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# A CRITICAL REVIEW OF RANGATAHI MĀORI AND HOUSING POLICY



*WORKING PAPER*  
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## **Abstract**

The literature review was developed for the Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua Strategic Research Area as part of the Urban intergenerational Kāinga Innovations (UIKI) research programme facilitated by the National Science Challenge 11 - Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities. The UIKI research programme investigates the potential of kāinga innovations to support intergenerational Māori housing aspirations and the diverse needs of whānau, hapū, iwi, and marae in Tāmaki Makaurau. Within the UIKI research programme, we have four research projects. However, for this working paper, we locate the critical review within the context of the research project 'He tātai whetu ki te rangi, he rangatahi ki te kāinga: Rangatahi pathways to safe, secure and affordable homes'. The review was prepared by and for our rangatahi team to identify the gaps and opportunities in the current housing system, provide a brief overview of why we need to consider rangatahi Māori in housing policy, and identify areas for further research.

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## 1. Introduction

Housing, poverty, and inequality are the most significant issues affecting whānau in Aotearoa (Ipsos, 2021). When housing costs are considered, nearly a quarter of children grow up in poverty (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2020). In 2018, 41,644 people reported experiencing severe housing deprivation (Amore et al., 2020). Estimates and rates also show that Pacific and Māori rangatahi are overrepresented and experience the highest severe housing deprivation (Amore et al., 2020). With declining trends in homeownership rates and a rapid increase in young people experiencing homelessness, there are significant concerns about housing policy and the lack of support for rangatahi Māori, many of whom are in desperate need of warm, safe, and secure housing.

This paper constitutes a review of rangatahi Māori and housing policy in Tāmaki Makaurau, Aotearoa New Zealand. It is part of a broader research project, “Urban Intergenerational Kāinga Innovations,” primarily focused on Tāmaki Makaurau. The research project adopts kaupapa Māori methodologies, which enable the opportunity to produce research that seeks to improve policy practices and outcomes for Māori (Walker et al., 2006) and, in this case, more specifically, identify gaps in public policy in the area of housing. Therefore, kaupapa Māori research undertaken to explore housing issues in Tāmaki Makaurau is critical. It is our most prominent city in Aotearoa (1.6 million people), with the highest number of Māori. Based on the 2018 census, 23.4% of the total Māori population live in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland Council, 2020a). Much of this Māori population comprises rangatahi, with over half under 25 years and nearly a third under 15 years. These demographics are essential to understand, given the ongoing housing challenges in Tāmaki Makaurau.

The housing needs and aspirations of rangatahi Māori are diverse, distinctive, and complex. This paper will contribute to a broader review of existing research to better understand the housing needs, pathways, and barriers for rangatahi Māori. The literature review will analyse a wide range of secondary data, including policy information, statistical data, and relevant case studies, to understand rangatahi Māori and housing policy representation. The paper will briefly summarise appropriate policy and academic literature to better understand the housing landscape for rangatahi Māori living in Tāmaki Makaurau and explore how the housing crisis impacts the growing rangatahi Māori population and their housing conditions. The paper consists of four parts: 1) an introduction and a brief overview of the project; 2) methodology; 3) a brief review of policy conditions and context concerning Māori housing and youth housing; 4) conclusions and recommendations. This paper assesses and analyses relevant housing policies from 2009–2020.

## Background

Tāmaki Makaurau is characterised by its high living cost, the undersupply of houses and unaffordable house prices (Kendall, 2016; Johnson et al., 2018). The high cost of living typically outstrips the earning capacity of many constituents, who have become entirely priced out of the conventional housing market. According to the Auckland Council Chief Economist, the median dwelling price for Tāmaki increased by 17%, from \$494,000 in 2012 to \$847,000 in 2017 (Auckland Council Chief Economist, 2018). Meanwhile, the median household income only increased from \$78,100 to \$97,300 (by 25%) during this same period. Further, according to the Real Estate Institute of New Zealand (REINZ), in February 2021, data shows the median house price in Tāmaki was \$1,100,000 compared to the national median house price of \$780,000 (REINZ, 2021a; REINZ, 2021b). This is exacerbated by the housing shortfall of approximately 46,000 dwellings in Tāmaki, with fewer houses built after the 2008 Global Financial Crisis and exceptional population growth in recent years (Auckland Council Chief Economist, 2018)

