Investigating the New Zealand Government's Understanding of Homelessness in Aotearoa New Zealand 2008–2018: A Systematic Review of Grey Literature

RENEE SHUM [1]

Abstract

In recent years, homelessness in New Zealand has gained significant policy recognition as evident through the development of the Aotearoa New Zealand Homelessness Action Plan. Prior to this Government-led cross-agency plan to end homelessness, the issue remained politically marginalised. Despite the existence of both the official New Zealand definition of homelessness (Statistics New Zealand, 2009, updated 2015) and the operationalisation of this definition in severe housing deprivation in New Zealand (Amore et al., 2013), understandings of homelessness remained open for debate and interpretation among government officials and politicians. In the absence of a consistent definition of homelessness, this paper explores how homelessness was understood by government officials and politicians between 2008 and 2018, and considers the contribution of the action plan to shape government understandings of homelessness in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Keywords: homelessness, definitions, understandings, policy response

Whakarāpopotonga

I ēnei tau tata nei, kua tipu haere te hira taha kaupapahere nei o te kāinga koretanga, ā, e kitea ana tērā mā te whakawhanaketanga o te Mahere Mahi Kāinga Koretanga o Aoteareoa. I mua i tēnei mahere whakawhiti umanga, e arahina ana e te kāwanatanga, ki te whakamutu i te kāinga koretanga, e noho ana taua take hei take tōrangapū kua panaia ki te taha. Ahakoa te tautuhinga whaimana o Aotearoa o te kāinga koretanga (Tatauranga Aoteaora 2008, he mea whakahou i te 2015) me te whakatinanatanga o taua tautuhinga i Severe Housing Deprivation in New Zealand: The problem and its measurement (Kate Amore mā, 2013), e noho ana taua tautuhinga hei

[1] Renee is a Policy Advisor at Te Manatū Whakahiato Ora / Ministry of Social Development. This paper was written while she was a doctoral student at Te Ngira Institute for Population Research, University of Waikato and was the winning entry in the Population Association of New Zealand's 2021 Jacoby Prize. Email: reneefrances.shum@gmail.com.

take taukumekume, hei take whai whakamāramatanga rerekē i waenga i ngā āpiha o te kāwanatanga me ngā kaitōrangapū. Nā te korenga e ōrite te whakaae ki aua tautuhinga o te kāinga koretanga, ka torotoro tēnei pepa i te āhua o te māramatanga o ngā āpiha o te kāwanatanga me ngā kaitōrangapū ki te kāinga koretanga i waenga i te 2008 – 2018. Ka whai whakaaro anō hoki tēnei pepa ki te whai wāhi o te mahere mahi ki te auaha i te orotau o te kāwanatanga ki te kāinga koretanga i Aotearoa.

Ngā kupu matua: kāinga koretanga, te takaonge whai whare taumaha, kaupapahere whai whare, arotake pūnahanaha

F ar removed from the narrative of home ownership which once dominated discussions around housing in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is now widely accepted that after years of insufficient housing policy, severe housing deprivation (SHD, otherwise referred to as homelessness) marks the experience of approximately 102,000 people living in this country (Amore et al., 2021). Up until the release of the Aotearoa New Zealand Homelessness Action Plan, there existed a large divide between the understanding of homelessness by New Zealand academics and within Government, and consequent policy considerations. Within New Zealand literature, academics emphasised the structural and new orthodoxy conceptualisations of homelessness (Amore & Aspinall, 2007; Leggatt-Cook & Chamberlain, 2015; Thorns, 1989).[1, 2] Such literature also documented the tendency for Government debates to rely on individualist understandings of homelessness and the inability for Government, service providers and the public to garner consensus on an appropriate definition of homelessness (Anderson & Collins, 2014; Laurenson & Collins, 2007; Thorns, 1989).

While the key role of definitions is to allow for the systematic examination of social objects, the New Zealand definition of homelessness, as developed by government officials and published by Statistics New Zealand in 2009, had limited impact on public understanding of the issue. Rather than acting as a framing device to shape the knowledge of homelessness and of the homeless population in Aotearoa New Zealand, some of the dominant understandings of homelessness defaulted to 'everyday' ideas informed by individualist

conceptualisations through which homelessness was synonymous with rough sleeping. The aim of this research is to explore how homelessness is considered, understood and responded to by Government in New Zealand. Although New Zealand academics have commented on aspects of the way in which homelessness has been understood by Government, no in-depth or systematic review of conceptualisation has previously been undertaken. This article presents the results of a systematic review of grey literature that examines the ways in which the New Zealand Government considered homelessness and the ways in which homelessness was understood between 2008 and 2018.

What's in a definition?

Definitions are important for their role as both conceptual and practical devices through which an issue is framed and the population to be served by policy responses is classified (Arapoglou, 2004; Chamberlain & Johnson, 2001; Chamberlain & MacKenzie, 1992; Maeseele et al., 2013). As such, a definition of homelessness has consequences for policy, resource allocation and the parameters used to measure the impact of homeless initiatives (Frankish et al., 2005). Given the role of definitions in policies and responses to homelessness, there is much to be gained from a degree of definitional agreement between academic and political communities (Frankish et al., 2005). Definitions of homelessness state what homelessness is and describe the conditions within which homelessness is considered to occur (Schiff, 2003). Definitions of homelessness are socially constructed. The boundary between home and homeless is arrived at in a relative way, as informed by the divergent standards between different contexts around what constitutes adequate standards of living. Thus, there is consensus among scholars that reaching a single or universal definition of homelessness is impossible (Chamberlain & MacKenzie, 1992; Cronley, 2010; DeVerteuil et al., 2009; Hopper, 1995).

Literature on definitions of homelessness also confirms the highly political nature of definitions. Scholars note how, rather than reflecting reality, it has been common for definitions to express the perspectives of commentators whose interests are serviced by minimising or maximising the scale of the problem (Chamberlain, 2012; Chamberlain & Johnson, 2001; Chamberlain & MacKenzie, 1992). Furthermore, as Daly (1996) reported, debates around definitions of homelessness have been so dominated by political discussion that the concept of homelessness itself became mystified. Subsequently, definitions of homelessness began to be "denied or dismissed as unwieldly, abstract or diffuse, even intractable" (Daly, 1996, p. 9).

Uncertain beginnings – the definition of homelessness in New Zealand

In 2008, government officials recognised that a valid definition of homelessness was required for the production of statistics to inform welfare and housing policy around the issue of homelessness. It was through the development of the New Zealand definition of homelessness (Statistics New Zealand, 2009) and subsequent statistical collections that responses to homelessness could be informed by real need. Unfortunately, the development of the New Zealand definition of homelessness did not result in such statistical collection, and it was not until the development of a methodology to estimate homelessness (Amore et al., 2013) that statistics on homelessness in Aotearoa New Zealand were available.

