



October 2025

Outcomes for Māori participants in Housing First

Jenny Ombler

University of Otago, New Zealand, jenny.ombler@otago.ac.nz

Tiria Pehi

University of Otago, New Zealand

Saera Chun

University of Otago, New Zealand

Keri Lawson-Te Aho

University of Otago, New Zealand

Terence Jiang

University of Otago, New Zealand

Nevil Pierse

University of Otago, New Zealand

Recommended Citation

Ombler, J., Pehi, T., Chun, S., Lawson-Te Aho, K., Jiang, T., & Pierse, N. (2025). Outcomes for Māori participants in Housing First. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 16(2). <https://10.18584/iipj.2025.16.2.15474>

Outcomes for Māori participants in Housing First

Abstract

Indigenous homelessness in settler-colonial societies is determined by the ongoing impacts of colonization. Therefore, policies to address homelessness need to be effective for Indigenous populations whilst supporting ongoing systemic decolonization. Like other settler-colonial states, homelessness in Aotearoa New Zealand is disproportionately experienced by Māori, the Indigenous Peoples of Aotearoa. In Aotearoa NZ, Housing First has been funded by government to address chronic homelessness. Housing First is a rights-based approach to homelessness, centering around providing permanent housing and wraparound support, without preconditions such as sobriety or treatment compliance. As Housing First is a non-Indigenous North American model, the efficacy of the policy for Māori has been the subject of considerable discourse. In this paper, we present a pre- and post-housing analysis of outcomes for Māori clients of a Housing First programme in Kirikiriroa-Hamilton, using integrated government administrative data across health, justice and social welfare. Existing and systemic inequities are apparent in our results, but overall, the trajectory for Māori in Housing First is positive. Our findings support the efficacy of Housing First for Māori, if this occurs within the context of enduring systemic change.

E whakatauhia ana te kore-kāingātanga o ngā iwi taketake i ngā porihanga kirinoho-tātāmi e ngā pānga mauroa o te taipūwhenuatanga. Nā reira, me whaihua ngā kaupapahere hei whakatau i te kore-kāingātanga ki ngā taupori iwi taketake, i te wā hoki e tautoko ana i te wete-tāmitanga ā-pūnaha e haere tonu nei. Pērā ki ētahi atu whenua kirinoho-tātāmi, ko te nuinga o te hunga kore kāinga i Aotearoa he Māori, arā, te iwi taketake o Aotearoa. I Aotearoa, e tautokotia ana a Housing First e te kāwanatanga hei whakatau i te kore-kāingātanga tauroa. Ko Housing First he huarahi ā-motika ki te kore-kāingātanga, e aro ana ki te whakarato kāinga tūturu me te tautoko kauawhi, me te kore herenga tōmua pēnei i te tautuku haurangi-kore, maimoatanga rānei. I te mea he tauira a Housing First nō Amerika ki te raki, ā, ehara i te tauira iwi taketake, he nui ngā whakawhiti kōrero o te hua o te kaupapahere mō te Māori. I tēnei tuhinga, ka whakaatu mātou i ngā tātaritanga rapu whare tōmua, tōmuri hoki o ngā putanga mō ngā kiritaki Māori o tētahi hōtaka Housing First i Kirikiriroa, e whakamahi ana i ngā raraunga ā-whakahaere kāwanatanga pāhekoheko puta noa i te hauora, te tika me te tokoora. Mārakerake ana te kite i ngā tautika kore o te wā nei, ā-pūnaha hoki i roto i ngā hua, engari i te whānuitanga ake, he pai te huarahi mō te Māori i roto o Housing First. E tautoko ana ā mātou kitenga i te whai hua o Housing First mō te Māori, ki te pēnei tonu te āhua i roto i te horopaki o te panoni ā-pūnaha mauroa.

Keywords

Aotearoa; New Zealand; Housing First; homelessness; Indigenous homelessness; Māori

Outcomes for Māori participants in Housing First

Acknowledgments

We acknowledge the individuals who are discussed in this paper, each of whom have their own unique story to tell. Without their permission and support this work would not be possible. We acknowledge the staff of The People's Project for their invaluable role. We also acknowledge Professor Philippa Howden-Chapman, Dr Sarah Bierre, Dr Kate Schick, and Clare Aspinall, and staff at The People's Project, who have offered feedback on drafts of this paper. We acknowledge those who took time to peer review and offer generous and thoughtful comments on our manuscript. Ngā mihi nui.

Disclaimer

These results are not official statistics They have been created for research purposes from the Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI), managed by Stats NZ, which is carefully managed by Stats NZ. For more information about the IDI, please visit <https://www.stats.govt.nz/integrated-data/>.

The results are based in part on tax data supplied by Inland Revenue to Stats NZ under the Tax Administration Act 1994 for statistical purposes. Any discussion of data limitations or weaknesses is in the context of using the IDI for statistical purposes and is not related to the data's ability to support Inland Revenue's core operational requirements.

Creative Commons License



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 4.0 License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/).

Outcomes for Māori Participants in Housing First

Homelessness services in settler-colonial societies must be effective for Indigenous populations in the context of an ongoing commitment to decolonization (Bodor, Chewka, Smith-Windsor, Conley, & Pereira, 2011; Pihama, Te Nana, & Levy, 2018). In Aotearoa New Zealand (Aotearoa NZ), Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the main constitutional anchor for the relationship between the settler society and Iwi and Hapū Māori (Mutu, 2018; Mutu & Jackson, 2016). Under Te Tiriti, Iwi and Hapū retained Tino Rangatiratanga/sovereignty, as well as being guaranteed the same rights and privileges as (then) British citizens (Orange, 2015; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). Consistent breaches of Te Tiriti by the settler-colonial government, from 1840 on, mean that Māori are significantly over-represented in the homeless population, as well as throughout statistics on those who are suffering the worst effects of unaffordable and poor-quality housing, and poorer health and wellbeing outcomes (Lawson-Te Aho et al., 2019). Government efforts directed towards homelessness and housing services need to be grounded in Te Tiriti, to reduce inequity, and to empower and enable Māori whānau and individuals, as well as Māori-led providers. Within the context of high levels of homelessness, non-Māori organisations also have a significant role to play in addressing homelessness generally, whilst ensuring that their services are effective, appropriate, and respecting the mana of Māori clients and partners. This paper adds to the evidence base available to policymakers and community-based practitioners in Aotearoa NZ to support more equitable Tiriti-based solutions, as well as contributing to the international evidence base for Housing First and its efficacy for Indigenous populations.

In this paper, we present the backgrounds and outcomes for Māori clients of a Housing First programme in Kirikiriroa/Hamilton, Aotearoa NZ, compared to non-Māori clients. Housing First is a rights-based programme in which people experiencing homelessness are offered permanent housing without preconditions, with wraparound supports driven by the agency of the person housed. This differs from models in which people are offered housing with preconditions (such as sobriety or treatment compliance), or transitional or emergency housing (Padgett, Henwood, & Tsemberis, 2016). Housing First has been implemented in several settler-colonial states, including the US, Canada, Australia, and Aotearoa NZ. Evidence from Canada has shown that Housing First has had different outcomes and experiences for Indigenous populations compared to non-Indigenous, prompting efforts that specifically focus on inclusion of Indigenous approaches for delivery of Housing First for Indigenous Peoples (Alaazi, Masuda, Evans, & Distasio, 2015; Distasio, Zell, & Snyder, 2018). In Aotearoa NZ, Housing First is delivered by both Māori-led and non-Māori organisations, and there has been considerable discourse on the implications of Housing First from Te Ao Māori perspectives (Lawson-Te Aho et al., 2019; Pihama et al., 2018; Potter, 2020).

For this study, we focus on the first organisation to deliver large-scale Housing First services in Aotearoa NZ. The People's Project (TPP) is a collective, facilitated by The Wise Group, a non-governmental mental health provider ("The People's Project," ; The People's Project, Irvine, & Sherson, 2021). When this cohort were housed by TPP, TPP took a generalized approach, with the aim of helping anyone who walked through their doors, including Māori as well as non-Māori. TPP's governance group includes representatives from a range of central and local government agencies, including Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development), and Waikato Tainui—the local Iwi. This study is the outcome of a

research partnership between TPP, He Kāinga Oranga—the Housing and Health Research Group at the University of Otago, and Te Ngira (Institute for Population Research) at the University of Waikato.

Background

International literature on Indigenous homelessness in settler-colonial societies emphasises that Indigenous homelessness must be understood in the context of colonisation as well as in the unique worldviews and experiences of Indigenous Peoples. Colonisation is a clear ongoing driver of inequity, with intergenerational trauma; disconnection from culture, family and kin; and racism and discrimination being common elements across settler-colonial societies. Drivers for, and experiences of, homelessness have been shown to be different for Indigenous populations compared to non-Indigenous. One Canadian study for example, found that Indigenous pathways into homelessness were more likely to be related to ongoing consequences of colonization and poor government policies; whereas for non-Indigenous, more severe mental health issues were more prevalent (Bingham et al., 2019). Several studies have pointed out that government funding for homelessness services tends to be mainstreamed—targeted towards a generic idea of homelessness that doesn't account for the specific experiences of Indigenous Peoples, and that doesn't address the systemic issues that drive inequity (Agrawal & Zoe, 2021; Ansloos, Wager, & Dunn; Habibis, 2011; Memmott, Birdsall-Jones, & Greenop, 2012; Spinney, Habibis, & McNelis, 2016; Thistle & Smylie, 2020). Research from Canada has also shown that mainstream policies don't always work in the same way or to the same degree for Indigenous as they do for non-Indigenous, despite having an overall positive effect (Alaazi et al., 2015; Distasio et al., 2018; Stock, 2016). Drawing on this type of evidence, as well as the known experience of Māori in Aotearoa NZ, makes it clear that policy needs to attend to the particularities of Māori experience and outcomes, and ensure that processes and outcomes are supportive of Māori self-determination.