Poor access to affordable housing and homeownership raises concerns for Māori. Owner-occupied homes tend to be less crowded and of better quality and living conditions (Howden-Chapman et al., 2021). Many Māori live in precarious conditions, and over 60% of the Māori population are renters; therefore, they live in a more significant position of insecurity (Menzies et al., 2019). Between 1986 and 2013, among the overall population who rent, the rental of state houses dropped by 29% for Māori compared to 16% overall (Johnson et al., 2018), and the rental of properties in the private sector increased from 41% to 77% for Māori (Johnson et al., 2018). As a result, low-income Māori renters are being pushed into substandard, overcrowded homes and have ended up on the social housing waiting list or experiencing homelessness. Furthermore, young people delay household formation due to living with their parents and whānau because they cannot afford to move out (Stats NZ, 2020).

## Rangatahi Māori

There are many definitions used to demonstrate and try to encapsulate the essence of 'rangatahi.' The Māori dictionary refers to rangatahi as "Young, youth, and younger generation" (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, 2021). Keelan describes how the word 'rangatahi' gained popularity through the works of Hoani Waititi, an educationist of the 1950s and 60s (Keelan, 2001). This period links to the decades of urban migration of rangatahi to Tāmaki Makaurau, which is discussed later in this paper. Additionally, in the chapter 'Ka Pu te Ruha Ka Hao te Rangatahi,' Keelan describes the essence of rangatahi, breaking the word into its two parts – ranga and tahi:

Ranga, in the context of the whakataukī, is a reference to raising up, or it can also be a reference to weaving. Tahi is a reference to being together or as one. It can therefore be assumed; rangatahi also means raising a single weave or a weave that

brings everything together, enclosing and encompassing. So in using rangatahi to reference youth, the implication with an understanding of these meanings is that they are the point at which humans, including Māori, are woven together, meet, and then spread out. It makes sense if one considers they are the generation where whānau are usually bound to each other through marriage. (2014, p. 91)

As emphasised by Keelan, we can understand the importance of rangatahi as they are at the point at which Māori are woven together, meet, and then spread out. This is vital as we learn the shifts of urban migration for rangatahi who moved away from home to Tāmaki Makaurau in the past and those who have always maintained their presence as ahi kā. It also supports the concept of understanding the role of rangatahi in Māori society past, present, and future. How might we continue to support, foster, and nurture rangatahi Māori to fulfil their aspirations to thrive and prosper, with housing as a critical component of supporting the health and wellbeing of their everyday lives?

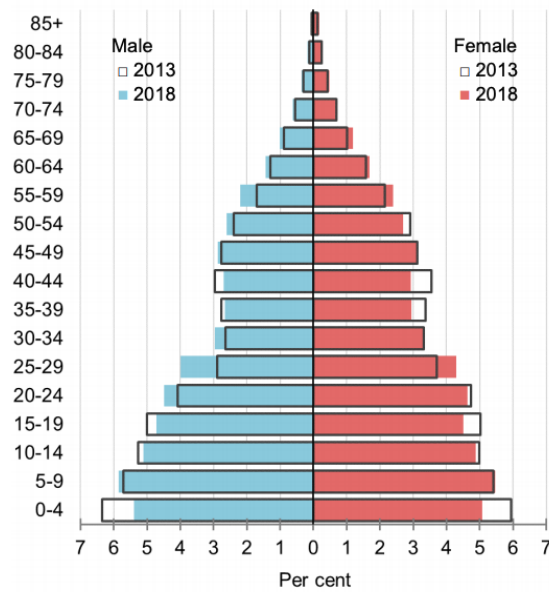
### **Demographics and Age Structure**

For this specific working paper and analysis, we define the rangatahi Māori cohort as aged between 15 and 25 years. This is a narrower age range than is identified in our research project "He Tātai Whetu ki te Rangi, He Rangatahi ki te Kāinga: Rangatahi pathways to safe, secure, and affordable homes." That more comprehensive project will focus on the larger cohort of Māori who are between 15 and 34 years of age. Rangatahi live in dire conditions, and age specifications vary between different agencies and organisations. This creates further issues and complexities, and Keelan recognises that "varied definitions of youth across different public policymaking limit effectiveness" (quoted in Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2011, p. 5). It is important to note that measures and data vary across government agencies and community organisations.