In 2013, Amore and her colleagues published their work on severe housing deprivation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Employing the term 'severe housing deprivation' rather than homelessness, Amore et al. (2013) developed a more theoretically robust conceptualisation than was provided in the definition published by Statistics New Zealand in 2009. Amore et al. (2013, p. 7) defined *severe housing deprivation* as "people living in severely inadequate housing due to lack of access to minimally adequate housing". By using census and

administrative data, Amore et al. (2013) provided the first statistical estimation of homelessness/severe housing deprivation in Aotearoa New Zealand. Despite the use of official sources and alignment with the official definition, the notion of severe housing deprivation and the subsequent statistics were critiqued by politicians as being 'too broad' to be of analytic value (see Bennett, 2016; Smith, 2013b). Such dismissal of a statistically grounded definition of homelessness in Aotearoa New Zealand faced the dilemma as outlined by Daly (1996). With the government of the time refusing to accept two published definitions of homelessness – one developed by government officials and one produced by academics – it remained unclear as to what its understanding of homelessness was. Insight on the Government understanding of homelessness can, however, be obtained by drawing on the opinion held by Schiff (2003) that it is possible to look at the use of definitions and the position that they hold in order to see who holds the power to define and shape responses to homelessness.

Method

Systematic review – purpose and procedure

Systematic reviews are used as a research method to identify, evaluate and integrate the findings of individual studies in order to address a specified research question. A systematic review may be defined as "a review of a clearly formulated question that uses systematic and explicit methods to identify, select, and critically appraise relevant research, and to collect and analyse data from the studies that are included in the review" (Cochrane Library, 2020). Systematic reviews differ from literature reviews in that they utilise specific protocols and procedures that can be replicated by other researchers. When applied within the social sciences, it is not always appropriate or practical to use the same methodology that is followed within health-related disciplines. Instead, when identifying and exploring conceptual evidence on a topic, as is the case in this research, strict systematic processes have been applied to collect

articles, and a qualitative approach is used to assess their findings (Grant & Booth, 2009; Snyder, 2019). Given that researchers have not previously investigated the definition and understanding of homelessness by the New Zealand Government, this systematic review offers a departure from their traditional application. Specifically, rather than collating and analysing data from studies that align with the inquiry of investigation, this research focuses on primary sources such as material generated by private and public sector actors and agencies that are directly involved with homelessness in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Eligibility criteria

Search results were considered for qualitative analysis according to the inclusion and exclusion criteria set out below. A search result was included if it met at least one of the following criteria:

- provided a definition of homelessness
- made reference to a definition of homelessness (either through data or explicitly)
- made reference to a living situation(s) in reference to homelessness
- described the characteristics of particular populations within the context of homelessness, or
- included a general discussion about the definition of homelessness in New Zealand.

A search result was excluded if it:

- employed the word homeless not relevant to any of the above criteria
- fell outside of the specified date range
- was not a text document, or
- was not relevant to the New Zealand context.

Information sources – identification and search

Information sources included documents produced by relevant government ministries and organisations. Ministries and

organisations were deemed relevant if they were responsible for social services such as health, welfare, housing and justice, or if they were involved with Government discussions in regard to homelessness. Different keyword searches were utilised within each information source in order to return relevant results as determined by prior knowledge and understanding of the role of each organisation, department and ministry (see Table 1).

Table 1: Keywords used for the systematic search

Department, ministry or organisation	Keywords used for the systematic search	Justification of keywords	Number of documents/search results included (I) and excluded (E) from the study
Beehive	Homeless		I: 27 E: 63
Department of Corrections	Homeless		I: 5 E: 18
Housing New Zealand Corporation (HCNZ)	Social housing Social housing allocation Social housing register Overcrowding	Returned no searches when using the keyword homeless. The keywords used for the search were derived from HNZC's role in providing social housing and recent discussions about the suitability of house sizes for clients.	I: 31 E: 357

Department, ministry or organisation	Keywords used for the systematic search	Justification of keywords	Number of documents/search results included (I) and excluded (E) from the study
Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment	Housing need Social housing Social allocation system	Returned no search results when using the keyword homeless. The keywords used for the search were derived from Government provision of social housing.	I: 9 E: 76
Ministry of Justice	Homeless		I: 5 E: 62
Ministry of Health	Homeless		I: 0 E: 15
Ministry of Social Development (MSD)	Homeless Homeless definition Social housing register + homeless Social allocation system + homeless Social allocation system + housing	Additional keywords and phrases were used due to MSD's role in determining eligibility for social housing through the social allocation system.	I: 32 E: 124 *47 missing results on the website due to broken web page
New Zealand Parliament	Homeless AND (definition or defined or define or defining) OR (measure or measured or measuring or data or enumerate or enumeration or enumerating)	Due to the large volume of results returned, the filtering words of definition (+synonyms) or measurement (+synonyms) were used to narrow the search.	I: 122 E: 420 *147 missing records and 14 duplicates

Department, ministry or organisation	Keywords used for the systematic search	Justification of keywords	Number of documents/search results included (I) and excluded (E) from the study
Stats NZ	Homelessness Homeless definition Measuring homelessness Enumerating homelessness Defining homelessness	Specified phrases such as defining homelessness and measuring homelessness (+synonyms) were used to create searches specified to search criteria.	I: 9 E: 52 *285 missing records and 15 duplicates
Te Puni Kōkiri	Homeless Overcrowding Sleeping rough	Additional keywords of overcrowding and sleeping rough were used in order to cover topics technically deemed as homeless that are usually reported for Māori populations in New Zealand (but not necessarily worded as being homeless).	I: 16 E: 63
The Treasury	Homelessness		I: 4 E: 27 *70 duplicates

Search parameters were confined to a date range extending from 1 January 2008 to 30 June 2018. This date range was chosen to encompass debates relating to the working group definition of homelessness published in 2009. The 2008 start date was employed so as to capture initial discussions around the development of a definition of homelessness in New Zealand, and the end date was chosen to capture the increasing discussions around homelessness

within the media and Government evident between 2014 and 2018. In addition, this time frame captured the change of government, from a National-led to a Labour-led Government in October 2017. In light of the different political views these governments had on homelessness and social justice issues, the decision was made to capture these discussions as they took place within the early stages of the new Government.

