Marae and Emergency Accommodation:
A Response to Auckland's Housing and Rental Shortage

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October 2017

Discussion Paper

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This report has been peer reviewed by the Peer Review Panel.
Review completed on 6 October 2017 Reviewed by two reviewers
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Date: 6 October 2017

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1.0   Executive Summary

In the winter of 2016, marae in Auckland came to play a significant role in responding to Auckland's housing crisis. Beginning with Te Puea Memorial Marae, marae opened their doors to vulnerable Auckland households – predominantly Māori – that had become homeless due to rising rental costs. The response of marae reflects their status within te ao Māori as an infrastructural embodiment of values that stem from tikanga and whakapapa, including manaakitanga and whānaunatanga.

In providing emergency shelter in the context of rising rental costs and homelessness, Te Puea Memorial Marae's initiative can be seen as a further evolution of marae in response to the changing circumstances of Māori. Notable evolutionary moments that inform these initiatives include the emergence of urban marae in response to the urbanisation or rural Māori, and in the social support role the marae have played following natural disasters.

However, these instances of marae providing emergency housing support raises concern that marae can be over-relied on to support Māori, enabling systemic and structural causes for homelessness to be overlooked. This paper seeks to pre-empt such sentiments arising in Auckland by encouraging understandings of these marae initiatives in the context of the role that they serve, without deflecting attention from the need for greater support.

2.0   Introduction

Auckland's housing and rental crisis has impacts among households across the social spectrum. Coverage of the crisis has tended to focus on the struggles of first home buyers, however this focus shifted in the winter of 2016 with increasing evidence of unaffordable rents and consequent homelessness, manifest in two prominent events: the Park Up for Homes protest, and Te Puea Memorial Marae's Manaaki Tangata programme.

The Park Up for Homes campaign was started in May 2016 by a small group of friends from Māngere, and was supported by the Child Poverty Action Group.[1] It operated as a form of protest against the lack of action from the government on Auckland's housing and rental crisis, and as an act of solidarity with those forced to sleep in their cars. Participants in Park Up For Homes were encouraged to attend events at locations in Māngere, Ōtara, and Parnell where food, drink and music was provided and attendees would sleep in their cars for the night (Edmonds, 2016; Kang, 2016; Bath, 2016).

Shortly after the Park Up for Homes campaign, media attention and public opinion was galvanised by Te Puea Memorial Marae's Manaaki Tangata initiative. Manaaki Tangata began in May 2016 and saw Te Puea Memorial Marae open their doors to Auckland's homeless, providing households with temporary accommodation, clothes, and food. They also facilitated access to rental homes and other social support by connecting homeless households to relevant support agencies. In this way, the marae responded to an emergency situation, directly intervening to provide support.

This discussion paper[2] explores the novel and important interventions that marae in Auckland have made into addressing the issue of homelessness in Auckland. The paper considers such initiatives as affirmations and extensions of the mana and rangatiratanga of marae, as it is expressed within the practices of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. The paper also suggests that the response of the marae to Auckland's housing and rental crisis represents a further evolution of initiatives from marae, evident in their changing roles as a result of the post-war urbanisation of Māori and in the support they have offered for disaster relief. Research on marae and disaster relief provides salient insights, particularly the potential risk that marae are over-relied upon in times of crisis. While the response of marae is consistent with the

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[1] See http://www.cpag.org.nz/campaigns/park-up-for-homes-2016/

[2] Auckland Council's Research and Evaluation Unit discussion papers are intended to generate and contribute to discussion on topical issues related to Auckland. They represent the views of the author and not necessarily those of Auckland Council.

values they embody, it is not their role nor in their power to address the root causes of the crisis.

This discussion paper is one of a set of discussion papers that have been developed by RIMU to explore various dimensions to Auckland's housing and rental crisis. This paper builds upon desktop analyses from a range of experts in te ao Māori and links them to debates in the media and to the responses from Auckland marae to the housing crisis. The aim of this paper is to highlight the response of marae to the crisis, and while recognising the significance of this response, it encourages an approach that – while empathetic to the actions taken by marae – also points to the structural and causal issues to which they responded. In seeking to highlight the responses from marae as extensions of te ao Māori the paper provides evidence of the contribution of marae to Auckland, while also noting that this contribution is born from failures of the state to adequately respond to the housing crisis. Support for marae must also be accompanied by mitigation of the effects of the housing crisis on Māori communities.