The Māori population in Tāmaki Makaurau is fast growing and relatively youthful, with just over a third of Māori in Auckland residing in South Auckland (Auckland Council, 2020a). Between the 2013 and 2018 Census, Auckland's overall Māori population grew by 26.9% (Auckland Council, 2020a). The Māori population in Tāmaki is currently 180,000; by 2036, it is projected to reach over 200,000 (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2017). Rangatahi Māori are a significant demographic in the Māori population, especially in Tāmaki Makaurau. At the 2018 Census, the median age of the ethnic Māori population in Tāmaki Makaurau (see Figure 1) was 24.9 years, compared with 34.7 years overall. Māori females (25.9 years) had a higher median age than Māori males (23.9 years) (Auckland Council, 2020a, p. 3).

Figure 1. Age structure.

Māori age /sex structure (2013 compared with 2018)



Age	Māori		Other Ethnicities	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
0-14	57,618	31.8	256,227	18.4
15-64	114,432	63.2	954,276	68.6
65 +	9144	5.0	180,033	12.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>181,194</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,390,536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Auckland Council (2020a).

## 2. Methodology

There is extensive housing policy literature. However, few works concerning Māori housing policy specifically adopt kaupapa Māori methods (Menzies, 2018) and recognise rangatahi Māori. We posit the need to undertake this research as determined ‘by rangatahi Māori for rangatahi Māori,’ grounded in kaupapa Māori theory. Through this process, we discover significant relationships between housing policy and health and wellbeing outcomes for rangatahi Māori. Identifying these relationships between policy and living conditions for rangatahi Māori enables opportunities for targeted approaches to address social and cultural disparities and inequities. We understand that Māori are not a homogenous group, but the rangatahi Māori we have worked with in the first tranche of this research share distinctive challenges and ideas concerning housing issues, especially in Tāmaki Makaurau. This review discusses rangatahi Māori and housing policies as relevant. We also note that most Māori

housing reports and publications tend not to be represented in academic journals but in government publications, media articles, and alternative forms.

This paper has been prepared for the Kāinga Tahī Kāinga Rua research stream as part of the National Science Challenge: Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities by the team members of Urban Intergenerational Kāinga Innovations (UIKI), more specifically Rangatahi ki te Kāinga. This review will respond to the following research sub-questions:

- What are the existing housing provisions and support for rangatahi Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau?
- What are the gaps between needs and the current provision of housing for rangatahi Māori?

A critical review and brief analysis of housing policies aim to identify gaps and opportunities in the current housing policy context to identify areas for further research for the more extensive research study “He Tātai Whetu ki te Rangi, He Rangatahi ki te Kāinga: Rangatahi pathways to safe, secure and affordable homes.” This research project builds on tranche 1, which focused on rangatahi Māori perceptions of housing and papakāinga. This review aims to set the foundation for further qualitative research on Māori housing and further investigate the realities facing rangatahi Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau and pathways to ensuring warm, safe, secure, and affordable homes.

Critical to our research, half of our Rangatahi ki te Kāinga research team whakapapa to Tāmaki Makaurau and the other half are mataawaka, which we think is critical to engage in the research, considering the work we are undertaking in this region. We acknowledge and recognise the 19 iwi authorities (Auckland Council, 2021a). We also recognise the many Māori organisations and marae continuing to awhi, manaaki, and sustain our communities. We are reviewing and analysing central and local government housing policies instead of iwi- and hapū-based housing strategies, policies, and provisions. However, there are many great case studies presented by iwi, hapū, and marae that we may explore for further research.

### **Search Strategy and Selection Criteria**

We identified literature through searches of Web of Science, Google Scholar, Unitec Online Library, and Mendeley. We used the term ‘Māori Housing Policy’ for all searches, and exact words in the titles were also used in Google Scholar to reduce the number of works found. Online searches are all in English, with none found in te reo Māori. Ninety-three relevant papers were found across all four search engines, and duplicates were removed manually. Approximately 60 peer-reviewed papers were

retained; however, not all are necessarily included or referred to directly in this paper but will support the broader literature review undertaken in the “Rangatahi ki te Kāinga” project.