Indigenous Peoples across settler-colonial states are overrepresented in homelessness statistics, reflecting the shared experience of colonisation. When comparing across settler-colonial societies, it is important to include that though colonisation has had shared effects, the particular experiences of homelessness for Indigenous Peoples is bound in unique worldviews particular to that person or group, as well as particular experiences of colonisation. For example, in Aotearoa NZ connection to whenua (land) and whakapapa (genealogical ties) are of primary importance within Te Ao Māori (Penny et al., 2024), whereas in Australia, research has identified that connection to traditional camping lifestyles, and not to permanent place, is important to certain Aboriginal groups, making traditional definitions of homelessness often redundant (Habibis, 2011; Memmott et al., 2012).

Defining Homelessness

For Māori and other Indigenous Peoples, homelessness is often conceptualized differently from mainstream colonial or Western-oriented definitions (Groot & Mace, 2016; Lawson-Te Aho et al., 2019). The Aotearoa NZ government's definition of homelessness is: "living situations where people with no other options to acquire safe and secure housing: are without shelter, in temporary accommodation, sharing accommodation with a household or living in uninhabitable housing" (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Amore and colleagues at He Kāinga Oranga have defined severe housing deprivation as "people living in severely inadequate housing due to a lack of access to minimally

adequate housing” (Amore, 2013). The latter definition expands a definition of minimally adequate housing, meaning: “that which provides the basics in at least two of the core dimensions of housing adequacy—habitability, privacy and control, and security of tenure” (Amore, 2013). The aspects of these definitions that pertain to people staying with family have attracted some discussion in terms of how they relate to whānau and manaakitanga, in particular whether the definitions adequately capture these concepts.¹ There has also been wider critique of Western-oriented definitions of homelessness, asserting that they do not adequately account for alienation from whenua and whakapapa (Lawson-Te Aho et al., 2019).

A definition of homelessness such as the Statistics NZ definition, or the He Kāinga Oranga definition of severe housing deprivation, are important for understanding the overarching scale of a problem using population-level data like censuses. More holistic definitions might be more apt for capturing the range of experience that people experiencing homelessness have, and in particular for describing the characteristics of homelessness for Indigenous populations. For example, people who are staying with family under the principles of manaakitanga might be reluctant to consider themselves homeless, however they would be captured by the Statistics NZ and He Kāinga Oranga definitions due to the arrangement being temporary and contributing to overcrowding. People who are living on home whenua might also be reluctant to consider themselves homeless, even if their physical housing structure would be considered inadequate (for example, a tent or caravan). Equally, people who are living in a situation that would be considered adequately housed by mainstream definitions might consider themselves homeless if alienated from home whenua. Using the term ‘houselessness’ rather than ‘homelessness’ has been suggested as a more apt description of housing lack for Māori, recognizing that the whenua (land) of Aotearoa is home for Māori, and that the issue is lack of housing; but simultaneously that homelessness is exacerbated for Māori because of the double lack of connection to a house and to whenua through alienation (Jackson, 2022). Holistic definitions that are oriented from an Indigenous worldview are important for understanding the experience of homelessness for Māori, that are not fully accounted for using mainstream definitions. As well as understanding the experience, holistic definitions may also illuminate differing drivers of, and solutions for, homelessness. In this spirit, discussion about a possible definition, based in tikanga, was proposed by some claimants to the Waitangi Tribunal’s Kaupapa Inquiry on Housing. The Tribunal recognized that Māori had not had adequate input into the SNZ definition, and that the official definition didn’t adequately account for a Māori worldview. The Tribunal settled on inclusion of a definition, a whakataukī (proverb), and an ‘active definition’. These are intended to account for crucial Te Ao Māori concepts and principles that are considered central to Māori wellbeing, as well as account for the impact of colonisation. To open, the active definition reads:

Homelessness is the absence and loss of kainga, ahi ka roa, tino rangatiratanga, the capability and capacity to achieve and sustain an enduring state of whanau ora, tu mana motuhake.
 Homelessness is the deprivation of the right to determine, in accordance with one’s own Tikanga/cultural norms, what a home should be and looks like for whānau and individuals.
 Homelessness impacts on the dignity, respect, integrity, mana and tapu of all those affected,

¹ For a discussion of defining homelessness from a Māori perspective, see: (Groot & Mace, 2016)

including their mental, cultural and physical wellbeing, which can result in humiliation and embarrassment (Wackwrow Williams and Davies Limited, 2021).

This definition is based in tikanga, and encompasses key concepts such as kāinga (home), ahi ka roa (home fires/continuous occupation of land), tino rangatiranga (the act of self-determination/sovereignty), whānau ora (holistic family wellbeing), tu mana motuhake (the authority of self-determination), as well as tikanga (cultural norms or protocol), mana (inherent power/dignity) and tapu (sacredness). It identifies the concepts of home that are important from a Te Ao Māori perspective, as well as the implied role of colonisation and contemporary systemic drivers in denying these concepts, and finally the ways that alienation from realisation of these concepts impacts on wellbeing for Māori. This type of definition is not necessarily aimed at population-scale statistics like the official SNZ definition or Amore et al's definition are, but is considered important for understanding the particular experience and drivers of homelessness for Māori, as well as what types of policies and practices are appropriate for addressing Māori homelessness. It is likely that mainstream definitions as the basis for policy implementation in isolation would miss important issues for Māori.

Other Indigenous definitions of homelessness mirror the intent of proposed definitions for Māori. For example, Jesse Thistle has developed a Definition of Indigenous Homelessness in Canada that encompasses "individuals, families and communities isolated from their relationship to land, water, place, family, kin, each other, animals, cultures, languages and identities" (Thistle, 2017). In Australia, Paul Memmott has developed a concept of 'spiritual homelessness', which describes the added burden of disconnection from kin and country for Indigenous Australians who are also homeless in the mainstream sense (Memmott, 2015). These definitions speak to the disconnection and alienation brought by settler-colonial systems to Indigenous populations, and account more fully for the experience and ramifications of homelessness for Indigenous Peoples than mainstream definitions allow. Similar to the dynamics between the mainstream definitions and the proposed definition for Māori, these definitions are aimed at ensuring that mainstream definitions do not obscure the experience for Indigenous populations, and at ensuring that policies to address Indigenous homelessness fully account for the particular issues that Indigenous populations in settler-colonial societies face.

Homelessness and Māori

Homelessness for Māori is rooted in the experience of colonization (Groot & Peters, 2016; Kake, 2016; Lawson-Te Aho et al., 2019; Lee-Morgan & Hoskins, 2017; Lewis, Norris, Heta-Cooper, & Tauri, 2020; Pihama et al., 2018; Rigby, 2017). Beginning shortly after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, Māori witnessed the erosion of their homes and ways of living, to be replaced by Western institutions and ideals. This has left many Māori homeless on their ancestral lands (Brown, 2016; Groot & Peters, 2016). The colonial structures introduced to establish and consolidate Aotearoa to the New Zealand it would become, have alienated Māori from their whenua, whakapapa and whanaungatanga. Institutions meant to protect, inform, and provide under Te Tiriti have further marginalized Māori from their homes, communities, and social structures. Additionally, mass urbanization in the post-WWII era has contributed to loss of connection to home whenua and greater vulnerability to political and economic swings in the housing market. Māori with lived experiences of homelessness, often have complex and frequent interactions with state institutions including health, justice and welfare systems, and the

removal of children from whānau into state care (Alrudaini, 2019; Mills, Latimer, Gordon, Groot, & Milne, 2021; Nikora, Hodgetts, Groot, Stolte, & Chamberlain, 2012; Savage et al., 2021). These historically embedded interactions with state systems that have resulted in shaming and abuse of Māori, require ongoing solutions based in Māori world views and rooted in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

In May 2023 the Waitangi Tribunal released a report on their initial phase of a Kaupapa Inquiry on Housing Policy and Services, covering contemporary homelessness, between 2009 and 2021 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2023). The Waitangi Tribunal is a standing commission of inquiry tasked with making recommendations relating to claims brought by Māori addressing breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In this report, the Tribunal noted that the Crown (represented by the New Zealand Government) breached its Tiriti obligations in several respects. Data collection and understanding was seen to be inadequate, with the Crown failing to ensure that their definition wholly reflected Te Ao Māori worldviews and experience, as well as failing to comprehensively measure the scale of homelessness. Consultation with Māori on policies aimed at addressing Māori housing and homelessness was seen to have been inadequate, with an over-reliance on peak bodies and a lack of interaction with a more diverse range of Māori views. Cultural competence, and integration of Māori principles in Government was highlighted as a slow, difficult and ongoing challenge, as was fragmentation between government agencies. Rangatahi Māori (Māori youth) were considered particularly vulnerable to inadequate and unsafe housing policies, as well as people exiting prison. At the time the report was released, the Crown was seen to have made positive policy and operational developments towards properly addressing Māori homelessness, however it was deemed too early to assess the impact of these developments, and claimants overwhelmingly supported the establishment of a Māori Housing Authority in addition. Since the report's release, many elements of the policies deemed positive have been either undermined or abandoned.

Māori represent 16.7% of the total population, with median ages of 25.3 years for females and 27.3 for males, a significantly younger population compared to the median ages of 36.7 and 38.8 years respectively for non-Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2021a). Māori are overrepresented in all housing support services; 58% of those in Housing First (Smith, Davies, & Marama, 2022); over 61% of those in Emergency Housing (Ministry of Social Development, 2022a); around 50% of the public housing register (Ministry of Social Development, 2022b); 53.4% of those in prison (Ara Poutama Aotearoa Department of Corrections, 2022); and 33% of the total homeless population (Amore, Viggers, & Howden-Chapman, 2021). Māori make up 58% of children in care (Oranga Tamariki: Ministry for Children, 2020, p. 12), 70% of young people in youth justice custody (Oranga Tamariki: Ministry for Children, 2020, p. 12), and 81% of children abused in care (Royal Commission of Inquiry: Abuse in Care, 2020, p. 5). Discrimination against Māori is widely experienced, with Māori women being three times more likely to experience gender-based discrimination compared to Māori men (Cormack, Harris, & Stanley, 2020). Wāhine Māori/Māori women, especially those with children, often find themselves in inadequate housing and not receiving full benefits entitlements (Cram, Adcock, O'Brien, & Lawton, 2021). Discrimination in the housing sector and its services have contributed significantly to the overwhelming number of Māori experiencing homelessness and the housing support system (Norris & Nandedkar, 2020).