2.1   Marae in Auckland

There are at least 64 marae in the Auckland region, all of which play significant roles in the lives of haukāinga and many others (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2016). The significance of marae to the Auckland region in embodied in the Auckland Plan. This seeks to achieve 'A Māori identity that is Auckland's point of difference in the world', through a number of 'transformational shifts' including: 'Enable Māori aspirations for thriving and self-sustaining marae.' There is a clear role for local government to be involved in supporting initiatives by marae, including those that involve the provision of emergency accommodation.

In the context of Auckland's housing and rental crisis, the Auckland Plan's transformational shift five is also relevant: 'Support sustainable development of Māori outcomes, leadership, community and partnerships.' As will be seen, the strength of a marae is linked to the wellbeing of the haukāinga. Central and local government responses to Auckland's housing and rental crisis will link directly to the achievement of transformational shift five. In particular, the overexposure of Māori to homelessness will challenge the 'sustainable development of Māori outcomes.' Thus, while there is a role that marae can play in mitigating some of the impacts of Auckland's housing crisis, broader structural shifts and overhauls will be necessary to support Māori exposed homelessness in Auckland, and ensure marae can fulfil the mandate of their haukāinga.

3.0   Marae and Te Ao Māori

Marae are central institutions within te ao Māori, they are "the most central of all Maori institutions" (Tapsell, 2002, 141). They have been essential to supporting Māori across the country as they evolve and change, and with them marae too have evolved. The evolution of marae has been particularly pronounced with the rise of urban migration. In this context, marae have emerged as essential to enabling and supporting Māori life in the city, while folding te ao Māori into contemporary life (Salmond, 2009). The role of marae in maintaining and extending te ao Māori into urban areas has been a key contribution to urban life in Aotearoa New Zealand. Recently, the contribution of marae has become visible in a number of urban centres due to their role in providing emergency accommodation. Marae provided emergency accommodation and support following the Christchurch earthquake of February 2011 (Phibbs et al., 2015), the Kaikōura earthquake of November 2016 (Satherley and Baird, 2016), and the Edgecumbe floods of April 2017 (NZ Herald, 2017).

As key sites within te ao Māori, marae encapsulate and extend the social and spiritual values of the haukāinga, those who whakapapa to the marae and whom are typically a kin group. The marae provides the haukāinga a site for the maintenance of their whakapapa and tikanga. Marae are also an index of the control this group has over the surrounding lands, marking out and enabling the authority and influence of iwi and mana whenua. Marae are "expressions of tino rangatiratanga, as represented by the concept 'kāinga' in Article II of Te Tiriti o Waitangi" (Tapsell, 2014, 51).

Traditionally, the marae refers to the open space on a papakāinga that is directly in front of the wharenui and other main buildings. However, the modern meaning of marae has seen the term come to be synonymous with papakāinga, including the whole complex of buildings, rather than one space in particular. The marae is the centre of a Māori community, and they have become ubiquitous as sites where Māori regularly gather. Historically this was a kin-based community, but more recently marae have emerged in universities (Ka'ai, 2008), museums (Williams, 2006), urban areas (Rosenblatt, 2011), in Australia (Kupenga, 2016; Stephens, 2017) and even online (Greenwood et al., 2010). Any place where Māori congregate has the potential to cohere into a marae.

Marae are much more than a series of buildings where human activity takes place. Rather, marae are "dynamic, Māori-ordered, metaphysical space" structured by whakapapa and tikanga (Tapsell, 2002, 142). For Tapsell, these values of whakapapa and tikanga "encapsulate what it essentially means to be Māori" (Tapsell, 2002, 142). Whakapapa is important because it refers to the way in which kinship-links generate a community, and that such links are essential to the identity and well-

being of the individual and the marae (Rangihau, 1992). These links are registered in the buildings themselves, which may be named after, or, have taonga whakairo that index ancestors or important events.