Articles were selected based on their relevance to housing and the quality of the methodology. None of the academic literature is specifically relevant to rangatahi Māori housing issues. Therefore, grey literature (policy) was manually searched for relevant information specific to Māori housing but not necessarily published in academic forums. For example, technical and research reports from Auckland Council, Te Matapihi, and the Independent Māori Statutory Board were analysed to identify critical issues and challenges raised in Tāmaki Makaurau. The majority of the literature in this paper was drawn from grey literature, particularly from government and non-government agencies that have published many reports about housing issues in recent times. This method recognises academic and policy gaps in the literature; however, this research aims to contribute to the limited body of knowledge.

### **3. Policy Context**

Housing policy design and implementation in Aotearoa is heavily centralised. In this context, housing policy concerns the processes and outcomes of government intervention in the housing market (Lund, 2017). Housing policies of the past continue to impact rangatahi Māori and their living conditions today. However, the scope of the review is limited to Māori and youth housing policies in the contemporary setting for the period of 2009–2020 (see McKenzie, 2021). This is mainly due to the project's focus on the most significant policies impacting the recent experiences of Māori and ensuring the project's scope is manageable.

Housing issues are a source of considerable debate in Aotearoa. Housing policy and the concept of homeownership in Aotearoa have been firmly centred on the British model, which has created long-term impacts on Māori communities (Murphy & Cloher, 1995). The current housing shortage and its effects on marginalised communities continue to challenge central and local governments. Māori are disadvantaged due to colonisation (Rout et al., 2019), significantly impacting past and present generations. Further, many works of literature on housing policy (Davey & Kearns, 1994) specifically refer to significant events which have created a shift in living conditions for Māori. Early shifts include economic changes and urban migration from rural communities to urban centres in the 1950s (Williams, 2015). This shift contributed to the difference in homeownership rates between Māori and Pākehā during this period, which led to the following decades of high living costs in Tāmaki Makaurau, entrenching disparities, especially for Māori (Flynn et al., 2010). In addition, the Town and Country Planning Act was introduced in 1953, the Housing Act in 1955, and the Tenancy Act in 1955. The National Housing Council and a Minister of Housing portfolio were set up in 1953 following the National Housing Conference (McKenzie, 2021). These policies would have created significant changes for Māori society. Williams (2015) describes the migration shift for Panguru rangatahi Māori, who moved

post-World War II to Tāmaki Makaurau in search of a new home. Williams discusses the challenges the migration had on the lives of many rangatahi, which included facing and encountering racial prejudice and assimilation policies. This is a critical assertion by Williams as it is evident that socioeconomic disparities impacted many rangatahi during this period compared to their Pākehā counterparts.

Nevertheless, these patterns are still prevalent today. Similar findings were evident in the Youth 19 Survey concerning housing deprivation, which discusses how youth housing deprivation affects Māori and ethnic minorities and is likely to reflect more significant issues of housing unaffordability and ethnic discrimination in renting practices (University of Auckland, 2021, p. 10). The positioning of Māori in the current housing crisis is not new for many who have borne the brunt for generations. Further, Rout et al. (2020) provide a detailed account and a comprehensive timeline discussing Māori housing policy in their report *Impact of housing policy on Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau*. Understanding the policy context is critical to understanding how the lack of targeted approaches has contributed to the growing inequality of Māori and their housing conditions. This paper builds on this body of work and focuses on a period that has informed contemporary housing issues.