The initial rationale for examining understandings of homelessness by New Zealand government agencies stemmed from my observation that the published definition of homelessness was used inconsistently, if at all, within discussions of homelessness. Thus, the definition published by Statistics New Zealand was employed as the initial guide for the systematic literature search of grey literature to understand the development of the definition of homelessness and to identify if other government agencies were involved in the development of the definition. Information on the Stats NZ website showed that the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) and the Housing New Zealand Corporation (HNZC) were members of the working group that developed the definition of homelessness.

A search of the New Zealand Parliament website identified discussions about homelessness by elected representatives, and a search of the Beehive website exposed understandings of homelessness within Government press releases.[3] Analysis of these websites indicated relevant information was available from the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE), New Zealand Treasury, the Department of Corrections, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Justice and Te Puni Kōkiri.

For the government agencies, departments or ministries identified as potential information sources, an initial search made it evident that the search terms homeless or homelessness would not always generate appropriate information. This is because the term homelessness is not employed by all government departments to describe individuals and families who do not have access to housing.
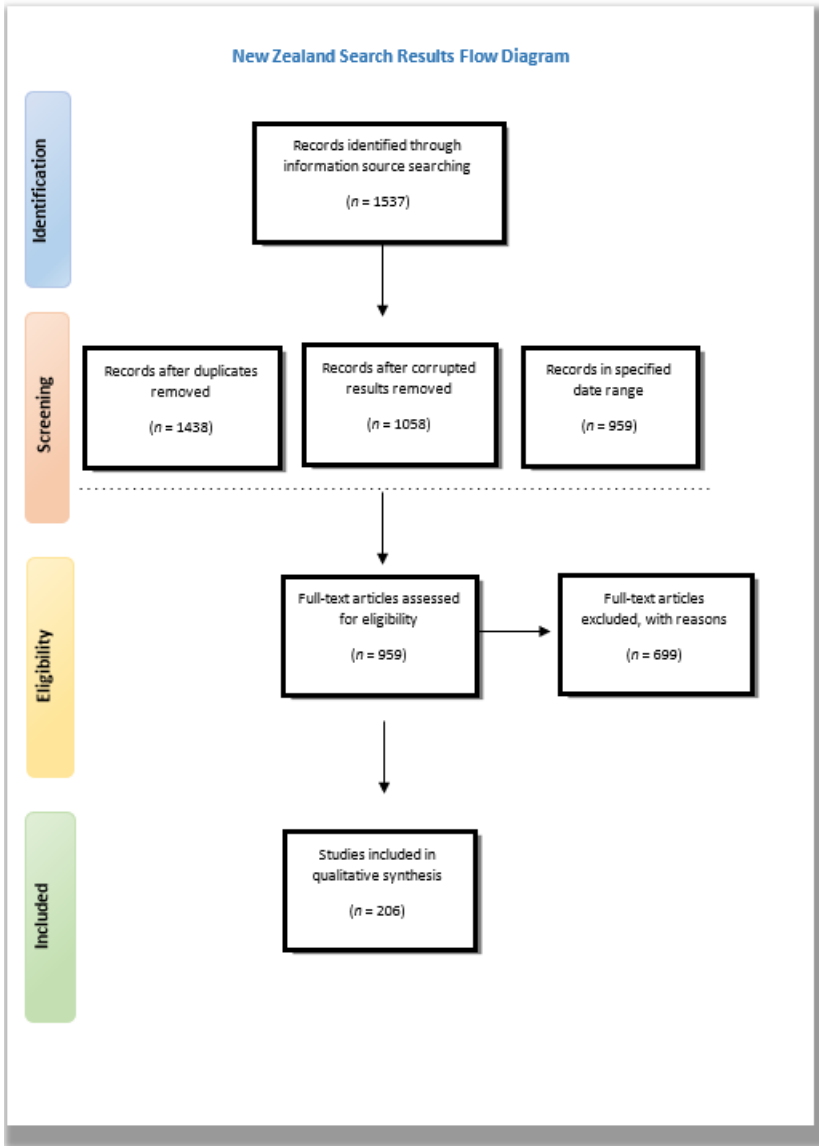
As such, an effective search required the use of alternative search terms that were part of the wider landscape of housing provision in Aotearoa New Zealand (see "Keywords utilised for the systematic search" in Table 1). Search terms were informed by a review of Hansard, the official transcripts of Members' speeches in the New Zealand House of Representatives, and the web pages of those government agencies, departments or ministries involved in housing provision.

Data extraction

Previewing is a key step when conducting an academic literature search. In general, academic previewing is based on reading abstracts to determine the relevance of an item. Given the majority of results returned in the grey literature search were either web pages, news items, reports or publications, the availability of abstracts for preview was limited. Rather than rely on abstracts, the keyword in context (KWIC) method was adapted and employed to determine the relevance of each search result (Seale & Charteris-Black, 2010). The KWIC method was applied manually using the search function (Ctrl+F) to identify the relevant keywords in the text. By reading a few sentences before and after the highlighted keyword, and applying inclusion and exclusion criteria, I was able to establish whether the search result returned was relevant (Seale & Charteris-Black, 2010). Using the systematic review process, a total of 206 documents were included for qualitative synthesis (Figure 1).

For relevant records, the reference information was entered into an inclusions list and the source material was saved within a folder for each government website. The URLs of the records that were identified as irrelevant were entered into an exclusions list for the corresponding government website. For each of the relevant results returned, an information document was created per government website which quoted all of the relevant discussions about homelessness under their corresponding URL and reference information.

Figure 1 Search results flow diagram

New Zealand Search Results Flow Diagram

Identification

Records identified through information source searching

(*n* = 1537)

Screening

Records after duplicates removed

(*n* = 1438)

Records after corrupted results removed

(*n* = 1058)

Records in specified date range

(*n* = 959)

Eligibility

Full-text articles assessed for eligibility

(*n* = 959)

Full-text articles excluded, with reasons

(*n* = 699)

Included

Studies included in qualitative synthesis

(*n* = 206)

Content items

The following content items were considered.

- **Definition of or reference to homelessness**: provides own definition of homelessness, or refers to a pre-existing definition of homelessness, or refers to particular living situations in reference to homelessness, or describes characteristics of the homeless population.

- **Context:** the context within which homelessness is being discussed or mentioned.

- **Year and frequency of relevant mentions**: the years across which homelessness is being discussed, the focus of homelessness within a particular year and how many times it is discussed.

- **Relevant policy, programmes or initiatives**: the policy, programmes or initiatives in relation to which homelessness is discussed.