Tikanga refers to the right or correct way of acting. The tikanga of a marae is held by the mana whenua, particularly the kaumātua, along with "individual members from time to time attending the community's marae during important hui (ritual associated kin group meetings) so they may fulfil various roles as designated by their elders" (Tapsell, 2002, 142). Together, whakapapa and tikanga contribute to the folding of the individual into the marae, while ensuring the marae provides for a vibrant representation of the hapū interests, and in the process perpetuating their importance in that region

Paul Tapsell contends that:

> the role of the marae and how it might function as the central focus of any kin group's identity become more apparent during life crises…where non-kin-group visitors are ritually welcomed across the marae threshold. (2002, 141-142)

Tapsell suggests that tangihanga are the paradigmatic example of how marae can respond to such life crises. In Auckland and other urban areas, marae have also come to play a central role in the life-crises of many individuals, but not only in terms of kin-group needs. Marae have come to maintain and extend te ao Māori, and support into urban areas by becoming sites for with the onset of post-war urban migration. However, with marae opening their doors to provide emergency accommodation to those unable to find rental housing in Auckland, the life-crises marae respond to take on a novel approach, albeit one consistent with te ao Māori. The role that marae have played in Auckland's housing crisis can be usefully understood in conjunction with at least two previous realms of activity: the evolution of the role of marae following the urban migrations of Māori that began in the 1940s, and emergency housing provision and support following natural disasters.

4.0   Marae in Urban Areas

Marae have always been dynamic, evolving spaces. For instance, although the elaborately carved whare whakairo is the iconic building associated with marae, this building evolved in the mid-1800s in relation to the need for mana whenua houses to engage with colonial administrators and as "a cultural symbol and political statement" of their authority (Walker, 1992, 19; also Skinner, 2016). In light of this dynamic nature of marae, Tapsell has identified two main types of urban marae: tangata whenua, and taurahere. Within the taurahere grouping are two further types, nontribal and immigrant-tribal. Tangata whenua marae are those that Tapsell describes as 'urban-encircled', of which he gives the example of Ōrākei Marae in Auckland and its experience of being stripped of mana whenua status, and their subsequent struggles, and eventual reclamation (145-152). The non-tribal taurahere marae are those that are non-tribally organised. The example Tapsell explores is John Waititi Memorial Marae in Auckland.[3] The taurahere immigrant-tribal marae are those that are emerge in an urban setting but are under the mana of the tangata whenua of that rohe. The final urban marae Tapsell discusses is Mātaatua in Rotorua, a Tūhoe marae on Te Arawa lands.

Historically, marae have been associated with rural areas but with the great urban migrations from the 1940s this changed irrevocably. Prior to World War Two, 90 per cent of the Māori population lived rurally, but by 2006, nearly 85 per cent of Māori were living in urban areas (Consedine, 2007). Initially, Māori began to move to the city at the behest of the State, so that they could work on the large construction projects that were funded after the war (Hill, 2012; Harris, 2008). But, it was not just deprivation and unemployment that generated urban migration. Tapsell notes that returning soldiers and wahine Māori who had been working in factories to support the war effort had "also experienced the liberation of living beyond the kin-controls of their elders" and it was this generation that "was the first to jump at the opportunity to make a new life in urban centres" (Tapsell, 2014, 51). In the 1970s, further influxes of urban migration by Māori was generated following the United Kingdom's entry into the European Economic Community, and the drop of exports from rural areas (New Zealand History).

The Waitangi Tribunal's Te Whanau o Waipareira Report states that upon entering the city, Māori began to "manage their affairs in a Māori way in an urban

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[3] At the time Tapsell wrote his paper, he considered the relationship between John Waititi marae and Orākei marae to be undermining the mana whenua of Ngāti Whātua. Relationships between the two appear to have improved since then, with Ngāti Whātua having an MOU with Te Runanga ō Ngāti Whātua (Te Whānau o Waipareira).