### **Policy Framework: The Housing Continuum**

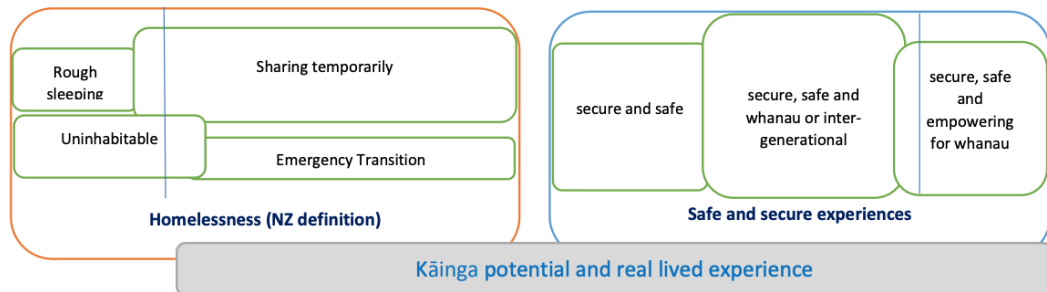
The housing continuum (see Figure 2) is a policy framework that provides an overview of various households across many tenures. Although it does not necessarily express a Māori approach to housing, this framework provides an overview of the current system to help understand where Māori are located within the housing landscape. It sets the foundation for developing housing policies, economic settings, and the distribution of resources. For example, there has been a strong policy focus on emergency housing by the New Zealand government. In 2018, the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) introduced an Emergency Housing Special Needs Grant (EH SNG), which assists individuals and families with the cost of staying in short-term accommodation (usually a motel or hostel) when they are temporarily unable to access MSD's contracted transitional housing places (Ministry of Social Development, 2019). In the June 2018 quarter, 54% of EH SNG grants went to Māori and 21% to New Zealand Europeans (Ministry of Social Development, 2018). This is a general representation of how both central and local governments use the housing continuum tool. However, the Independent Māori Statutory Board (IMSB) have created their own take on what the continuum (see Figure 3) may look like, to address significant gaps in the generic housing continuum, which is perceived as colonial and capitalist and requires a review (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2019b). We agree with the approach the IMSB has taken, as specific policy tools tend to continue to treat housing as a commodity and a highly financialised asset instead of drawing on intrinsic Māori values grounded and anchored in the notion of kāinga.

Figure 2. The housing continuum.



Source: Auckland Council (2021b).

Figure 3. Rethinking the housing continuum.



Source: Independent Māori Statutory Board (2019b).

**Overview of Housing Policy from 2009 to 2020**

Many regulatory and legal changes from 2009 to 2020 significantly influenced housing across Aotearoa. For example, in 2013, the Housing Accords and Special Housing Areas legislation enabled the streamlining of new housing developments and allowed Special Housing Areas to be designated under accords between the Government and Council (NZ Government, 2013). Following this, Housing Accords and Special Housing Areas were introduced in Auckland (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2020a; NZ Government, 2013), which provided a good vehicle for some innovative

developments and others that were highly controversial from a planning stance. In 2014, the Ministerial Direction on Eligibility for Social Housing set the eligibility criteria for social housing (see Ministry of Social Development, 2014; McKenzie, 2021). Also released in 2014, *He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata – The Māori Housing Strategy* (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2014) was put in place to reflect the Government's desire for a long-term strategy to improve Māori housing and respond to the housing aspirations of whānau, hapū, and iwi. In 2015 the Tenancy Laws changed, with reform to the Residential Tenancies Act 1986, and in 2020 there were new changes such as transitional and emergency housing becoming exempt from the Act, rent increases being limited to once every 12 months, and significant other tenancy law changes, including to tenancy terminations (New Zealand Government, 2020). In 2016, the Social Housing Reform (Transactions Mandate) Bill amended the Housing Act 1955, the Housing Corporation Act 1974, and the Housing Restructuring and Tenancy Matters Act 1992 to provide a transparent mechanism for the Government to transfer properties from Housing New Zealand to the community housing sector.

Significant institutional changes in local government and the public sector occurred from 2009 to 2020, contributing to the housing landscape in Tāmaki Makaurau. For example, the IMSB was established in 2009 to support Auckland Council and ensure that Māori were taken into account in decision-making processes within Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland Council, 2020b). The 2012 Māori Plan (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2012) for Tāmaki Makaurau recognises the importance of housing, papakāinga and rangatahi. The IMSB has been instrumental in guiding the directions for Māori housing policy in Tāmaki Makaurau and developed the Kāinga Strategic Action Plan (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2019a), a plan to improve housing outcomes for Māori. The plan is guided by Te Tiriti o Waitangi and is founded on the notion of kāinga. It consists of a delivery and implementation work programme, headline outcomes, and action plan, followed by key targeted directions, and is firmly focused on improving housing outcomes for Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau. Although this plan does not necessarily focus on rangatahi Māori specifically, it strongly focuses on whānau-centred strategies. However, interestingly, in the Long-Term Plan 2018–2021 Advocacy Business Case produced by IMSB, they specifically identify the need for “Leveraging investment in CAPEX, unique cultural identity, rangatahi, and affordable housing as part of an integrated plan to drive economic development” (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2017, p. 14). Rangatahi Māori are a crucial part of local government plans, and this is especially important for a statutory body advocating for specific resources to support their needs and their aspirations for affordability as part of a broader economic development strategy for Māori.