Efforts to address homelessness in Aotearoa NZ have centred around moving from reliance on emergency housing (seven days) to transitional supported housing (three months), with additional supports to move towards permanent housing. The previous government developed a Homelessness Action Plan (HAP) (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2020), a Tiriti-based plan focused on moving to making homelessness rare, brief and non-recurring, with Housing First being a central tenet of the plan for addressing chronic homelessness. Housing First is based on the premise that permanent and quality housing is a human right, supporting the self-determination of the person receiving services (Padgett et al., 2016). Previous research has modelled the principles of Housing First alongside Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Whānau Ora, finding common values and principles underlying each including cultural integrity, empowerment, context and history, respect/mana-enhancing, and a rights-based grounding (Lawson-Te Aho et al., 2019). The Whare Ōranga model envisages a single entry point for people requiring services, with fluidity between mainstream Housing First approach, whānau-based solutions, and collective solutions based wholly in Te Ao Māori, within the context of wider decolonizing systems change. In 2022 an initiative developed by Arohanui ki te Tangata, a collective of Kaupapa Māori providers led by Te Matapihi, a national Māori housing advocacy group, sought to engage with solutions to homelessness from Kaupapa Māori approaches, accounting for localized kawa and tikanga. 'He Ara Hiki Mauri' was intended as an Indigenised approach, delivered alongside and in conjunction with mainstream Government programmes (Davidson, 2022). It stemmed from experience that the Government-funded version of Housing First did not adequately account for Te Ao Māori, especially reconnection to whakapapa and whenua.

Despite commitment to progressively ensure permanent housing and appropriate wraparound support in the HAP, current policy funds Housing First but is generally weighted towards use of transitional and emergency housing, neither of which are protected by usual tenancy laws, and both of which have recently had criteria for entry tightened considerably. Evictions from public housing into homelessness have increased, with policy shifting from a 'sustaining tenancies' framework' to a more hardline approach (Bishop, 2025). A framework for Kaupapa Māori evaluation of Housing First by Pihama et al provided an in-depth review of the implications of Housing First and homelessness from a Kaupapa Māori perspective, locating Māori understandings as central to the process of assessing the efficacy of Housing First for Māori, as well as the ways in which Housing First can be enriched to better provide for Māori (Pihama et al., 2018). In this paper we take heed of Pihama et al's principles (explained further in our methods), and contribute a quantitative component to the overall Kaupapa.

Methods

The Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI) is linked government administrative data administered by Tatauranga Aotearoa Statistics New Zealand (StatsNZ) (Milne et al., 2019). TPP supplied a list of identifiers from clients who were housed between 2014 and 2017 to StatsNZ, with the dates that they were first engaged with TPP, and the date they were first housed. StatsNZ then de-identified and linked clients to a central dataset and made an anonymised client list available to our research group. It allowed us to link individuals across government datasets and report aggregate results. The IDI is regularly updated to include the latest available administrative data, and each update is called a refresh. For this paper, the October 2022 refresh has been utilised for analysis. In previous studies, we have reported on

the service interaction history of these clients (Pierse et al., 2019), the service interaction history of women in the cohort (Fraser et al., 2021), and outcomes after being housed for 2 years (Pierse et al., 2022), and after being housed for five years (Ombler et al., 2024). In this paper, we are looking at service interaction histories prior to HF, as well as a pre-post-housing analysis of outcomes, for Māori clients compared to non-Māori, referenced against the general population.

Ethics

All TPP's Housing First participants gave informed consent to provide their National Health Index (NHI) number and to be linked in the IDI, and consented for research into past and future usage of government services. Approval for the research was given by Statistics NZ under their five safes framework (Statistics New Zealand, 2022). Ethical approval was given by the University of Otago Human Research Ethics Committee reference number 16-049.

Māori Data Sovereignty. Pihama et al. (2018) point out that using quantitative data of this type in the evaluation of Housing First for Māori should be attentive to certain principles and questions. We have been guided by the questions raised in their evaluation review, and within the scope of this paper particularly the following: “How will a Māori data sovereignty and Kaupapa Māori approach be ensured in all data collection and Big Data use?”; “What are we measuring and is this working for whanau, hapū and iwi?”; “How can data enrich our understanding of broader social failures and missed opportunities for preventing homelessness?”; and “What does the data collected... say about the uptake of support services by Māori?” (Pihama et al., 2018). Additionally, Kukutai et al link Indigenous data sovereignty with the meeting and realisation of rights for Indigenous Peoples, within a framework of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination (Kukutai & Taylor, 2016).

We have adopted the principles of Te Mana Rarauranga—the Māori Data Sovereignty network (Te Mana Rarauranga: Māori Data Sovereignty Network, 2018), through: informed consent of the participants to link their information to the IDI for research purposes (rangatiratanga), providing support for a program with benefits to Māori, with recommendations based on Kaupapa Māori (kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga), building and strengthening ongoing relationships, particularly between He Kāinga Oranga research group and The Peoples Project (whakapapa, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga). This paper also provides a practical application of Māori Data Sovereignty principles to quantitative research.

Positionality statement. When presenting research of this type in a settler-colonial context, we consider it important to convey our own positionality in relation to the subject matter. Two of our authors whakapapa Māori/are of Māori descent and identity. Four of our authors, including the lead author, identify as either Pākehā or tauiwi, or both. One author has experience working with a Kaupapa Māori agency that provides Housing First as well as emergency and transitional housing services. All authors are committed to the Kaupapa of being committed Tiriti partners, and are working together with this as a fundamental driver of our research.

Study and Comparison Populations

The 387 people in the client list provided by TPP were successfully linked to the October 2022 refresh of the IDI and included in the study (hereafter referred to as ‘Housing First cohort’). We age-matched individuals in the Estimated Resident Population (Gibb, Bycroft, & Matheson-Dunning, 2016; Pierse et al., 2019) with the Housing First cohort and selected a random sample of 10% (n=338991), and applied an identical analysis for a comparison group (hereafter referred to as ‘General Population’). The results are presented separately for those who were identified as Māori and those who were not (non-Māori). We use a Wilcoxon rank sum test to find statistical differences for pre- and post-intervention in the Housing First group. For the Housing First cohort, TPP has provided the date that each individual was housed through the Housing First programme. This date was used as a reference point to compare changes in various outcome measures before and after being housed. For the general population, we used the Housing First cohort’s median date housed (9 June 2016) as a reference date for a comparative analysis. For our pre- and post-housing analysis, we excluded 33 people who had passed away during the study period, so as to avoid skewing the comparison. Despite this, we deeply acknowledge those who passed away, and the impact of their passing on the people who remain. Previously published work has looked at a survival and mortality analysis of this cohort (Jiang et al., 2025).

Datasets

Demographics. SNZ provides demographic information of the New Zealand population in a composite dataset in the IDI, compiled from various official government sources to provide the most reliable, complete data source that is regularly updated. It should be noted that ethnicity data used in the analysis is from this composite dataset, which means that the ethnicity of an individual in the Housing First cohort and the general population is identified by SNZ (Teng, Gibb, & Sporle, 2021). Whilst total response ethnicity is usually preferred, meaning that people can be counted more than once according to the multiple ethnicities they identify with, for the purposes of this paper we have used a prioritized approach, to enable a direct comparison. This means that some of those in the cohort identified as Māori will also identify with non-Māori ethnicities, but have not been included in the non-Māori group as they might for other types of analyses.

Health. For analysing health services usage, we examined the following datasets: the National Minimum Dataset (NMDS) for public hospital discharge information, the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) claims for injury statistics, the National Non-Admitted Patients Collection (NNPAC) information for outpatient events and emergency department events, the Pharmaceutical Collection for subsidized dispensings, and PRIMHD mental health data for mental health and addiction service activities.

Justice. For analyzing interactions within the justice system, we examined the MOJ charges dataset, which contains information on all offenders, both active and historical. The Corrections dataset provides information on how each person is managed by the Department of Corrections including information on custodial sentences, remands in custody, community sentences and community orders.

The police dataset comes from the New Zealand police recorded crime offender's dataset. This contains information on all criminal incidents for which there were court or non-court proceedings including police offenses, criminal charges, correctional events, and victims.

Social development and Income. The MSD benefits datasets provide information on people who received a main working age social welfare benefit. It provides basic information on their demographic characteristics from the date they are first granted a benefit in that period. It also traces the benefit histories of partners and dependent children included in the benefits. The basic rate, supplementary rate and ad hoc payments for beneficiaries are provided. Additionally, the Income dataset by Inland Revenue reports a detailed summary of income data by calendar year. It provides a calculated summary of income that a person may receive across government services summarized by IR records.

Analysis

All available data was used for both Māori and non-Māori cohorts. For our demographic data, we presented relative percentages. For our pre-post analysis, we used a Wilcoxon rank sum test in R studio, and presented means for each outcome. P values less than 0.05 represent statistical significance.

Results

In the first section of our results we present the demographics of our cohort, comparing Māori to non-Māori, in both the Housing First and general populations. We then present pre-Housing First service interactions with a range of government services, establishing a baseline picture of service interaction history for Māori clients entering into a Housing First programme. We then present pre- and post-Housing First outcomes, comparing one year prior to being housed, to the fifth year following being housed and receiving Housing First services.

Table 1 presents the demographics of the Māori Housing First cohort, compared to the non-Māori Housing First cohort, as well as the Māori and non-Māori general population. 72% of the Housing First population are Māori, and are 14% of the general population in the same age range. There were more females (57.4%) than males (42.6%) in the Māori Housing First cohort, whereas there were more males (56.8%) than females (43.2%) in the non-Māori Housing First cohort. Both the Māori and non-Māori Housing First cohorts demonstrate deviations from general population's sex proportion (50.8% female for General Population Māori and 50.2% for General Population non-Māori). There are no notable differences in the age profiles of each group, and the entire Housing First cohort has lower education levels compared to the general population.