Content analysis

Content analysis was used as the method of analysis for the relevant data. *Content analysis* is a method for studying textual data through the analysis of texts in terms of "the presence and frequency of specific terms, narratives or concepts" (Tonkiss, 2004, p.367). Krippendorf (as cited in Bengtsson, 2016, p. 9) states that content analysis is a "research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts, to the contexts of their use".

Content analysis was used because the analysis was of pre-existing communication, which in the case of this research includes Government policy documents, reports, information releases and transcripts of parliamentary debates. Another advantage of the content analysis used within this research is the application of both quantitative and qualitative operations on texts (Weber, 1990).

The approach to content analysis was informed by the four stages of content analysis as outlined by Bengtsson (2016). The first stage, *decontextualisation*, involved familiarisation with the data.

This was achieved by reading through relevant texts discovered through the systematic search. A mixture of deductive and inductive reasoning meant that in some instances, relevant codes were identified prior to analysis. For example, the two published definitions of homelessness and the living situations used to describe homelessness according to the New Zealand definition of homelessness (Statistics New Zealand, 2009, 2014) were identified as relevant items prior to analysis. In other cases, codes were developed throughout the analysis process. For example, the way in which those experiencing homelessness are described, Government responses to homelessness, and the framing of homelessness were codes that were developed throughout analysis.

The second stage, *recontextualisation*, considered whether all of the relevant text had been captured. This was conducted through keyword searches within documents and took account of the relevance and depth of discussion for content around each keyword.

The third stage, *categorisation*, involved extracting meaning from the data through coding text according to the aims of the study. A mixture of 'retrieval from coded text', and modified versions of 'word frequency lists' and KWIC methods was employed. Retrieval from coded text was used to find where published definitions of homelessness had been used or acknowledged. A modified form of KWIC lists were manually developed in order to consider the New Zealand Government's understanding around the relevance, and associated use, of the published definitions of homelessness. A modified form of word-frequency lists collated totals of the living situations used to describe homelessness as categorised within the Statistics New Zealand definition of homelessness. These were also considered through the KWIC method in order to explicate the dominant understanding of homelessness in terms of living situations. Retrieval from coded text was used to find the ways in which the Government described those experiencing homelessness and to consider what the government considered as its response to homelessness.

Finally, in the fourth stage, *compilation of the analysis* involved evaluating how the findings corresponded to the literature on definitions, conceptualisations and representations of homelessness (see section: Synthesis of results).

Synthesis of results

There are six key findings from the systematic review.

The first three findings centre around the status and use of the published definitions of homelessness:

1) published definitions of homelessness in the grey literature
2) limited application of the published definitions of homelessness, and
3) published definitions of homelessness – a subject of debate.

The final three findings discuss how homelessness was described and understood as a result:

4) narrow understandings of homelessness in the Government's formal response to homelessness,
5) homelessness as rough sleeping and "Other" living situations, and
6) homelessness described through individual deficits and within Housing First initiatives.

Published definitions of homelessness in the grey literature

Two published definitions of homelessness were identified within the grey literature. The first definition as published on the Stats NZ website, referred to in the analysed text as the *New Zealand definition of homelessness*, was created by a working group comprising staff from the Ministry for Social Development, Housing New Zealand and Statistics New Zealand. The earliest discussions about the need for a definition took place in 2008 when the former Minister of Housing argued that an agreed definition was required: "To help get an accurate picture of housing needs, we need to know how many homeless people there are in New Zealand, over time" (Street, 2008). The discussions identified that a definition was needed

to address gaps in official statistics. The resolution of such statistical omissions would assist government and community groups to "make well-informed decisions on the level and nature of homelessness in New Zealand" (Statistics New Zealand, 2009, p. 4). The New Zealand definition of homelessness defines it as "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, 2009, pp. 6–7). In 2015, Statistics New Zealand published an update to the definition. Within this, the wording was simplified, and an indication that the definition was to be utilised by the Official Statistics System's partners was made, which led to its use within the second definition of homelessness.

The second definition of homelessness in New Zealand was developed and operationalised by Amore et al. (2013). Amore et al. (2013) did not use the term homeless because they felt that the term was burdened with stereotypes that evoke images of street homelessness. Rather, Amore et al. (2013) employed the phrase "severe housing deprivation". Amore et al. (2013) introduced their definition as a response to the conceptual gaps of both the New Zealand and international definitions of homelessness, and to the statistical limitations of the New Zealand definition of homelessness. *Severe housing deprivation* refers to people living in severely inadequate housing due to a "lack of access to minimally adequate housing" (LAMAH) (Amore et al., 2013, p. 7). This means not being able to access a dwelling to rent, let alone buy. *Minimally adequate housing* is 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 et al., 2013, p. 7).

Amore et al. (2013) developed a methodology that used census and administrative data to create the first numerical estimation of homelessness or severe housing deprivation within Aotearoa New Zealand. So, while no estimation of homelessness resulted from the New Zealand definition of homelessness as developed in 2009, Amore

et al's (2013) work allowed for the estimation of severe housing deprivation to be applied to the categories of homelessness as outlined in the New Zealand definition of homelessness. The definition of severe housing deprivation is recognised by bureaucrats and politicians who have cited the statistics on severe housing deprivation when discussing the number of homelessness in New Zealand (see, for example, Robertson, 2017; Shaw, 2016; Wall, 2016; Wood, 2018). The definition of severe housing deprivation provided by Amore et al. (2013) and its subsequent use in formal enumeration suggests that this definition bridges the gap between academic expectations and policy practice. Both of these definitions of homelessness cover the spectrum of living situations considered as defining homelessness as presented within the academic literature.

The limited application of the published definitions of homelessness

As summarised in Table 2, the New Zealand definition of homelessness (Statistics New Zealand, 2009, 2014) is only mentioned in eight documents published on government websites. Five of the eight documents are from Stats NZ, with two of the documents being from the development of the definition itself, and the other three being Stats NZ documents discussing the potential of measuring homelessness within statistical collections. Reference to the New Zealand definition of homelessness appears once on the Beehive website; this appearance is in the context of the Pathways Out of Homelessness programme, as occurred prior to the development of the definition. The Department of Corrections documents and website include one mention of the New Zealand definition of homelessness. Appearing in 2013, this made reference to the efforts to define the living situations that are considered as homeless in the context of a collaborative approach to homelessness in Auckland. The same definition is included in a 2010 report from the Human Rights Commission, which is available through the Ministry of Justice. No discussion or reference to the New Zealand definition of homelessness is evident in available resources of the Ministry of Health, New

Zealand Treasury, the Housing New Zealand Corporation, the Ministry of Social Development, Serco, Te Puni Kōkiri or the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment.

