawa to avoid speculation: residents could not buy into the kāinga and sell only after a short time to reap the capital gain.

Both the Canberra Land Rent Scheme and Kāinga Tuatahi effectively create their own secondary housing markets. Homes within both types of development can only be sold to certain groups of people, rather than on the open, private property market where anyone can buy in. Beyond the 15 years post-construction timeframe, homes in Kāinga Tuatahi can only be sold to other Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei members (the "Ōrākei whānau market"), while homes in the Land Rent Scheme can only be sold to other eligible members in the scheme (eligibility criteria include, for instance, a cap on household income).[19] By restricting sales to a smaller pool of potential purchasers, the homes in both the land rent scheme and Kāinga Tuatahi are taken out of the commercial mainstream. Arguably, this helps to retain the original intent of the model for as long as possible.

Homes at Earthsong, on the other hand, are much more open to the general property market. While there are distinct steps in the process of buying a home in the community (for instance, attending group meetings to understand community decision-making processes), there are no specific membership criteria in the same way as those that apply in schemes like the Canberra Land Rent programme or the whakapapa-based system at Kāinga Tuatahi. Similarly, sale prices are not fixed at Earthsong and are subject to market influences.[20] Sellers can sell to whomever they like, for whatever price they are able to agree on. Despite shared ownership of aspects of the property and resources, any capital gain on a sale only benefits the seller, whereas arguably some of that gain from a sale should be owed to the collective.

Alternatively, cooperative tenure arrangements may better align with the collective notions of kaupapakāinga. Under cooperative tenure, the collective retains ownership of the land and housing, and the right to reside in the community is dependent on membership in the collective (through a shareholding). Sale prices are determined using a formula, rather than being subject to market forces, and the reduced upfront costs can allow greater access to lower income groups than owner-occupied housing.

[19] A key difference between the Kāinga Tuatahi and Canberra Land Rent Scheme approaches, though, is that the land at Kāinga Tuatahi cannot be bought separately in future – it remains in tribal ownership.

[20] Some cohousing communities in Denmark have pre-determined sale prices for units, along with mechanisms to allow those residents who are remaining in the community to choose who to sell units to (with the prices fixed, it makes no difference to the seller). Communities would use this tactic to prioritise particular demographics to foster better diversity in the community (for instance, in ageing communities, young families were commonly sought as preferred purchasers).

### Rethinking 'cost'

Rethinking how costs of housing are measured could offer gains for affordability. Discussions of housing affordability tend to focus on upfront costs, such as purchase price points or construction costs. Consideration of the costs over the life course of the home and the household should also be taken into consideration. Lessons from cohousing speak of everyday financial benefits to collective living. For instance, residents have access to pooled resources such as having one lawnmower for the whole community, but the initial and ongoing costs are shared across all households rather than burdened by each household. Cohousing communities also tend to rationalise space differently because of the focus on the collective. Individual household units are usually smaller than conventional household units, because residents recognise the common house acts as an extension of their individual units.

Similarly, costs could (and should) capture multiple bottom lines. Benefits of social and cultural capital within a Māori cohousing approach underpin the model but may be difficult to capture in financially-based measures of housing cost. In Kāinga Tuatahi, the kāinga held particular value for whānau because of the physical and cultural place-based connections of living in Ōrākei. An approach which considers the intrinsic connections to land, place, and other people would differ from a standard commoditised cost of housing, and these other bottom lines (social, cultural, environmental, and so on) should be considered in development proposals.

# 7. Conclusion

Kaupapakāinga, as a hybrid model of papakāinga and cohousing where whānau are connected by kaupapa (rather than, necessarily, whakapapa), could have the potential to contribute to Māori housing needs and aspirations, particularly for Māori living away from their ancestral homelands. Papakāinga on ancestral whenua is one model of returning to land and to retain a sense of home for whānau Māori, but it is not the only way. There are other solutions that allow for collective support and engagement, but which are not so deeply embedded on the whenua that people are only there by association. An opportunity exists to enhance the potential of papakāinga by drawing from similar community-focused (albeit, Eurocentric) models such as cohousing.

A kaupapakāinga approach could offer pragmatic benefits to whānau Māori on multiple bottom lines: socially, environmentally, culturally. To genuinely contribute to discussions of affordability though, the approach needs to go further than being just a Māori iteration of cohousing. A kaupapakāinga approach would need to look beyond housing to explore alternative methods of decommodification and reconsider mainstream notions of 'property' and 'ownership' in ways which can better offer an alternative, affordable housing model.

Māori communities are diverse – geographically, economically, socially – and so there will be no 'one' right pathway to housing. A hybrid approach, like that proposed here, will not appeal to everyone. But this is another option that might provide some whānau with a different pathway to a safe, secure home. Co-opting elements of cohousing and papakāinga models, bringing Indigenous knowledge together with collective

Western models, could contribute to a stronger sense of home and security for Māori, as well as create a uniquely Aotearoa model of development. Given the current pressures on housing, such alternatives could be needed more than we think.

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# NĀU TE ROUROU, NĀKU TE ROUROU, KA ORA AI TE IWI.

## WITH YOUR FOOD BASKET AND MY FOOD BASKET, THE PEOPLE WILL THRIVE

IMAGE: SHARED KAI (STEAMBOAT DINNER), EARTHSONG, APRIL 2018


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