Table 1. Demographic information at the time of being housed (Housing First cohort) /on the reference date (general population)

	Housing First Māori		Housing First non-Māori		General Population Māori		General Population non-Māori	
	(n = 285)		(n = 108)		(n = 50,577)		(n = 288,414)	
Sex								
Female	168	58.9%	48	44.4%	25,680	50.8%	144,714	50.2%
Male	117	41.1%	60	55.6%	24,897	49.2%	143,700	49.8%
Age								
Under 25 years old	42	14.9%	18	16.2%	10,962	21.7%	39,189	13.6%
25-44 years old	150	53.2%	57	51.4%	20,274	40.1%	102,012	35.4%
45-64 years old	87	30.9%	36	32.4%	15,507	30.7%	101,754	35.3%
65-74 years old	S		S		3,213	6.4%	36,858	12.8%
75 years old and over	S		S		621	1.2%	8,601	3.0%
Median age	38 years old		39 years old		38 years old		45 years old	
Highest qualification²								
Level 1	36	12.6%	12	11.1%	3015	5.9%	17682	6.1%
Level 2	21	7.3%	12	11.1%	4635	9.2%	19053	6.6%
Level 3	21	7.3%	9	8.3%	5721	11.3%	18972	6.5%
Post-secondary	39	13.7%	15	13.8%	10848	21.4%	52800	18.3%
No information	168	58.9%	60	55.5%	26358	52.1%	179907	62.3%

² Levels 1, 2 and 3 are secondary school certificates, Level 3 being the final year. Post-secondary encompasses post-secondary school certificates, diplomas, and university degrees. See: (New Zealand Qualifications Authority)

	Housing First Māori		Housing First non-Māori		General Population Māori		General Population non-Māori	
	(n = 285)		(n = 108)		(n = 50,577)		(n = 288,414)	
Number of children (as appeared on the child's birth certificate)								
0	63	22.1%	42	38.9%	20913	41.3%	160104	55.5%
1	51	17.9%	21	19.4%	8559	16.9%	44151	15.3%
2	51	17.9%	21	19.4%	8964	17.7%	50814	17.6%
3	36	12.6%	12	11.1%	6021	11.9%	22917	7.9%
4	27	9.5%	S	S	3258	6.4%	7104	2.5%
5+	57	20.0%	S	S	2862	5.7%	3324	1.2%

Table 2 presents service interaction histories prior to engaging with TPP. We present this longitudinally, with five and ten years prior to housing, as well as lifetime average for as long as data was available. Consistent with previous research, both Māori and non-Māori Housing First clients have a long history of higher service interactions across government services than the general population (Pierse et al., 2019). Māori Housing First had lower rates of health service interactions than non-Māori, and lower income overall including from benefits. Justice system interactions were relatively similar for Māori and non-Māori Housing First clients. This differs from the general population in which Māori have higher rates of justice system interactions than non-Māori. Of particular note, ongoing healthcare appeared to be significantly higher for non-Māori than for Māori, with around three times the lifetime rate of outpatient events, nearly four times the rate of prescriptions dispensed, and nearly nine times the rate of community-based mental health care events. Five years prior to being housed, these differences narrowed but were still present.

Table 2. Before being housed

Data source	Data available from	Average of service usage at the time of being housed (Housing First) or the reference date (General Population)											
		Māori						Non-Māori					
		HF			GP			HF			GP		
		lifetime	10 years before	5 years before	lifetime	10 years before	5 years before	lifetime	10 years before	5 years before	lifetime	10 years before	5 years before
Health													
Hospitalisations	1988	7.59	4.84	2.84	5.17	2.7	1.25	9.83	5.89	3.08	3.09	0.77	1.31
Injuries	1994	6.59	4.16	2.03	8.34	3.87	1.94	13.23	5.33	3.03	6.90	1.52	2.93
Emergency Department events	2007	5.53	7.51	4.92	2.24	2.24	1.45	7.80	7.59	5.03	1.20	0.67	1.02
Outpatient events	2007	10.60	14.43	10.33	10.42	10.42	6.82	31.31	30.44	18.69	8.23	4.65	7.00
Outpatient events - attended	2007	8.30	11.30	8.34	9.39	9.39	6.204	28.31	27.53	16.75	7.87	4.46	6.70
Pharmaceuticals	2005	117.39	152.65	97.53	120.20	111.43	66.74	405.97	378.3	254.17	105.58	50.61	83.52
Mental Health Community-based activities	2008	10.60	83.82	64.92	15.62	15.62	11.45	92.74	90.17	65.08	5.70	3.50	4.85
Mental Health Inpatient bed nights	2008	10.82	14.73	9.91	2.32	2.32	1.17	17.94	17.44	8.36	0.78	0.37	0.66
Mental Health Residential bed nights	2008	20.37	27.74	23.14	3.45	3.45	1.61	23.29	22.64	12.17	1.21	0.42	1.03
(continued)													
Justice													

Data source	Data available from	Average of service usage at the time of being housed (Housing First) or the reference date (General Population)											
		Māori						Non-Māori					
		HF			GP			HF			GP		
		lifetime	10 years before	5 years before	lifetime	10 years before	5 years before	lifetime	10 years before	5 years before	lifetime	10 years before	5 years before
Police offences	2009	4.04	5.50	4.01	1.58	1.58	1.08	4.66	4.5	3.25	0.30	0.17	0.26
Criminal charges	1990	16.05	8.88	3.83	4.89	2.28	1.04	15.51	5.92	3.03	0.97	0.16	0.36
Major corrections events	1998	5.26	4.63	2.31	1.35	0.89	0.46	5.34	2.92	1.5	0.19	0.05	0.11
Victimisations	2014	0.35	0.19	-	0.12	0.06	0.01	0.54	-	-	0.06	0.002	0.007
Social Development													
Months in which tax paid on wages and salaries	1999	26.50	20.84	8.36	120.88	31.324	29.135	46.57	25.06	11.25	123.16	25.62	27.56
Income received from wages and salaries	1999	\$45,600	\$39,650	\$16,900	\$428,400	\$115,550	\$108,178	\$113,400	\$68,380	\$32,000	\$530,000	\$116,075	\$124,017
Months in which a benefit was received	1999	89.10	79.50	44.51	59.42	15.37	14.18	104.34	64.4	36.78	19.57	3.81	4.15
Income received from benefits	1999	\$96,500	\$91,200	\$52,700	\$65,500	\$17,470	\$12,230	\$109,200	\$72,630	\$42,820	\$20,000	\$41,230	\$44,560

In Table 3 we compare the year prior to Housing First, to the fifth year after being housed and receiving Housing First support, alongside the general population. We present the mean for the year prior, and the fifth year after, as well as the percentage difference between the two. Hospitalisations are the same for both Māori and non-Māori in the year prior to HF, but Māori have a greater drop than non-Māori in the fifth year post-housing. Five years after housing, hospitalisations for Māori in the HF cohort were lower than the non-Māori cohort, whereas for the GP, hospitalisations for Māori remained higher than for non-Māori despite a percentage drop. Non-Māori in the HF cohort consistently have a higher rate of injuries than non-Māori, but the drop for Māori post-housing is greater. This is a similar trend to the GP though with greater drops. Emergency department events have large drops for both Māori and non-Māori in the Housing First cohort, whereas the General Population have small rises, more so for non-Māori. Outpatient events are higher for Māori than for non-Māori in the year prior to being housed, and by the fifth year post-housing they are at similar rates. This reflects a drop for Māori compared to a rise for non-Māori, whereas both groups in the GP have rises, more so for non-Māori. Similar trends are seen for outpatient events attended. Pharmaceutical dispensings in the HF cohort are consistently higher for non-Māori than for Māori, which is inverse to the GP. Pharmaceutical dispensings have remained the same for Māori in the HF cohort, have risen slightly for the non-Māori HF cohort, and have risen more for both groups in the GP.

Community-based mental health activities have dropped substantially for the Māori HF cohort, and to a lesser extent for the non-Māori HF cohort, compared to rises for both groups in the GP. Mental health inpatient and residential bed nights are far higher for Māori than for non-Māori in the HF group in the year prior to being housed, and non-Māori have too few numbers to be represented in the fifth year post-housing. Rates have dropped similarly for Māori in the HF group and the GP for inpatient bed nights, but have dropped far more for residential bed nights, despite fairly large drops across all representable groups. Rates of justice interactions have dropped for both Māori and non-Māori. Police offences and criminal charges have dropped slightly more for non-Māori, but major corrections events have dropped more for Māori. Rates of police and justice interactions are greater for Māori than non-Māori in the HF cohort, but the gap between is far smaller than for the GP, where Māori are far more significantly over-represented than non-Māori. Victimisations have risen for Māori, but have dropped for non-Māori, in both the HF cohort and the GP. .

Incomes from wages and salaries rose at similar rates for both Māori and non-Māori in the HF cohort, compared to a greater rise for Māori than non-Māori in the GP. Months in which tax was paid on wages and salaries rose considerably for both groups in the HF cohort, compared to small drops in the GP. Across the time period, Māori receive less income from paid work than non-Māori. In the fifth year post-housing the percentage difference between Māori and non-Māori in the HF cohort remained the same (24%), whereas for the GP the difference had lessened (16%). Income from benefits rose for both Māori and non-Māori, slightly more so for Māori, similar to trends in the GP.