Similarly, the definition of severe housing deprivation is mentioned only ten times across six of the information sources. Again, the Stats NZ website provided the highest number of mentions, although two of the three documents that mentioned the definition were research reports related to the development of the concept. The third result employs content from the consultation process for the 2018 Census as the context for the discussion of the relevance of the severe housing deprivation definition to the New Zealand definition of homelessness. The Beehive website mentions the severe housing deprivation definition twice in reference to the 2018 Budget. The data frames homelessness in Aotearoa New Zealand as the worst in the OECD. The New Zealand Treasury website had two results relevant to the definition of severe housing deprivation. The first, in 2015, placed severe housing deprivation as the lowest category on the housing continuum within the context of the social housing reform programme, and the second is a repeat of a document originally identified on the Beehive website (that is, the 2018 Budget speech that refers to severe housing deprivation data). The Te Puni Kōkiri website uses the severe housing deprivation data once to discuss the state of Māori housing in 2014. The 2018 Budget factsheet provided on the Ministry of Social Development website employs the severe housing deprivation data to refer to who needs to be housed. Finally, the Ministry of Justice website includes a 2010 reference to the definition and classification of severe housing deprivation as the first application of an operational definition of homelessness. This work was carried out before the creation of the Ministry for Housing and Urban Development, which came into operation on 1 October 2018.

Table 2: Mentions of the published definitions on government websites 1 January 2008–30 June 2018

New Zealand definition of homelessness '	Severe housing deprivation
'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' (Stats NZ, 2009, pp. 6–7)	'[P]eople living in severely inadequate housing due to a 'lack of access to minimally adequate housing' (LAMAH). This means not being able to access a dwelling to rent, let alone buy. Minimally adequate housing is 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 et al., 2013, p. 7)
Beehive	**Beehive**
One mention – in the context of the Launch of Pathways Out of Housing programme. (Street, 2008, 10 April)	Two mentions – SHD data is referenced twice in Grant Robertson's 2018 Budget speech when he described homelessness in New Zealand as the worst in the OECD. (Robertson, 2018, May 1)
Department of Corrections	**Department of Corrections**
One mention – the subcategories used in the New Zealand definition of homelessness are used to describe what homelessness is when talking about the collaborative approach to homelessness in Auckland (Department of Corrections, 2013, p. 12)	No results.
Ministry of Justice	**Ministry of Justice**
One mention – the Human Rights Commission's (2010) *Human Rights in New Zealand* report (listed on the Ministry webpage) mentions the definition and the four living situations included in the definition.	One mention – the Human Rights Commission's (2010) *Human Rights in New Zealand* report (listed on the Ministry webpage) mentions that the application of the definition of severe housing deprivation to census and administrative data has provided the first estimation of homelessness in New Zealand.

New Zealand definition of homelessness '	Severe housing deprivation
Stats NZ	**Stats NZ**
Five mentions – once in the original document and once in the updated document (Statistics New Zealand, 2009, 2015a); twice when discussing measuring housing quality and the possibility of using the General Social Survey (GSS) to measuring living situations under homelessness (Statistics NZ, 2015b, 2018); and once when discussing census content. This last mention notes that the census produces no count of homelessness although it does collect some relevant data.	Three mentions – the two reports on the development of the concept of severe housing deprivation (Amore, 2016; Amore et al., 2013); and once in a discussion of the (future) 2018 Census content, which outlines how SHD estimations have combined census and administrative data for the living situations that come under the 2009 definition (Statistics NZ, 2015c).
The Treasury	**The Treasury**
No results.	Two mentions – first, in the context of the social housing reform programme where SHD is identified as lowest category on the housing continuum and data are cited (Ministry of Social Development, Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, and New Zealand Treasury, 2015); and second, in Grant Robertson's 2018 Budget speech, which infers SHD data (Robertson, 2018, May 1).
Te Puni Kōkiri	**Te Puni Kōkiri**
No results.	One mention – SHD data are used in the context of a review on the current state of Māori housing, (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014).
Ministry of Social Development	**Ministry of Social Development**
No results	One mention – the Budget 2018 housing initiatives factsheet used SHD data to refer to who needs to be housed (Ministry of Social Development, 2018).

Published definitions of homelessness in New Zealand – a subject of debate

As evident within political discussions recorded in Hansard, there is confusion around whether an agreed definition of homelessness exists. For example, three years after the Minister of Statistics introduced a formal definition of homelessness to her colleagues (Mackey, 2010), the Minister of Housing in the National-led Government posited that "there is no agreed definition of homelessness, and, by definition, it is actually difficult to capture this data because the census is collected via people's addresses" (Smith, 2013a, p. 13786). Despite the bureaucratic use of the published definition of homelessness, the Minister questioned the data derived on severe housing deprivation.

> Hon Dr NICK SMITH: Can I firstly address the issue of the definition of homelessness. In the survey the member quotes, it is referred to as "severely inadequate housing". Sixty-five percent of those who are in that definition are in situations where there are too many adults and too many children in a household, and I note that that number grew very significantly under the previous Government. The second issue is whether I would consider people who are staying, for instance, in cabins or in emergency accommodation as being homeless. I would give them the definition of being in emergency housing. (Smith, 2013b, p. 11722)

The position of Nick Smith was supported by the Minister of State Services, Paula Bennett, who argued against groups such as those in emergency accommodation from being included within the definition of homelessness:

> Hon PAULA BENNETT: I think, as I clearly stated, of that big number of 41,000 that the member bandies around. Those are people who may be living in some unsatisfactory conditions, but they are actually not truly homeless under the definition as most people would see it. (Bennett, 2016, p. 14968)

Overall, the grey literature indicated very little engagement with the conceptual debates that underpin the development of the definition of homelessness. The few references that cover this topic are restricted to the documents that develop the definitions of homelessness themselves (see Amore et al., 2013; Amore, 2016;

Statistics New Zealand, 2009). Political discussions reveal how politicians did not engage with in-depth discussions regarding the definition of homelessness. The lack of engagement with the severe housing deprivation data and claims that the data did not represent 'true homelessness' exposes the limited interaction between what is understood within the policy field and developments that have been made within academia. This demonstrates Schiff's (2003) argument that it is possible to look at the use of definitions, and the position that they hold, in order to see who holds the power to define and shape responses to homelessness. In a context where published definitions clearly held limited status, this review used and analysed the ways in which homelessness is discussed in order to gain insight around the understandings of homelessness in New Zealand.