environment" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, 2). Similarly, Melissa Williams details the way Māori who migrated to Auckland were "Working in quiet ways to support our people" (Williams, 2016). The emergence of marae in urban areas was is an example and extension of such approaches. The Waitangi Tribunal documented the "social disruption" that emerged for Māori from the move to the city such financial responsibilities, alcohol, the loss of whanau support, loneliness, and over-crowding (Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, 35-36). In response Māori established committees under the Maori Welfare Act 1962 that enabled a coordinated, if voluntary response, to disruptive influences. These included family group conferences and initiatives to "promote Tikanga Maori, Te Reo, Business, Horticulture, Health, Education, and other social needs in a holistic way" (Tai Nathan in Waitangi Tribunal, 1998, 37). Tapsell considers that "Māori could find some kind of refuge in the urban marae-like centres" and that they provided a sense of belonging and a forum and outlet for cultural practices" (Tapsell, 2014, 52).[4]

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[4] Tapsell considers that rural marae struggled in this time due to the decline in numbers of those active in the day-to-day maintenance. He also contends that current Crown focus on working with 'large natural groupings' or Recognised Iwi Organisations further threatens marae (Tapsell, 2014, 54-55).

5.0   Marae and Disaster Relief

In recent years the contribution of marae to provide emergency housing has been especially prominent due to the way they are able to mobilise quickly following natural disasters. After the Christchurch earthquakes of September 4 2010 and February 22, 2011, marae provided residents within their rohe a place to find food and shelter and took in refugees from across the region. Marae are well-placed to provide support during an emergency. Their large kitchens, capacity for accommodating large numbers of people, and willing workers provide the basis for a supportive and effective response to a large-scale emergency.

Research on the impact of the earthquakes on Māori, and the response of Māori institutions notes varied affects (Kenney and Phibbs, 2014; Kenney and Phibbs, 2015; Phibbs et al., 2015). Lambert notes that "Māori cultural practices of hosting and reciprocity (manaakitanga) and the bonds of kinship (whanaungatanga) were seen as contributing to a degree of community resilience" (Lambert, 2014, 44). He documents the responses from many of the marae in the region to the earthquakes:

> All marae that were in a position to take refugees in the Canterbury region were opened with support staff helping complete Red Cross and Work and Income forms on arrival to access emergency cash. Marae were supported with essential resources by local tribal authority, [Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu], who provided petrol, gas, food, water, blankets, and toiletries and a free-phone number for help (Anderson, 2012; Paton et al., 2014), ultimately totalling $953,000 over the 12 month reporting period of the 2012 financial year. (2014, 44)

Lambert also notes that it was not just marae that opened their doors during this time.

> Māori service providers, tribal organisations and the Māori wardens (a pan-tribal organisation of uniformed community workers) brought resources and networks to bear on a 'Māori response' Kura (Māori schools) became important community nodes. This was an extension of their pre-disaster role but a role made more important by the collapse of many support systems. (2014, 45)

This ability of marae to provide support during disasters has come to the fore during other recent natural disasters including the Kaikōura earthquakes of November 2016 and the flooding of Edgecumbe in April 2017 , although it has also been documented from before this time (e.g. Hudson and Hughes, 2007). Civil Defence has sought to support marae in their disaster response, and have developed a toolkit with marae to help them enhance their preparedness. The toolkit is tailored to the individual needs

and capacity of marae, and supports them to identify potential hazards and support they will need in a civil defence emergency (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 2016).[5]

In considering the experience of Māori and the role of marae following the Christchurch earthquakes, Lambert is careful to note two points. Firstly he questions the perception and findings from some research that suggested Māori are more resilient to disasters due to the social institutions, such as marae, that support them. This resilience seemed to stem from perceptions of Māori culture having less need for material wealth, and they were not as badly affected when disaster occurred. But Lambert notes that this research "has blurred resilience with simple (but not simplistic) endurance" (2014, 41). This means that the effectiveness of the response by marae and other Māori institutions should not be held to mean that "Māori culture is somehow sufficient for resilience to disasters" (2014, 46). He notes that framing Māori endurance as resilience "risks reifying the economic vulnerability of Māori and diluting attention from a key component of resilience to hazards and disasters, namely, asset wealth" (Lambert et al., 2012). As such, Lambert suggests there is something other than the "much vaunted mātauranga Maori or Maori knowledge" at work in Māori responses to disaster, and which can be found in the "grounded implementation in the context of daily life and the routine work of communities" (2014, 46).