Table 3. Pre/Post Housing First

Data source	HF: Mean in the 1 year before being housed		HF: Mean in the 5th year after being housed		HF: Percentage difference between 1 year before and 5th year after housing		GP: Mean in the 1 year before being housed		GP: Mean in the 5th year after being housed		GP: Percentage difference between 1 year before and 5th year after housing	
	Māori	Non-Māori	Māori	Non-Māori	Māori	Non-Māori	Māori	Non-Māori	Māori	Non-Māori	Māori	Non-Māori
Health												
Hospitalisations	0.667	0.667	0.356	0.424	-46.63%**	-36.43%	0.249	0.189	0.216	0.184	-13.25%**	-2.65%**
Injuries	0.437	0.515	0.379	0.485	-13.27%	-5.83%	0.407	0.391	0.375	0.387	-7.86%**	-1.02%
Emergency Department events	1.241	1.364	0.885	1.03	-28.69%**	-24.49%	0.291	0.17	0.297	0.191	2.06%	12.35%**
Outpatient events	4	2.879	3.184	3.152	-20.40%	9.48%	1.601	1.233	1.816	1.64	13.43%**	33.01%**
Outpatient events - attended	3.563	2.545	2.713	2.758	-23.86%	8.37%	1.467	1.187	1.664	1.563	13.43%	31.68%**
Pharmaceuticals	23.391	53.97	23.391	57.333	0.00%	6.23%	12.027	11.946	16.353	15.594	35.97%**	30.54%**
Mental Health Community-based activities	14.747	17.152	10.057	16.03	-31.80%**	-6.54%	2.116	0.882	2.39	0.902	12.95%	2.27%
Mental Health Inpatient bed nights	5.023	0.515	1.632	S	-67.51%	S	0.282	0.171	0.1	0.094	-64.54%	-45.03%
Mental Health Residential bed nights	7.402	2.152	1.724	S	-76.71%	S	0.556	0.134	0.229	0.063	-58.81%	-52.99%
Justice												

Data source	HF: Mean in the 1 year before being housed		HF: Mean in the 5th year after being housed		HF: Percentage difference between 1 year before and 5th year after housing		GP: Mean in the 1 year before being housed		GP: Mean in the 5th year after being housed		GP: Percentage difference between 1 year before and 5th year after housing	
	Māori	Non-Māori	Māori	Non-Māori	Māori	Non-Māori	Māori	Non-Māori	Māori	Non-Māori	Māori	Non-Māori
Police offences	0.862	0.667	0.586	0.333	-32.02%**	-50.07%	0.222	0.032	0.147	0.022	-33.78%**	-31.25%**
Criminal charges	0.782	0.606	0.471	0.273	-39.77%**	-54.95%	0.224	0.028	0.106	0.012	-52.68%**	-57.14%**
Major corrections events	0.54	0.364	0.333	0.273	-38.33%**	-25.00%	0.096	0.014	0.101	0.011	5.21%	-21.43%**
Victimisations	0.264	0.273	0.345	0.212	30.68%	-22.34%	0.066	0.032	0.075	0.029	13.64%	-9.38%**
Social Development												
Months in which tax paid on wages and salaries	1.379	1.515	2.046	2.152	48.37%**	42.05%	6.522	6.66	6.155	6.018	-5.63%**	-9.64%**
Income received from wages and salaries	2,338.61	3002.818	5,569.58	7134.182	138.16%**	137.58%**	24951.25	31789.34	30811.56	36215.41	23.49%**	13.92%**
Months in which a benefit was received	9.874	8.727	9.713	8.606	-1.63%	-1.39%	2.782	0.851	3.113	0.92	11.90%**	8.11%**
Income received from benefits	12,286.29	10763.15	14,567.02	12293.42	18.56%**	14.22%**	3497.256	1012.629	4424.937	1211.873	26.53%**	19.68%**

Discussion

Homelessness and its effects are disproportionately experienced by Māori, the ongoing result of a colonial system that continues to disadvantage and discriminate against Indigenous Peoples (Lawson-Te Aho et al., 2019). The high proportion of Māori in this overall cohort is emblematic of the burden faced by Māori. Addressing Indigenous homelessness in settler-colonial societies requires a multi-pronged and holistic decolonising approach that utilises effective and evidence-based programmes like Housing First, alongside wider systems change that reduces inequities and enables Indigenous-led solutions. The United Nations Declaration on Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) specifically addresses housing and social programmes, both that Indigenous Peoples have the right to improvement of these, and that Indigenous Peoples should be involved in and as far as possible administer programmes for their own people (United Nations General Assembly, 2007).³ In Aotearoa NZ, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is an essential component of addressing homelessness. Te Tiriti guarantees Tino Rangatiratanga as well as equal rights and privileges for Māori as for Pākehā (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014). Lawson-Te Aho et al have identified that the values underlying Housing First can be supportive of Te Tiriti, and that the service needs to be understood and administered in a wider context that gives effect to Tino Rangatiratanga as well as collective wellbeing (Lawson-Te Aho et al., 2019).

Homelessness in Aotearoa NZ is a significant issue within the context of the wider housing crisis, and this is particularly true for Māori. Given the overrepresentation of Māori in homelessness statistics, and the specific pathways into and experiences of homelessness for Indigenous Peoples, programmes and services that are intended to address homelessness need to be effective for Māori. Enabling Māori-led solutions is essential to ensuring Tino Rangatiratanga and efficacy for Māori. At the same time, non-Māori organisations and generally applied programmes continue to play an important role in responding to the current crisis, providing services, and improving equity.

The results presented here show that Housing First is similarly effective for Māori as it is for non-Māori on the outcomes measured, and that the outcomes associated with Housing First in international literature are reflected for both Māori and non-Māori clients. However, there are some differences that likely reflect the wider context in which TPP is operating. In previous analyses, it was shown that Housing First was effective but constrained by the limitations of the wider health and welfare systems, that can be slow to change, as well as vulnerable to the effects of political swings (Fraser et al., 2022; Ombler et al., 2024; Pierse et al., 2022). Government services across health, justice, and social development, have been identified as discriminatory against Māori, with poorer outcomes being attributed to systemic failures (Jackson, 1987; Waitangi Tribunal, 2019; Welfare Expert Advisory Group, 2019). A key facet of TPP's model is connecting people with government services that are intended to support them, and whilst they have achieved a shift towards greater governmental support for their clients, systemic barriers for Māori continue. In line with the international Housing First model, TPP are also committed to affecting systems change to make homelessness rare, brief and non-recurring, and to improve wellbeing and equitable outcomes for people engaged with Housing First services. Additionally, this paper is one component of evaluating the efficacy of Housing First for Māori, and should be considered in relationship with other research and discourse around Housing First,

³ For more on implementing UNDRIP in Aotearoa NZ, see: (Charters et al., 2019)

homelessness, housing, and Māori. Returning to Pihama et al's Kaupapa Māori evaluation approach, a Kaupapa Māori evaluation of Housing First should include a wide and diverse range of stakeholders, strong qualitative as well as quantitative components, as well as being driven by Kaupapa Māori research principles (Pihama et al., 2018). This paper is limited to a quantitative analysis using government administrative data, and hence is only one part of the story.

Demographics

The presence of more females than males in the Māori Housing First cohort, compared to the non-Māori Housing First cohort and the general population, is a notable finding. At the time that this cohort came into contact with TPP, TPP were not actively prioritising clients, though it is possible that there may have been inadvertent selection or outreach bias. Wider literature on homelessness in Aotearoa NZ has found a greater incidence of females than males than is usually seen in international literature (Amore et al., 2021; Pierse et al., 2019), and previous research on this cohort has noted that the women were more likely to be Māori (Fraser et al., 2021). Pathways into homelessness include poverty, discrimination, and family and intimate partner violence (IPV) (McMinn, 2022; Olsen, Rollins, & Billhardt, 2013), all of which disproportionately affect wahine Māori. Māori women are subject to intersectional discrimination, linked with colonial social structures, with gender, race, income, and parenting colliding to disproportionately disadvantage wāhine Māori (Cormack et al., 2020; Dhunna, Lawton, & Cram, 2018; Johnston, 2005a, 2005b; Reilly, 2019; Thayer, Bécares, & Atatoa Carr, 2019). Māori women in general report lower standards of living, with the 2018 Te Kupenga survey showing that 12.4% of Māori women said that they do not have enough to meet everyday needs, compared to Māori men at 10% (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). This disparity is also reflected in the 2021 General Social Survey, which showed that 15.6% of Māori said that they do not have enough; 10.1% of the general population of women; and 7.5% of the general population of men (Statistics New Zealand, 2021b).

Māori more generally experience discrimination in the housing sector and government services, and wahine Māori experience this discrimination in particular ways (Houkamau, Stronge, & Sibley, 2017). As well as gender-based layers to discrimination, intersectional discrimination more widely is an issue for many Māori, with gender and sexual identity, disability, and class playing a role in the experiences of many Māori (Cormack et al., 2020; Ingham et al., 2022; Kerekere, 2017). Systemic discrimination within government services as well as in the private housing sector, renders Māori, especially those with multiple marginalized identities, at heightened risk of poorer outcomes and homelessness.

Māori have become overrepresented as perpetrators and victims of IPV, in what Dhunna et al have referred to as “an affront to her mana” (Dhunna et al., 2018). Māori women and those with children are vulnerable to precarious and insecure housing when/if making a decision to leave (Dhunna et al., 2018). Literature from the US has shown that men were more likely to cite a loss of work, drug and alcohol, mental health or release from an institution as factors leading to their homelessness, whereas women were more likely to cite domestic violence as a primary influence on homelessness (Olsen et al., 2013). Another study on a different cohort of TPP clients also identified family violence experienced as a child as being a significant factor in people's trajectories to homelessness (McMinn, 2022). Efforts by government has seen the development of a strategy to eliminate family and sexual violence, with housing

being recognized as a key factor in people's wellbeing (Te Kāwanatanga o Aotearoa: New Zealand Government, 2022). Despite this strategy, advocates have recently claimed that people attempting to leave violent home situations are having claims to access emergency housing denied, due to tightening of criteria for accessing emergency housing, and consequent apparent misinterpretation of government policy about these criteria (Crimp, 2025; McConnell, 2025).