Narrow understandings of homelessness in the Government's
formal response to homelessness

From the review of grey literature, the only explicitly stated response to homelessness acknowledged by the Government was the Housing First (HF) approach, which targeted those who are chronically homeless and who have multiple and complex issues (Twyford, 2018b). According to the 2018 Minister of Housing and Urban Development, the HF response also targets the most disadvantaged homeless (Salesa & Twyford, 2018). The specification of 'the most disadvantaged homeless' may seem arbitrary, but it indicates recognition that there are other types of homelessness beyond the chronically homeless. Despite this recognition, at the time of writing, the Government's only explicitly stated response to homelessness is the support of, and funding for, HF. Other related responses discussed within the same documents as HF, but not explicitly framed as a response to homelessness, included the Emergency Housing Special Needs Grants (EHSNGs). EHSNGs provide funding for the placement of those who live in 'insecure housing' situations into motels and hotels. In an official press release about Government support, it is explained that EHSNGs are available "to people in

urgent need so no one needs to sleep in a car" (Adams, 2017a); not once are these intended recipients of the emergency housing grants referred to as being homeless. Government discourse relating to the construction of state housing are also devoid of references to homelessness. Thus, the Minister of Housing and Urban Development explained that the building of state houses is targeted towards those who are "forced to live in substandard or overcrowded accommodation", rather than those who are homeless (Twyford, 2018c). As these examples show, the only strategies framed as a response to homelessness is HF, the focus of which is limited to the sharpest end of homelessness. Although those living in insecure housing, substandard housing or overcrowded accommodation fall within the published definitions of homelessness, these responses are not framed as being a response to homelessness.

If definitions held such a limited status, then what do descriptions about homelessness reveal about the way in which homelessness is understood?

The following sections detail the ways in which homelessness was constructed within New Zealand political discussions and texts between 2008 and 2018. These include the living situations used to describe homelessness and the ways in which the homeless themselves are described.

Tables 3 to 6 quantify the different living situations used as exemplars within discussions of homelessness included in the review. Such numerical representation is useful as a tool to indicate the most-used examples of living situations within government documents and discussions around homelessness. Taken alone, however, references to living situations only tell part of the narrative around the way in which the two New Zealand Governments (National-led and Labour-led) understood homelessness between 2008 and 2018. It would appear that living in overcrowded situations, living on the street, living in substandard dwellings or living in a car provide an accurate summation of the two Governments' understanding of homelessness.

Any confirmation of governmental attitudes is, however, best made only after consideration is given to the context in which these examples were used and who it was that used the different living situations as a representation of their understanding of homelessness.

Homelessness as rough sleeping and "Other" living situations

True homelessness, which is "rough sleepers" – so those sleeping on the streets – and that is the argument. Obviously, we are concerned about people who are couch surfing. We want them to have permanent homes. That is something we are delivering on. (Bennett, 2016, p. 14102)

Grant Robertson: Can he confirm that the number of 41,000 homeless in the primary question comes from the census produced by Statistics New Zealand and is, in fact, the Government's definition of "homeless"?

Hon STEVEN JOYCE: No. In fact, the member should go back and look at the data, because the data refers to 41,200 people who are living in a range of situations, including temporarily resident with friends or family, in boarding houses, motels, emergency housing, or women's refuges. The amount of people estimated to be living rough or in improvised dwellings is 1,413. The member needs to get his figures accurate. (Joyce, 2017, p.18954)

Table 3: New Zealand grey literature references to living situations categorised into broad homelessness category "Without Accommodation" according to the New Zealand definition of homelessness (Statistics New Zealand, 2009)

Broad HL Category	WITHOUT ACCOMMODATION					
Living Situation:	On the street	Public Park or Sports Ground	Under Bridge	"nowhere to live"	improvised shelter	In a car
Beehive	7					6
TPK	1	1	2			
NZ Parliament	19	5	2	5	5	26
HNZC						
MSD	7				1	2
NZ Treasury						
MBIE						
Corrections	2				1	
Ministry of Justice	3			1	1	2
TOTALS	39	6	4	6	8	36
%	11.54	1.78	1.18	1.78	2.37	10.65

Table 4: New Zealand grey literature references to living situations categorised into broad homelessness category "Temporary Accommodation" according to the New Zealand definition of homelessness (Statistics New Zealand, 2009)

Broad HL Category	TEMPORARY ACCOMMODATION										
Living Situation:	Camping Ground	Night Shelter	Transitional Housing	Boarding House	Temporary Accommodation	Emergency Housing	Refugee or refuge	Rehab	Motel or hotel	Squatting in a home	Insecure Housing
Beehive		3	2						1		4
TPK											
NZ Parliament	13	5	2	11	9	8	5		6		9
HNZC						1					1
MSD	2	2		2	4	3	2		2		3
NZ Treasury											
MBIE											1
Corrections					1					1	
Ministry of Justice	1		1		1						
TOTALS	16	10	5	13	15	12	7	0	9	1	18
%	4.73	2.96	1.48	3.85	4.44	3.55	2.07	0.00	2.66	0.30	5.33

Table 5: New Zealand grey literature references to living situations categorised by broad homelessness category "Sharing Accommodation" according to the New Zealand definition of homelessness (Statistics New Zealand, 2009)

Broad HL Category	SHARING ACCOMMODATION	
Living Situation:	*Sharing Accommodation*	*Couch Surfing*
Beehive		1
TPK	4	
NZ Parliament	9	1
HNZC	1	1
MSD	1	1
NZ Treasury		
MBIE		
Corrections	1	
Ministry of Justice	1	
TOTALS	17	4
%	5.03	1.18

Table 6: New Zealand grey literature references to living situations
          categorised into broad homelessness category "Uninhabitable
          Housing" according to the New Zealand definition of
          homelessness (Statistics New Zealand, 2009)

Broad HL Category	UNINHABITABLE HOUSING				
Living Situation:	overcrowding	uninhabitable housing	Garage	substandard housing	inadequate housing
Beehive	2			4	
TPK	12		1	8	
NZ Parliament	15	5	13	10	1
HNZC	12		1	5	
MSD	5	1		7	
NZ Treasury	1			1	
MBIE				1	
Corrections		1			
Ministry of Justice	2	2		2	
TOTALS	49	9	15	38	1
%	14.50	2.66	4.44	11.24	0.30

Reflective of politicians' imagined geographies of homelessness, these quotes identify rough sleeping as the living circumstance that 'counts' as genuine homelessness. Even when referencing severe housing deprivation data, rough sleeping is accepted as constituting homelessness while other living situations are not; this acceptance occurs despite severe housing deprivation covering a spectrum of living situations. This geography distinguishes other places and living circumstances as imagined to be 'not quite' or 'not really' homeless. In the review of grey literature, rough sleeping is almost always identified as the subcategory of homelessness requiring response within programmes or initiatives designed to respond to homelessness. Other living situations defined as homeless under the published definitions, such as needing or living in emergency, transitional or inadequate housing, are either disputed within political discussions, utilised as an example of homelessness by opposition parties, responded to but not necessarily framed as being homeless, or referenced sparingly when talking about homelessness.