Secondly, Lambert expresses concern about findings that show "the weight of state recognition for contemporary tribal authorities" might lead to the "structural side-lining of non-local Maori" (2014, 46). Lambert noted that non-Māori who did not have connections to local marae or Māori organisations were disproportionately affected by the earthquakes. He argues instead that "efficient response to future disasters" requires "meaningful collaboration with Indigenous communities where they exist" (2014, 46). Both of these insights can be brought to a discussion of the role of marae in providing emergency housing during Auckland's housing and rental crisis Particularly for need to engage mataawaka and taurahere Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau in responses to the housing crisis.

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[5] The role of partnerships with Māori in Auckland Council's Emergency Management plan is currently being finalised (Auckland Civil Defence and Emergency Management and Auckland Council, 2016, 157).

6.0   Marae and Emergency Accommodation in Auckland

In Auckland, the contribution that marae make to urban life has become prominent due to their role in mitigating some of the worst impacts of Auckland's housing crisis. Marae have been documented providing accommodation to tourists unable to find hotels and motels (Collins, 2017), and, the focus of this paper, they have provided emergency accommodation to vulnerable groups struggling to find rental accommodation.

According to Mills et al, "Vulnerability is multifaceted and provides a broad catchment for those experiencing numerous hardships":

> Vulnerable groups include, amongst others, those with mental health problems, addictions or physical impairments, rough sleepers, refugee populations, victims of family violence and those leaving institutional accommodation such as prison. Vulnerability is often linked to economic and social marginalisation, and disproportionally affects Maori. (Mills et al., 2015, 4)

Census data, social agencies, and local government all report increasing numbers of people experiencing homelessness, with Māori among those most adversely effected (Goodyear and Fabian, 2014; Lysnar et al., 2016). The advent of marae providing emergency accommodation for Auckland's housing and rental crisis is recognition of this problem and its impact on Māori. But more than just a response, these actions by marae also extending and realising Māori values, and become a prominent example of the contribution marae make to Auckland.

Furthermore, the impacts of Auckland's housing and rental crisis are consistent with those of a disaster; many people homeless, lacking in food and other sundries, vulnerable people are adversely and disproportionately impacted. Just as marae have been central to providing support in the aftermath of natural disasters, it was perhaps not a surprise that marae would play a similar role in the midst of a 'non-natural' disaster, such as that caused by Auckland's rental and housing crisis. The impacts of disaster, irrespective of its origins, have negative impacts on people that, in turn, have the potential to provoke Māori values such as manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. In the case of Te Puea Memorial Marae, these values extend directly from the marae's own whakapapa to Te Puea Herangi.

6.1   Te Puea Memorial Marae, Māngere

On 18 May, 2016, Te Puea Memorial Marae in Māngere launched Manaaki Tangata, a programme where the marae would open its doors to provide shelter and support to people who required emergency accommodation. At the time, Te Puea Marae

spokesperson Hurimoana Dennis linked the actions of the marae to their namesake: "For our Te Puea family, we follow the wishes of our leader Te Puea Herangi. She cared for everyone no matter where they were from" (Clarke, 2016b). Te Kirihaehae Te Puea Herangi (1883-1952) was the granddaughter of the second Māori king Tawhiao Te Wherowhero (Ngāti Mahuta). According to her biography, she played a "crucial role alongside three successive kings in re-establishing the Kingitanga (King movement) as a central force among the Tainui people, and in achieving national recognition of its importance" (Parsonson). The legacy of Te Puea Herangi that Hurimoana Dennis is referring to is visible in such notable actions as opposing conscription in World War One, constructing Turangawaewae marae, rebuilding the social and economic base of her people, and most pertinently, "her life fighting…poverty and powerlessness" (Parsonson). The construction of Te Puea Marae began in 1965, and was guided by Te Puea Herangi's niece, Te Atairangikaahu. The marae is built on the pa site of Te Wherowhero, who settled there in the 1840s at the request of Governor Grey in order to provide protection to the Auckland region from Ngāpuhi raids (Waitangi Tribunal, 1985, 11-12). The marae is of the hapū Ngāti Kuiaarangi, and it lies at the border of the Waikato-Tainui rohe, (Hoete and Kaiawe, 2015).