There were high numbers of dependent children in the care of the primary participant at the time of seeking housing support. Of the cohort of 393, 264 primary Housing First participants were receiving a parent-related benefit, for a total of 858 dependent children, when housed. Māori were more likely to have dependent children, with 70% of the Māori cohort having dependent children compared to 58% of the non-Māori cohort. Of the total children, 82% were attached to Māori caregivers, which is a higher proportion than the rate of Māori in the Housing First cohort at 72%. Previous research on Housing First has concentrated on the primary recipient, and whilst this paper does the same, the number of children affected by homelessness and subsequently entering a Housing First programme through their caregiver warrants attention. Homelessness for children can have a range of impacts from poor health, nutrition, developmental issues and problems in education (Fraser et al., 2022; Gultekin, Brush, Ginier, Cordon, & Dowdell, 2020; Shinn et al., 2008). More stable housing has been shown to improve outcomes for children and for young people (Fasoro et al., 2024; Yu et al., 2025), findings which are likely to be applicable to children who have entered stable housing through a Housing First programme. One study found improved markers for outcomes for children in a Housing First programme (Collins et al., 2019), and another comparing Indigenous to non-Indigenous groups in Canada found positive changes to parent-child relationships in a HF programme, albeit often in the context of separation (Caplan et al., 2023). A wider intergenerational whānau approach that accounts for children, their parents or caregivers, as well as extended whānau, is more consistent with a Kaupapa Māori approach than Housing First is traditionally known for, although many international HF programmes are evolving towards more holistic family-centred approaches (Tsemberis, 2024).

Health

One of the most notable findings in the health dataset is that pharmaceuticals dispensed are around double for non-Māori compared to Māori in the Housing First cohort, but are dispensed at largely similar rates in the general population. Previous literature on pharmaceutical dispensings has identified significant disparities for Māori, in line with the results we present for the Housing First cohort (Jatrana, Crampton, & Norris, 2011; Metcalfe et al., 2018). After housing, pharmaceutical dispensings have risen for non-Māori, but have remained constant for Māori. Outpatient events, that generally address ongoing treatment rather than acute healthcare needs, have dropped for Māori, yet have risen for non-Māori. With hospitalisations, injuries, and emergency department events, as well as all mental health service interactions all dropping considerably for Māori, it is possible that Housing First has contributed to less acute and serious health issues. Connecting people with ongoing healthcare appears to be more successful with non-Māori than with Māori in Housing First, suggesting that systemic barriers remain.

Justice

Despite wider literature pointing to heavy discrimination against Māori in the justice system, there are only marginal differences in the justice dataset between Māori and non-Māori. Disparities within justice data are more clearly visible in the General Population, where Māori are significantly over-represented at all stages of the justice sector, and Māori women are the most incarcerated Indigenous female population in the world (Jackson, 1987; Quince, 2010; Stanley & Mihaere, 2019). As our sample size is relatively small, especially for non-Māori, it is difficult to draw conclusions from these findings, however they could suggest poverty, life circumstance, and class factors playing a role in justice interactions as well as ethnicity. That justice interactions have dropped for both Māori and non-Māori, far in excess of the General Population, indicates the success of Housing First in supporting people to transition away from justice system interactions. More widely, justice interactions are often causative of entering or re-entering homelessness (Batterham, 2019; Madoc-Jones et al., 2018).

Social Development and Employment

The most apparent post-housing change is in the level of income that people are receiving, both from salaries and wages and from benefits. One of TPP's primary objectives is to ensure that their clients are on the correct type and amount of benefit for their circumstances. Those coming through TPPs doors are also experiencing high debt rates, with over \$2.8 million of debt within a cohort of 695 people (Atatoa-Carr, Whitehead, & McMinn, 2021). Sources of debt were primarily to Work and Income, student loans, court costs and Housing NZ—all of which are government agencies. The immediate increase in income after being housed highlights the important role of advocates within a system that is unfortunately often difficult to navigate, and in which significant discrimination and racism have been identified at multiple levels. For example, Cram et al found that many young Māori women, especially those with children were not receiving all of their entitlements from the welfare system (Cram et al., 2021).

As well as increasing the amount of income clients were receiving from benefits, Housing First appears to have facilitated a return to paid work for both Māori and non-Māori clients. For both groups, income from wages and salaries dropped significantly just prior to being housed and recovered after being housed. Despite this recovery, and an improvement in overall income as well as in paid employment, Māori are still receiving less income than non-Māori, a disparity which has persisted for the HF cohort in comparison to a reduction for the GP. The persistence of this disparity could reflect the impacts of multiple layers of disadvantage and discrimination.

Housing First model

Housing First services across Aotearoa NZ are a mix of Pākehā-led and Māori-led. Where possible and appropriate, services that have mostly Māori clients should ideally be led by Kaupapa Māori organisations (by Māori, for Māori) and should be appropriately and consistently funded. However non-Māori-led organizations continue have an important role, especially in the context of a homelessness crisis that requires as much support as possible. Many non-Māori organisations, including TPP, have worked with mana whenua to work towards services that are responsive and appropriate for

Māori. TPP's partnership with Waikato-Tainui has been an example of this, with Waikato-Tainui having a place on the governance board, as well as having a staff member sit with TPP for several months. Of crucial importance to this relationship is alignment of values and goals, which was recognized by Karleen Turner-Puriri of Waikato-Tainui in TPP's recent book, *The Open Door*: "We learned about the Housing First principles, and it opened our eyes to similarities in our cultural approach to supporting our whānau holistically, at the grass roots. Having a staffer at TPP opened up that relationship for us. We found the TPP philosophy aligned to the cultural values of Waikato-Tainui" (The People's Project et al., 2021, p. 165). Additionally, ensuring that Housing First is funded alongside and in relationship with programmes that support a Kaupapa Māori approach, such as He Ara Hiki Mauri, will help to ensure that Housing First works in support of Indigenous approaches and wellbeing.

Conclusion

Housing First is positive for Māori, but the context in which Housing First is being delivered in Aotearoa NZ impacts outcomes as well as ongoing pathways into homelessness. The ongoing impacts of colonization including breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, have led to too many Māori experiencing homelessness in Aotearoa NZ, as well as experiencing poorer outcomes across health, justice and social development. Housing First has the potential to change these trajectories, however this must be delivered within a context of an ongoing commitment to systemic decolonization, and within the context of a commitment to upholding Te Tiriti.

References

- Agrawal, S. K., & Zoe, C. (2021). Housing and Homelessness in Indigenous Communities of Canada's North. *Housing Policy Debate*, 1-31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2021.1881986>
- Alaazi, D. A., Masuda, J. R., Evans, J., & Distasio, J. (2015). Therapeutic landscapes of home: Exploring Indigenous peoples' experiences of a Housing First intervention in Winnipeg. *Social Science & Medicine*, 147, 30-37. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2015.10.057>
- Alrudaini, R. (2019). *Care as a pathway to homelessness*. Retrieved from <https://www.housingfirst.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Care-as-a-Pathway-to-Homelessness-for-ANZSW-August-20191.pdf>
- Amore, K. (2013). *Severe housing deprivation: The problem and its measurement*. Statistics New Zealand.
- Amore, K., Viggers, H., & Howden-Chapman, P. (2021). *Severe housing deprivation in Aotearoa New Zealand, 2018*. <https://www.hud.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/Documents/Severe-Housing-Deprivation-2018-Estimate-Report.pdf>
- Ansloos, J. P., Wager, A. C., & Dunn, N. S. Preventing Indigenous youth homelessness in Canada: A qualitative study on structural challenges and upstream prevention in education. *Journal of Community Psychology*, n/a(n/a). <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22691>

- Ara Poutama Aotearoa Department of Corrections. (2022, 31 March). Prison facts and statistics - March 2022. https://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/statistics/quarterly_prison_statistics/prison_stats_march_2022
- Atatoa-Carr, P., Whitehead, J., & McMinn, C. (2021). Homelessness in Hamilton, New Zealand: debt as a tipping point? *International Journal of Epidemiology*, *50*(Supplement_1). <https://doi.org/10.1093/ije/dyab168.042>
- Batterham, D. (2019). Defining “at-risk of homelessness”: Re-connecting causes, mechanisms and risk. *Housing, Theory and Society*, *36*(1), 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2017.1408678>
- Bingham, B., Moniruzzaman, A., Patterson, M., Distasio, J., Sareen, J., O’Neil, J., & Somers, J. M. (2019). Indigenous and non-Indigenous people experiencing homelessness and mental illness in two Canadian cities: A retrospective analysis and implications for culturally informed action. *BMJ Open*, *9*(4), e024748. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2018-024748>
- Bishop, C. (2025). KO disruptive tenants' easy ride over [Press release]. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/ko-disruptive-tenants-easy-ride-over>
- Bodor, R., Chewka, D., Smith-Windsor, M., Conley, S., & Pereira, N. (2011). *Perspectives on the Housing First Program with Indigenous Participants*. <http://homewardtrust.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Perspectives-on-the-Housing-First-Program-with-Indigenous-Participants.pdf>
- Brown, D. (2016). Tūrangawaewae Kore: Nowhere to Stand. In E. J. Peters & J. Christensen (Eds.), *Indigenous Homelessness: Perspectives from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand*. University of Manitoba Press.
- Caplan, R. A., Nelson, G., Distasio, J., Isaak, C., Edel, B., Macnaughton, E., Piat, M., Patterson, M., Kirst, M., Aubry, T., Stergiopoulos, V., & Goering, P. (2023). Parent-child relationship outcomes in a randomized controlled trial of Housing First for Indigenous and non-Indigenous parents experiencing homelessness, mental illness, and separation from their children. *Psychiatric Rehabilitation Journal*, *46*(4), 335-342. <https://doi.org/10.1037/prj0000575>
- Charters, C., Kingdon-Bebb, K., Olsen, T., Ormsby, W., Owen, E., Pryor, J., Ruru, J., Solomon, N., & Williams, G. (2019). *He Puapua: Report of the working group on a plan to realise the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. <https://www.nzcpv.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/He-Puapua.pdf>
- Collins, C. C., Bai, R., Crampton, D., Fischer, R., D'Andrea, R., Dean, K., Lalich, N., Chan, T., & Cherney, E. (2019). Implementing housing first with families and young adults: challenges and progress toward self-sufficiency. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *96*, 34-46. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.11.025>