The 'non-rough' living situations used within discussions about homelessness that are regarded as Other include living in a car, a garage, a night shelter, a campground or tent, a boarding house or in overcrowded situations. Within policy texts, documents and political discussions, these living situations exist as textual silences. In other words, the opposition political parties included these living situations within their descriptions of homelessness while the National-led Government definitions excluded them. For example, opposition Labour Party MP Aupito William Sio commented that: "This lot, despite homelessness spilling out on the streets, in cars, in garages, and in public toilets, still denied there was a crisis" (Sio, 2017, p. 1629). These Other living situations are rarely employed as examples of homelessness, but when they are, they are framed as not being 'real' conditions of homelessness. In comparison, rough sleeping is included in the imaginings of homelessness regardless of the

political party to which an MP belongs, and when discussing homelessness, rough sleeping is a common reference.

Descriptions of the homeless – Housing First and individual deficits

Within the grey literature it was apparent that, regardless of political party, descriptions of the homeless were overwhelmingly tied to the announcement of HF programmes. In the context of HF programmes, the homeless are described as those who "face multiple and complex needs" (Twyford, 2018c) and who have a "complex set of issues, whether it be mental health, alcoholism or family violence…substance abuse and unemployment" (Adams, 2017b). Similar to descriptions of the homeless as having multiple and complex needs, accounts of individuals' lives and living situations as complicated are also used to identify the homeless. These tend to list the numerous living situations and conditions where the accumulation of unfortunate circumstances has led to someone being homeless. Furthermore, opposition MP Phil Twyford described the homeless as "very vulnerable" because of the complex set of issues with which they struggle (Twyford, 2018c). Within the announcement of HF in Auckland, the Social Housing Minister of the National-led Government explained that with "initiatives like Housing First we can change the lives of people with highly complex problems that don't fit neatly within traditional government structures and approaches" (Adams, 2017a). Although it is correct to observe that those experiencing homelessness are vulnerable and can have complex needs, these 'needs' receive far more emphasis than the structural causes of homelessness.

Structural issues are rarely acknowledged as a part of the complex issues faced by those experiencing homelessness. Very rarely in political discussions is it mentioned that those experiencing "highly complex problems" face increased vulnerability because of structural influences to housing insecurity. The only description of homelessness that accounted for the structural causes and failure of

systems to meet the needs of the vulnerable was in a report by the Human Rights Commission (2010). In Aotearoa New Zealand, descriptions of homeless individuals that draw on references to their multiple and complex needs operate to separate this group from the rest of society and, in so doing, justify their need for HF programmes. This type of description is reflected in the comments by National Party MP Amy Adams when she talked about how this group's needs could not be met within the traditional government approach and structure (see Adams, 2017a). Differentiation between the ways in which the homeless are described compared with the ways that tenants of social, transitional and emergency housing are described further functions to separate 'the homeless' from the rest of society, thus justifying their need for HF. Descriptions of the individual circumstances of those in social, transitional and emergency housing make reference to urgent need, high need and housing need. Additionally, the causal factors listed for such need include family reasons, financial stress and medical needs (Ministry of Social Development, 2016, 2017; Twyford, 2018a). In comparison, examples given for the homeless who are targeted recipients of HF use causal factors such as drug addictions, mental health issues and alcoholism (Adams, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c). While it is accurate to highlight that HF targets those who are dealing with substance abuse and mental health issues, the relative absence around other drivers of homelessness such as family reasons and financial stress exist as textual silences. Within the review of New Zealand's grey literature and political discussions, the dominant way in which the homeless are described is in reference to the HF programme and an associated focus on individual deficits. Through continued focus on the complicated circumstances that led to homelessness, the over-representation of individual vulnerabilities and the lack of reference to structural and systemic causes of homelessness, a textual silence is produced.

Conclusion

This research indicates that between 2008 and 2018, the National-led Government had the power to define or represent homelessness as rough sleeping. This political dominance relied on the absence of a definition of homelessness in response frameworks. The narrow understanding and limited response to homelessness as expressed by the National-led Government is an example of Chamberlain and Mackenzie's (1992, p. 274) argument that "it becomes difficult to urge governments to meet the needs of homeless people if the parameters of the homeless population are unclear" (p. 274). The dominance of the understanding of homelessness in its narrowest form, and the continual focus on individual and agency explanations rather than structural causes of homelessness, informed the Housing First policy response to the chronically homelessness. This initiative is therefore limited in its ability to respond to the nature of the issue. Moreover, this narrow view of homelessness is biased towards a minimisation of the scale of the problem (Chamberlain, 2012). In Aotearoa New Zealand, it is abundantly clear that up until at least mid-2018, the definition of homelessness, as well as the data on severe housing, was marginalised in favour of 'public perception'. Thus, the power for political discourse to define homelessness between 2008 and 2018 is also an example of Cronley's (2010) assertion that "social construction, or the creation of meaning by a group, has contributed to public policy that is based less on empirically derived knowledge and more on the public perception of homelessness" (p. 320).

Up until 2020, homelessness remained "a policy issue for which no government sector has mandated responsibility, lodged somewhere within the deep divides that run between government agencies and between government and non-government sectors" (Amore, 2007, p. 30). Since the time of this review, the New Zealand Government's consideration for, understanding of and response to homelessness has shifted drastically. In February 2020, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development released the first "central

government-led, and cross-agency" devised plan to respond to homelessness in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2020, p. i). *The Aotearoa New Zealand Homelessness Action Plan 2020–2023* demonstrates the Labour Government's explicit recognition of homelessness as a social issue in Aotearoa New Zealand. Described as a shift in the way government responds to homelessness (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2020), the action plan is a "multi-year cross-government roadmap towards the government's vision that homelessness is prevented where possible, or is rare, brief and non-recurring" (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2021a).