Te Puea Memorial Marae's Manaaki Tangata programme saw the marae open its doors to provide support to those who are unable to find housing. According to spokesperson Tuku Morgan, "The marae is opening its gates to all race and creed. Poverty has no division. Poverty is colour blind and the gates of this marae are open to all families whoever they are" (Vezich, 2016). The marae began accepting public donations on May 24, and news and media outlets began to give them a strong public profile. Te Puea Marae set up a Facebook page for its initiative and this provided a regular, personal public visage for the programme.[6] Their Facebook page provided a portal for them to make requests of the public for items such as portacoms, along with requests for financial support and volunteers.

The Manaaki Tangata programme operated by providing homeless households with temporary accommodation, food, and clothing. This was backed up with access to support services that could provide accommodation, health services, or anything else that might be required. This would provide significant emotional respite for households from the stress and anxiety of homelessness. It allowed them to move out of their cars, and providing the opportunity for them to get on their feet (e.g. Tahana, 2016). In recognition that some households would be shy to enter the marae, Manaaki Tangata volunteers went onto the streets, attempting to find those

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[6] https://www.facebook.com/TePueaMaraeManaakiTangata/

living in cars and provide them with food and clothing (Haunui-Thompson, 2016b). The programme became popular, so much so that support agencies, including those from the government, were going to the marae to access those in need, or to provide them the referrals they required (Haunui-Thompson, 2016b; Dunlop, 2016). The marae was donated a large amount of food, clothing and toiletries, and a Give-a-Little page raised nearly $90,000. Central and local government agencies also supported the initiative. Auckland Council was involved early in the programme, providing advice regarding consenting of dwellings, financial support, tree removal, road closure and traffic management, and resourcing. Local Boards in the area also donated money to help the Te Puea with other items they required (Monk, 2017). Central government too were eventually to provide funding in support of the programme. However, the day-to-day work required to manage the donations stretched the marae to its limits and volunteers were required to help with the extra workload, although even volunteers could add to the workload due to the people management required (Chapman, 2016).

Many of the Manaaki Tangata team live at the marae so their support for Auckland's homeless is especially generous; the Te Puea haukāinga are not trained social support workers, and neither are they officially mandated to provide accommodation to homeless people. The Manaaki Tangata resource team leader and Te Puea Marae resident Johnboi Kukutai, stated, "We're just here to support during winter and we're hoping that the agencies, the government, have opened their eyes by then" (Chapman, 2016). This understanding was reflected by other key volunteers. Jenny Nuku, who managed the finances of Manaaki Tangata stated:

> You don't want to be glorified and paid at the same time, all you want to do is help those people. We didn't understand the politics behind it because we had all these people, some very destitute. And all we wanted to do was for them to get confidence in themselves and lucky a lot of the children were the angels of pulling their parents together. (Brettkelly, 2016)

These statements attest to the generosity of Te Puea Marae haukāinga. When linked to the space and infrastructure of the marae, and the successes they had in supporting homeless households, an insight can be gained into the contribution of this programme, and by extension, other programmes run by marae make to Auckland.

Manaaki Tangata was closed at the end of August 2016. By this time, the programme had supported 181 people, including over 100 children. They received support from 1200 volunteers, and sponsorship from more than 30 sponsors and community groups. Te Puea Memorial Marae went on to receive a number of plaudits and awards for the Manaaki Tangata programme (Clarke, 2016c). Te Puea Marae also made a significant donation to four other marae who were taking up their challenge

(Clarke, 2016d). Manurewa Marae, with their Whakapiki Ora programme, supported a further 72 households (Clarke, 2016a; Haunui-Thompson, 2016a). Both Te Puea Memorial Marae and Manurewa Marae were looking to open their doors again for the winter of 2017, although there are concerns about capacity, funding, and government support (Black, 2017; Clarke, 2016c). When Te Puea Memorial Marae announced that they would run Manaaki Tangata in the winter of 2017, the government declared they had "teamed up" with the marae by providing funding of $125,000. The government announcement did not mention any attempt to address the broader issues of the availability and affordability of housing (New Zealand Government, 2017).