- Cormack, D., Harris, R., & Stanley, J. (2020). Māori experiences of multiple forms of discrimination: findings from Te Kupenga 2013. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, 15(1), 106-122. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083x.2019.1657472>
- Cram, F., Adcock, A., O'Brien, M., & Lawton, B. (2021). E Hine: Young Māori mothers talk about welfare benefits. *Social Policy & Administration*, 55(4), 543-558. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spol.12641>
- Crimp, L. (2025, June 17). Associate Housing Minister tells officials domestic violence victims get emergency accommodation. *RNZ*. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/564401/associate-housing-minister-tells-officials-domestic-violence-victims-get-emergency-accommodation>
- Davidson, M. (2022). Funding boost for kaupapa Māori response to homelessness [Press release]. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/funding-boost-kaupapa-m%C4%81ori-response-homelessness>
- Dhunna, S., Lawton, B., & Cram, F. (2018). An Affront to Her Mana: Young Māori Mothers' Experiences of Intimate Partner Violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(13-14), 6191-6226. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260518815712>
- Distasio, J., Zell, S., & Snyder, M. (2018). *At Home in Winnipeg: Localizing Housing First as a Culturally Responsive Approach to Understanding and Addressing Urban Indigenous Homelessness*. https://winnspace.uwinnipeg.ca/bitstream/handle/10680/1607/2018_Localizing-Housing-First_A-Culturally-Responsive-Approach.pdf?sequence=1
- Fasoro, A., Yu, C., Bierema, S., Pehi, T., Fraser, B., Howden-Chapman, P., & Pierse, N. (2024). The impact of transitions from emergency housing to public housing in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Discover Public Health*, 21. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12982-024-00320-9>
- Fraser, B., Chun, S., Pehi, T., Jiang, T., Johnson, E., Ombler, J., McMinn, C., & Pierse, N. (2022). Post-housing first outcomes amongst a cohort of formerly homeless youth in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03036758.2022.2088572>
- Fraser, B., White, M., Cook, H., Chisholm, E., Ombler, J., Chun, S., Tareha, H., & Pierse, N. (2021). Service usage of a cohort of formerly homeless women in Aotearoa New Zealand. *SSM-population health*, 15, 100842. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2021.100842>
- Groot, S., & Mace, J. (2016). Problem definition: Maori Homelessness in New Zealand. *Parity*, 29(8), 5-6.
- Groot, S., & Peters, E. J. (2016). Indigenous Homelessness: New Zealand Context. In E. J. Peters & J. Christensen (Eds.), *Indigenous Homelessness: Perspectives from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand*. University of Manitoba Press.

- Gultekin, L. E., Brush, B. L., Ginier, E., Cordon, A., & Dowdell, E. B. (2020). Health risks and outcomes of homelessness in school-age children and youth: A scoping review of the literature. *The Journal of School Nursing, 36*(1), 10-18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1059840519875182>
- Gibb, S., Bycroft, C., & Matheson-Dunning, N. (2016), *Identifying the New Zealand resident population in the Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI)*. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/assets/Research/Identifying-the-New-Zealand-resident-population-in-the-Integrated-Data-Infrastructure/identifying-nz-resident-population-in-idi.pdf>
- Habibis, D. (2011). A Framework for Reimagining Indigenous Mobility and Homelessness. *Urban Policy and Research, 29*(4), 401-414. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08111146.2011.613146>
- Houkamau, C. A., Stronge, S., & Sibley, C. G. (2017). The prevalence and impact of racism toward indigenous Māori in New Zealand. *International Perspectives in Psychology: Research, Practice, Consultation, 6*(2), 61. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ipp0000070>
- Ingham, T. R., Jones, B., Perry, M., King, P. T., Baker, G., Hickey, H., Pouwhare, R., & Nikora, L. W. (2022). The Multidimensional Impacts of Inequities for Tāngata Whaikaha Māori (Indigenous Māori with Lived Experience of Disability) in Aotearoa, New Zealand. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 19*(20), 13558. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph192013558>
- Jackson, M. (1987). The Maori and the criminal justice system, a new perspective: He whaipanga hou. *Wellington, Policy and Research Division, Dept. of Justice*.
- Jackson, M. (2022). What it means to be at home in this land. In F. Cram, J. Hutchings, & J. Smith (Eds.), *Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua: Māori Housing Realities and Aspirations*. Bridget Williams Books.
- Jatrana, S., Crampton, P., & Norris, P. (2011). Ethnic differences in access to prescription medication because of cost in New Zealand. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health, 65*(5), 454-460. <https://doi.org/10.1136/jech.2009.099101>
- Jiang, T., Fraser, B., Buchanan, M., Aspinall, C., Guha Thakurta, A., Fasoro, A., Atatoa-Carr, P., McMinn, C., Pehi, T., Ombler, J., Hawkes, K., Nelson, J., & Piersie, N. (2025). A Survival Analysis of Mortality in a Housing First Population in Aotearoa New Zealand. *People, Place and Policy, 1*-15. <https://doi.org/10.3351/ppp.2025.3975282985>
- Johnston, K. (2005a). Discrimination, the state and Maori women: An analysis of international human rights law and the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. *Yearbook of New Zealand Jurisprudence, 8*(2), 31-78.
- Johnston, K. (2005b). Maori women confront discrimination: using international human rights law to challenge discriminatory practices. *Indigenous LJ, 4*, 19.

- Kake, J. (2016). Why are our people overrepresented amongst te pani me te rawakore? Reflections on the root causes on Māori urban homelessness. *Parity*(September).
<https://search.informit.org/doi/epdf/10.3316/informit.451847997236947>
- Kerekere, E. (2017). *Part of the whānau: The emergence of takatāpui Identity-he whāriki takatāpui*. University of Wellington.
- Kukutai, T., & Taylor, J. (2016). *Indigenous Data Sovereignty: Toward an Agenda*.
<https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/31875/624262.pdf?sequence>
- Lawson-Te Aho, K., Fariu-Ariki, P., Ombler, J., Aspinall, C., Howden-Chapman, P., & Pierse, N. (2019). A principles framework for taking action on Māori/Indigenous Homelessness in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *SSM-population health*, 8, 100450. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2019.100450>
- Lee-Morgan, J., & Hoskins, R. (2017). Kāinga tahi, kāinga rua: A kaupapa Māori response of Te Puea Memorial Marae. *Parity*, 30, 13-14.
- Lewis, C., Norris, A. N., Heta-Cooper, W., & Tauri, J. (2020). Stigmatising gang narratives, housing, and the social policing of Māori women. In *Neo-colonial injustice and the mass imprisonment of indigenous women* (pp. 13-33): Springer.
- Madoc-Jones, I., Hughes, C., Gorden, C., Dubberley, S., Washington-Dyer, K., Ahmed, A., Lockwood, K., & Wilding, M. (2018). Rethinking preventing homelessness amongst prison leavers. *European Journal of Probation*, 10(3), 215-231. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2066220318822245>
- McConnell, G. (2025, June 13). Women allegedly denied emergency housing while trying to flee domestic violence. *Stuff.co.nz*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/politics/360721174/women-allegedly-denied-emergency-housing-while-trying-flee-domestic-violence>
- McMinn, C. A. (2022). *Lost points of intervention in pathways to single adult homelessness in Hamilton, New Zealand*. The University of Waikato,
- Memmott, P. (2015). Differing relations to tradition amongst Australian Indigenous homeless people. *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, XXVI.
- Memmott, P., Birdsall-Jones, C., & Greenop, K. (2012). *Why are special services needed to address Indigenous homelessness?*
- Metcalf, S., Beyene, K., Urlich, J., Jones, R., Proffitt, C., Harrison, J., & Andrews, A. (2018). Te Wero tonu-the challenge continues: Maori access to medicines 2006/07–2012/13 update. *The New Zealand Medical Journal (Online)*, 131(1485), 27-47.
- Mills, A., Latimer, C. L., Gordon, G., Groot, S., & Milne, B. (2021). *More than a roof?: A critical review of post-prison housing provision in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (Vol. 36): Sociological Association of Aotearoa New Zealand.

- Milne, B. J., Atkinson, J., Blakely, T., Day, H., Douwes, J., Gibb, S., Nicolson, M., Shackleton, N., Sporle, A., & Teng, A. (2019). Data Resource Profile: The New Zealand Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI). *Int J Epidemiol*, *48*(3), 677-677e. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ije/dyz014>
- Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. (2020). *Aotearoa/New Zealand Homelessness Action Plan*. <https://www.hud.govt.nz/assets/Community-and-Public-Housing/Support-for-people-in-need/Homelessness-Action-Plan/271a3c7d79/Homelessness-Action-Plan.pdf>
- Ministry of Social Development. (2022a). *Emergency Housing SNGs*. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/statistics/housing/monthly-housing-update/2022/monthly-housing-update-may-2022.pdf>
- Ministry of Social Development. (2022b, March). Housing Register. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/statistics/housing/housing-register.html#LatestresultsndashnbspMarch20221>
- Mutu, M. (2018). Behind the smoke and mirrors of the Treaty of Waitangi claims settlement process in New Zealand: No prospect for justice and reconciliation for Māori without constitutional transformation. *Journal of Global Ethics*, *14*(2), 208-221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449626.2018.1507003>
- Mutu, M., & Jackson, M. (2016). *He Whakaaro Here Whakaumu Mō Aotearoa: The Report of Matike Mai Aotearoa - The Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation*. <http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/MatikeMaiAotearoaReport.pdf>
- New Zealand Qualifications Authority. Understanding the New Zealand Qualifications Framework (NZQF). <https://www.nzqa.govt.nz/qualifications-standards/understanding-nzqf/>
- Nikora, L. W., Hodgetts, D., Groot, S., Stolte, O., & Chamberlain, K. (2012). Street health: Practitioner service provision for Māori homeless people in Auckland. *Psychosocial Dimensions of Medicine*, *220*, 1-12.
- Norris, A. N., & Nandedkar, G. (2020). Ethnicity, racism and housing: discourse analysis of New Zealand housing research. *Housing Studies*, 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2020.1844159>
- Olsen, L., Rollins, C., & Billhardt, K. (2013). *The intersection of domestic violence and homelessness*. <https://wscadv.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/IntersectionPaperDVHF.pdf>
- Ombler, J., Jiang, T., Fraser, B., Nelson, J., McMinn, C., Hawkes, K., Atatoa Carr, P., Pehi, T., Aspinall, C., Bierre, S., Schick, K., Howden-Chapman, P., & Pierse, N. (2024). Five-Year Post-Housing Outcomes for a Housing First Cohort in Aotearoa, New Zealand. *International Journal on Homelessness*, *4*(2), 109-125. <https://doi.org/10.5206/ijoh.2023.3.16747>