In 2010, Auckland Council amalgamated one regional council and seven territorial authorities and required a unitary plan for the Auckland region, working with organisations like Te Matapihi to develop new planning documents for the broader Tāmaki region. The *Auckland Unitary Plan* provided some flexibility for housing and a more comprehensive range of development options for Māori land (Controller and Auditor-General, 2014). These processes created significant planning changes,

affecting the city's social, cultural, and urban fabric. The most significant reference to Māori housing relevant to this paper is the *Auckland Plan 2050*, which includes a specific focus area to invest in and support Māori to meet their specific housing aspirations (Auckland Council, 2018). Additionally, goal 7 of *I Am Auckland – An Auckland-wide strategic action plan for children and young people: Stage 1* is titled “Rangatahi tū Rangatira – All rangatahi will thrive.” The plan asserts:

Auckland Council is committed to working with rangatahi to bring this goal to life. We are working together to ensure that the needs, wants and aspirations of young Māori are recognised across the council whānau. (Auckland Council, 2013, p. 29)

In 2012, Tamaki Regeneration Company was set up under the National Government with Auckland Council to form New Zealand's first urban redevelopment company to achieve social, economic, and housing objectives and transform Tāmaki (McKenzie, 2021). TRC developed a Māori engagement strategy to include mana whenua, iwi, and the Māori community. It is a contentious project that is highly researched and often discussed in the housing sector, but there are no specific housing provisions for rangatahi Māori in this area. In 2015, Panuku Development was established as a council-controlled organisation as Auckland Council's property delivery arm. They specifically work under the umbrella of plans and policies designed and developed by the Auckland Council. Panuku has specific mana whenua housing outcomes, in which they seek to partner and support Māori housing in various ways. Haumarū Housing is a registered community housing provider of holistic tenancy and asset management services for older people (see Haumarū Housing, 2017, para 1). This is a partnership between Aotearoa charitable trust The Selwyn Foundation and Auckland Council. Lastly, in 2017 the Auckland Council Mayoral Housing Taskforce was set up but failed to mention or include anything Māori specific.

### **Māori Housing Policies**

Four key housing policies are commonly referred to and relevant to Māori housing (as of December 2020). These are:

- Kainga Whenua Loan Scheme was introduced in 2010 by Housing New Zealand and Kiwibank. This initiative intends to support Māori homeownership on whenua Māori (see Kāinga Ora, 2021).
- The He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata – Māori Housing Strategy (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2014), released in 2014, focuses on improving Māori housing and responding to aspirations of whānau, hapū, and iwi.
- Aotearoa/New Zealand Homelessness Action Plan (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2020b), released in 2020, sets an overarching framework for communities to work together to prevent and reduce homelessness.

- The Māori and Iwi Housing Innovation (MAIHI), a framework for action that was developed and released in 2020 by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. MAIHI is designed to give Ministers and the housing sector a comprehensive understanding of the Government's housing policies, programmes, and investments (Office of the Associate Minister of Housing, 2020)

Of the four critical plans and policies identified, all make critical references supporting Māori housing aspirations, but only MAIHI includes a specific provision for rangatahi Māori and homeownership. There is little detail about what this may look like, as this has only been recently introduced. The identified housing policies are currently debated in the Wai 2750 – Housing Policy and Services Inquiry. Housing policy, practice, and regulation of the housing market are among the key themes identified by the Waitangi Tribunal (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019).

### **Youth Housing Policies**

Four targeted youth housing policies are designed and delivered by the New Zealand Government. Although these do not specifically apply to rangatahi Māori, they are still relevant to the context of understanding housing policy by the government for rangatahi. These are:

- Emergency Youth Housing was introduced in 2009 and administered by the Ministry of Social Development.
- The Expert Panel on Modernising Child, Youth, and Family, was established in April 2015, which focuses on investing in New Zealand's children and their families (Ministry of Social Development, 2016).
- Transforming our Response to Children and Young People at Risk of Harm: Paper Six: Transition Support, initially introduced in 2018 by Oranga Tamariki (Oranga Tamariki, 2019).
- Oranga Tamariki Practice Centre, Transition to Adulthood – Advice and Assistance (Oranga Tamariki, 2020a, 2020c).