One of the biggest effects of the actions of Te Puea Marae action, beyond the support it gave to the individuals and families that came through their door, was the prominence and highlighting it gave to how Auckland's housing and rental crisis was overwhelmingly impacting the vulnerable populations. Much of the media debate prior to Park Up For Cars and Manaaki Tangata had focused on the struggles of first home buyers but this shifted following these interventions. By providing a safe space for vulnerable households to come and receive support, the actions of Manaaki Tangata spoke louder than a political programme. But equally, the programme was also to have an impact on Te Puea Marae.

For the haukāinga, exposure to Auckland's housing and rental crisis made them obligated to speak out about the problem. Te Puea Marae were very outspoken on the Manaaki Tangata Facebook page about what they saw as the failures of government housing and social policy to support Auckland's vulnerable households. They also supported a multi-party inquiry into the housing crisis that held hearings at the marae (Chapman, 2016).[7] Furthermore, the support provided to vulnerable households appeared to directly challenge government social support policy and statements that Auckland was not facing a housing crisis.

There is also insight to be gained from pairing the response of marae to Auckland's housing and rental crisis with the experience of marae following the Christchurch earthquakes. As discussed, while the mana of marae will see them provide supporting when and where they see fit, there is also a history of stereotyping Māori as more resilient to life crises due to communal support structures (Stephens, 2015; McClure, 2013). In the case of the households bearing the brunt of Auckland housing and rental crisis – who are disproportionately Māori – it is important that the support

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[7] The Cross-Party Homelessness Inquiry was launched by the Labour Party, the Green Party and the Māori Party. Te Puea Marae was a key site for hearings; they provided the Foreword to the final report, and were also the location of the report presentation (see http://www.homelessnessinquiry.co.nz/).

provided to marae also considers the structural and systemic issues that are causing marae to make such interventions. Therefore, while such interventions by marae are necessary, and marae are acting with their rangatiratanga when they chose to make such interventions, there is a question as to whether actions should be necessary at all. As such, Te Puea Memorial Marae's action should also be considered as a wero to governmental authorities to ensure Māori are not overexposed to homelessness. As noted above, this could mean providing immediate support to marae involved in providing emergency accommodation along with a sustained, systematic response to resolving the housing crisis.

7.0 Conclusion

This discussion paper has documented one moment at which the contribution of marae to Auckland has become publicly visible. This moment centres on the role that marae have played during the life crises brought about by Auckland's housing and rental crisis, and how they have mitigated some of the impacts of this crisis. The paper explored the case of Te Puea Memorial Marae's Manaaki Tangata programme as an exemplar of such a contribution. Here the contribution of a marae to Auckland is notable due to the way in which it extends te ao Māori into the Auckland's urban fabric, through the realisation of values such as manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. Marae already do this in a number of ways, but the work of Manaaki Tangata made it explicit. In this instance, the expression of these values may be seen as an expression and extension of the mana and rangatiratanga of Te Puea.

The actions of Te Puea Memorial Marae represents the further evolution of the role that marae have played in supporting Māori, such as the support networks that emerged around and with marae following the urban migrations of the 1940s, and the role that marae have played during natural disasters in support of their hapū and wider community. The role that marae have played in Auckland's housing crisis have brought these initiatives together in a novel way; in providing emergency accommodation to vulnerable people while also connecting them to services and organisations able to help them.

8.0 Glossary

Hapū – sub-tribe

Haukāinga – local people of a marae

Hui – meeting

Iwi – tribe

Kāinga – home

Kaumātua – male elder

Kura – school

Mana – authority

Mana Whenua – group with authority over a place

Manaakitanga – care, looking after

Marae – complex of buildings including the wharenui

Papa-kāinga – tribal lands, including buildings and homes

Rangatiratanga – chieftainship

Rohe – region

Taonga Whakairo – treasured carving

Taurahere – immigrant

Te Ao Māori – the Māori world

Tikanga – protocols

Tino Rangatiratanga – absolute chieftainship

Whānaunatanga – kinship building

Wharenui – large house, usually ornately decorated

9.0   References

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