- Oranga Tamariki: Ministry for Children. (2020). *Briefing to the Incoming Minister for Children*. <https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/About-us/Corporate-reports/BIM/Briefing-to-the-Incoming-minister-for-Children-2020.pdf>
- Orange, C. (2015). *The treaty of Waitangi*. Bridget Williams Books.
- Padgett, D., Henwood, B. F., & Tsemberis, S. J. (2016). *Housing First: Ending homelessness, transforming systems, and changing lives*. Oxford University Press.
- Penny, G., Logan, A., Olin, C. V., O'Sullivan, K. C., Robson, B., Pehi, T., Davies, C., Wall, T., & Howden-Chapman, P. (2024). A Whakawhanaungatanga Māori wellbeing model for housing and urban environments. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, 19(2), 105-131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083x.2023.2293988>
- The People's Project. <https://www.thepeoplesproject.org.nz/>
- Pierse, N., Ombler, J., Chun, S., Fraser, B., White, M., Aspinall, C., McMinn, C., Howden-Chapman, P., Hawkes, K., & Atatoa Carr, P. (2022). Two-Year Post-Housing Outcomes for a Housing First Cohort in Aotearoa New Zealand *Under revision*.
- Pierse, N., Ombler, J., White, M., Aspinall, C., McMinn, C., Atatoa-Carr, P., Nelson, J., Hawkes, K., Fraser, B., Cook, H., & Howden-Chapman, P. (2019). Service usage by a New Zealand Housing First cohort prior to being housed. *SSM-population health*, 8, 100432. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2019.100432>
- Pihama, L., Te Nana, R., & Levy, M. (2018). The development of a Kaupapa Māori Evaluation of Housing First Auckland.
- Potter, H. (2020). *He Oranga Ngākau, He Pikinga Wairua: A pūrākau of He Kāinga Ora ki Ōtautahi Housing First Christchurch*. <https://www.hud.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/Documents/Housing-First-Christchurch-Purakau-2021.pdf>
- Quince, K. (2010). The bottom of the heap? Why Maori women are over-criminalised in New Zealand. *Criminal Justice*, 295, 297.
- Reilly, A. (2019). Maori women, discrimination and paid work: The need for an intersectional approach. *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review*, 50(2), 321-339. <https://doi.org/10.26686/vuwlr.v50i2.5748>
- Rigby, B. (2017). Homelessness and housing first for Māori: Meaning and optimisation. *Parity*, 30, 41-43.
- Royal Commission of Inquiry: Abuse in Care. (2020). *Research Report: What we know about the numbers of people in care and the extent of abuse in care*. <https://www.abuseincare.org.nz/assets/Uploads/Research-Report-for-Interim-Report.pdf>

- Savage, C., Moyle, P., Kus-Harbord, L., Ahuriri-Driscoll, A., Hynds, A., Paipa, K., Leonard, G., Maraki, J., & Leonard, J. (2021). *Hāhā-uri, hāhā-tea - Māori involvement in State Care 1950-1999*. <https://www.abuseincare.org.nz/our-progress/library/v/306/haha-uri-haha-tea-maori-involvement-in-state-care-1950-1999>
- Shinn, M., Schteingart, J. S., Williams, N. C., Carlin-Mathis, J., Bialo-Karagis, N., Becker-Klein, R., & Weitzman, B. C. (2008). Long-term associations of homelessness with children's well-being. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(6), 789-809. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207311988>
- Smith, L., Davies, L., & Marama, M. (2022). *Housing First Evaluation and Rapid Rehousing Review: Phase One Report*. <https://www.hud.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/Documents/Housing-First-Evaluation-Rapid-Rehousing-Review-Phase-1-Report-v2-1.pdf>
- Spinney, A., Habibis, D., & McNelis, S. (2016). *Safe and sound? How funding mix affects homelessness support for Indigenous Australians: AHURI Final Report No. 272*.
- Stanley, E., & Mihaere, R. (2019). The problems and promise of international rights in the challenge to Māori imprisonment. *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy*, 8(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.5204/ijcsd.v8i1.1045>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2014). *New Zealand Definition of Homelessness: update*. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/Retirement-of-archive-website-project-files/Methods/New-Zealand-definition-of-homelessness/nz-definition-homelessness-2015-update.pdf>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2018, 9 November 2020). Te Kupenga: 2018. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/te-kupenga-2018-final-english>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2021a, 16 November). Māori population estimates: At 30 June 2021. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/maori-population-estimates-at-30-june-2021/>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2021b, 5 July 2022). Wellbeing Statistics: 2021. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/wellbeing-statistics-2021/>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2022). How we keep integrated data safe. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/integrated-data/how-we-keep-integrated-data-safe/>
- Stock, M. (2016). *Ending Homelessness? A critical examination of Housing First in Canada and Winnipeg*. https://policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/Manitoba%20Office/2016/02/Housing_First.pdf
- Te Kāwanatanga o Aotearoa: New Zealand Government. (2022). *Te Aorerekura: The Enduring Spirit of Affection - The National Strategy to Eliminate Family Violence and Sexual Violence*. <https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/about-us/our-work/te-aorerekura/>

- Te Mana Raraunga: Māori Data Sovereignty Network. (2018). *Principles of Māori Data Sovereignty*.
<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/58e9b10f9de4bb8d1fb5ebbc/t/5bda208b4ae237cd89ee16e9/1541021836126/TMR+Ma%CC%84ori+Data+Sovereignty+Principles+Oct+2018.pdf>
- Teng, A., Gibb, S., & Sporle, A. (2021, 19 August). Ethnicity and the IDI. <https://vhin.co.nz/guides/ethnicity-and-the-idi/#:~:text=The%20post%20aims%20to%20improve,of%20ancestry%2C%20nationality%20or%20citizenship>
- Thayer, Z., Bécares, L., & Atatoa Carr, P. (2019). Maternal experiences of ethnic discrimination and subsequent birth outcomes in Aotearoa New Zealand. *BMC Public Health*, 19(1), 1-8.
<https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-019-7598-z>
- The People's Project, Irvine, D., & Sherson, V. (2021). *The Open Door: How The People's Project worked with others to make homelessness rare, brief and non-recurring in Hamilton-Kirikiri*. The People's Project.
- Thistle, J. (2017). *Definition of Indigenous Homelessness*.
<https://www.homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/attachments/COHIndigenousHomelessnessDefinition.pdf>
- Thistle, J., & Smylie, J. (2020). Pekiwewin; (coming home): advancing good relations with Indigenous people experiencing homelessness. *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 192(10), E257.
<https://doi.org/10.1503/cmaj.200199>
- Tsemberis, S. (2024). *Presentation to Housing First Community of Practice Aotearoa NZ*.
- United Nations General Assembly. (2007). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples A/Res/61/295*.
- Wackwrow Williams and Davies Limited. (2021). "Homelessness Definition", Chapter One: Part III. In *Generic Closing Submissions: Homelessness Policy and Strategy 2009-2021 WAI 2750 #3.3.35*: Waitangi Tribunal.
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2014). *The report on Stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o Te Raki inquiry*. Ministry of Justice
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2019). *Hauora: Report on Stage One of the Health Services and Outcomes Kaupapa Inquiry*.
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2023). *Kāinga Kore: The Stage One Report of the Housing Policy and Services Kaupapa Inquiry on Māori Homelessness*.
<https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/en/inquiries/kaupapa-inquiries/housing-policy-and-services>

Welfare Expert Advisory Group. (2019). *Whakamana Tāngata: Restoring Dignity to Social Security in New Zealand*.

Yu, C., Buchanan, M., Te Ora, E., Pehi, T., Leigh, L., Howden-Chapman, P., Paul, J., & Pierse, N. (2025). The Importance of Housing Assistance on Reducing Youth Offending in New Zealand. *Urban Policy and Research*, 43(2), 121-136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08111146.2025.2503141>

Glossary⁴

Ahi ka roa	Continuous occupation (long burning fires)
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Iwi	Tribe
Kāinga	Home
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship
Kaupapa	Subject or principles
Kaupapa Māori	Te Ao Māori method and principles
Kawa	Protocol
Kotahitanga	Unity, solidarity
Mana	Inherent prestige and authority in a person, place or object
Mana whenua	Authority over land or territory
Manaakitanga	Generosity, hospitality, kindness
Māori	A collective term for peoples Indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand. Means 'ordinary people' (as opposed to Pākehā - others).
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Rangatiratanga	Chieftainship
Rangatahi	Youth
Tapu	Sacred
Tauīwi	Foreigner/non-Māori
Te Ao Māori	Māori world or Māori world view
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is commonly used to refer to the Māori text, which takes precedence in international law.
Tikanga	Custom, correct procedure
Tino Rangatiratanga	Sovereignty, self-determination or agency
Tu Mana Motuhake	Autonomy, self-determination
Wāhine	Women
Waitangi Tribunal	A permanent commission of inquiry set up by the New Zealand Government in 1975, with the purpose of investigating and making recommendations on claims brought by Māori against the Crown, relating to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whānau	Family

⁴ Most definitions provided here are abridged from Te Aka: Māori Dictionary.

Whānau Ora	Family health and wellbeing; also the name of a government programme
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship, sense of belonging
Whāre Ōranga	Healthy home
Whenua	Land or placenta