Oranga Tamariki (OT) transition statistics demonstrate that 66% of the young people they work with are Māori (Oranga Tamariki, 2020b). Interestingly, there are solid provisions and obligations that OT has to tamariki and rangatahi under Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which are recognised under Section 7aa of the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989. This legislation explicitly references “Māori children and young persons.” It is imperative and concerning regarding the living situations of many young people and children exiting state care. It is understood that once they leave care, the state is not obliged to monitor and ensure that they have warm, safe, and secure housing, and that they may exit into homelessness given the housing crisis, shortage, and extensive waitlist for public housing.

## 4. Conclusion

There are no existing housing provisions and support for rangatahi Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau. This is concerning given the high proportion of the young Māori population and the exorbitant house prices that will continue to increase. When housing is scarce or expensive, young people may stay at home longer or crowd in together. Considering that many Māori already live in overcrowded conditions, exacerbation of housing stress will have long-term health outcomes for many whānau, especially rangatahi Māori. An equity-based approach is critical to improving the living conditions for rangatahi Māori. This is an opportunity to enable kaupapa Māori approaches to addressing Māori housing issues with Māori solutions.

It is difficult to ascertain the gaps between the needs and the current provisions of housing rangatahi Māori. With only limited research or data captured to demonstrate the demand and needs of rangatahi, it is not easy to draw on this and provide a clear position. However, we found no current provision for housing rangatahi Māori, although the inclusion of rangatahi Māori in the MAIHI framework will be critical to target their specific needs, especially those on the far left of the housing continuum. Further research and a detailed data analysis are required to understand the current housing landscape of rangatahi Māori. We are seeing a growing number of rangatahi Māori experiencing youth homelessness, living in emergency housing, and living longer in social housing. It is difficult for rangatahi to progress along the housing continuum as affordable housing is inaccessible, private rentals are expensive, and homeownership is becoming less attainable. We provide two key recommendations to address the gaps identified:

### **Invest in Rangatahi Māori Housing Research and Data**

Rangatahi Māori have their own distinctive needs, issues, and challenges. However, there is currently a dearth of literature and information about, by, and for rangatahi Māori. There is a lack of support from the central government, as demonstrated by the identified Māori and youth housing policies. Furthermore, the MAIHI framework's introduction is the most innovative and progressive policy developed within the housing space and recognises the importance of intergenerational solutions, including rangatahi Māori. A recent budget in 2020 for \$40 million to supplement work that targets and impacts Māori, aided by the MAIHI framework, requires further investment. Nevertheless, there are still significant gaps and challenges, which our team will explore further.

### **Improve Housing Policy for Rangatahi Māori**

There is a lack of housing policy and pathways specifically for rangatahi Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau. Rangatahi Māori tend not to be included or recognised in national and local plans, policies, or strategies. Given the growing young Māori population, there needs to be a targeted and equitable approach that aims to improve homeownership pathways and opportunities. If this is not addressed in Tāmaki Makaurau, rangatahi Māori will continue to live at home longer and in dire and overcrowded living conditions, which creates poor housing and wellbeing outcomes for rangatahi Māori.

The needs of rangatahi Māori need to inform housing policy and build on the existing work identified in the report *Māori and housing in Tāmaki Makaurau: A stocktake of issues, experiences, and initiatives*, developed by Auckland Council (Auckland Council, 2016). The report also makes it clear that the council does not design and deliver relevant housing policy that attends to the housing needs and aspirations of rangatahi Māori and identifies potential opportunities for local government organisations to do so. Any policies designed should align with the Māori outcomes set out in the Kāinga Strategic Action Plan (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2019a), which would provide the basis for forming a strategy that identifies potential pathways for rangatahi Māori. There needs to be a strategic approach in collaboration with the central government as the youth housing policies are fragmented in their current state and do not enable rangatahi to progress from one end of the housing continuum in emergency housing to homeownership at the other. Significant barriers need addressing to enable such transitions and pathways to independence.

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