    With regards to the definition of homelessness within the action plan, some explicit clarifications have clearly been made around the way in which the Government understands homelessness. The Ministerial foreword of the plan states that "homelessness is more than rough sleeping. It includes people who are without shelter, in emergency accommodation and living temporarily in severely overcrowded accommodation" (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2020, p. i). This formal recognition offers a significant departure from the political discourse that dominated government understandings of homelessness. Moreover, the executive summary of the plan states that "under the official definition … there are more than 41,000 people experiencing homelessness in New Zealand" (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2020, p. 3). While the plan does not explicitly cite this official definition of homelessness, it does draw on the data from the enumeration of severe housing deprivation – data that had previously been dismissed by members of the government as including those who are "not actually homeless".

    Beyond the significance of the central government's problematisation of homelessness within a plan, the explicit recognition of social, transitional and emergency housing as part of the response to homelessness is an additional point of departure. In the initial stages of the HF response, as captured within the review, the Government made a clear distinction between the provision of

social, transitional and emergency housing as a response to housing need, and the delivery of HF as a response to homelessness. While the distinction between a response to housing need and a response to homelessness may seem arbitrary, the framing of homelessness as a social issue occurring along a spectrum of living situations is evidence of an expanded conceptualisation of homelessness.

In comparison to structural causes of homelessness existing as a textual silence in earlier documents, the action plan places structural causes and system failures at the forefront of explanations around the causes of homelessness in New Zealand. This is evident in the action areas of prevention, supply and system enablers and through the cross-agency ownership and commitment to the plan (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2020). The action plan represents the Government's commitment towards providing a response to homelessness, but the plan alone does not guarantee that all of the much-needed changes and responses will be made. Since its launch, and despite the disruption of COVID-19, 18 immediate actions are in place or are underway, with most now implemented and tracking towards their targets. These include, but are not limited to, the delivery of the local innovation and partnership fund, increased supply of transitional housing, expanded supports for people in emergency housing, and accelerated action to respond to Māori homelessness (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 2021b). While much positive progress has been made, some of the longer-term actions will require government officials and relevant ministers to be bold in prioritising what needs to be done over what is politically amenable.

Notes

1   Within this perspective, homelessness is "portrayed as a fundamental and inescapable product of the political economy of housing markets" (Wyly & Hammell, 2010, p. 5).

2   The new orthodoxy recognises that those experiencing personal difficulties, or what has been deemed 'individual' causes of homelessness, are more vulnerable to the structural causes of homelessness (Lux & Mikeszova, 2013).

3   The Beehive website (https://www.beehive.govt.nz/) is the official website of the New Zealand Government. It provides the latest media releases and speeches, responsibilities and initiatives, and information about major government initiatives and policies from Government Ministers (New Zealand Government, 2020).

References

Adams, A. (2017a, August 11). *150 homeless helped off the streets in the first four months* [Press release]. https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1708/S00221/150-homeless-helped-off-the-streets-in-the-first-four-months.htm

————. 2017b, August 31). *Helping more rough sleepers into homes* [Press release]. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/helping-more-rough-sleepers-homes

————. (2017c, March 24). *Housing First launches to help Auckland's homeless* [Press release]. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/housing-first-launches-help-auckland%E2%80%99s-homeless

Amore, K. (2007). Lost in translation? The relationship between homelessness research and policy in Wellington, New Zealand [Master's thesis, University of Otago]. OUR Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/10523/385

————. (2016). *Severe housing deprivation in Aotearoa/ New Zealand: 2001–2013*. He Kāinga Oranga | Housing & Health Research Programme, University of Otago. https://wrgf.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Severe-housing-deprivation-in-Aotearoa-2001-2013-1-min.pdf

Amore, K., & Aspinall, C. (2007). A Framework – A public health approach to homelessness. *Parity, 20*(9), 7–8. Available from: https://nzccss.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/Parity-Vol20-09-8-11-07.pdf

Amore, K., Viggers, H., Baker, M. G., & Howden-Chapman, P. (2013). *Severe housing deprivation: The problem and its measurement*. He Kāinga Oranga | Housing & Health Research Programme, University of Otago. Available from: https://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE24524790

Amore, K., Viggers, H., & Howden-Chapman, P. (2021). *Severe housing deprivation in Aotearoa New Zealand, 2018*. He Kāinga Oranga | Housing & Health Research Programme, University of Otago. https://www.hud.govt.nz/documents/severe-housing-deprivation-estimate-2018-report/

Anderson, J. T., & Collins, D. (2014). Prevalence and causes of urban homelessness among Indigenous peoples: A three-country scoping review. *Housing Studies, 29*(7), 959–976. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2014.923091

Arapoglou, V. P. (2004). The governance of homelessness in Greece: Discourse and power in the study of philanthropic networks. *Critical Social Policy, 24*(1), 102–126. http://doi/org/10.1107/0261018304039679

Bengtsson, M. (2016). How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis. *NursingPlus Open, 2*, 8–14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.npls.2016.01.001

Bennett, P. (2016, October 11). Homelessness — Measurement and Government measures to address. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 717,* 14101. https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/HansD_20161011_20161011/955088fede3dac692a20670949d21291997f792e

Chamberlain, C. (2012). Homelessness: Measurement questions. *International Encyclopedia of Housing and Home*, 36–41. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-047163-1.00372-6

Chamberlain, C., & Johnson, G. (2001). The debate about homelessness. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 36*(1), 35–50. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1839-4655.2001.tb01312.x

Chamberlain, C., & MacKenzie, D. (1992). Understanding contemporary homelessness: Issues of definition and meaning. *Australian Journal of Social Sciences, 27*(4), 274–297. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1839-4655.1992.tb00911.x

Cochrane Library. (2020). *About Cochrane Reviews.* https://www.cochranelibrary.com/about/about-cochrane-reviews

Cronley, C. (2010). Unraveling the social construction of homelessness. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 20*(2), 319–333. https://doi/org/10.1080/10911350903269955

Daly, G. (1996). *Homeless: Policies, strategies and lives on the street* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Department of Corrections. (2013). *Helping the homeless.* https://www.corrections.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/715789/Regional_hightlights_Dec_2013_WEB.pdf

DeVerteuil, G., May, J., & von Mahs, J. (2009). Complexity not collapse: Recasting the geographies of homelessness in a 'punitive' age. *Progress in Human Geography, 33*(5), 646–666. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132508104995

Frankish, C. J., Hwang, S. W., & Quantz, D. (2005). Homelessness and health in Canada – Research lessons and priorities. *Canadian Journal of Public Health-Revue Canadienne De Sante Publique, 96*, S23–S29. https://doi.org/10.1007/bf03403700

Grant, M. J., & Booth, A. (2009). A typology of reviews: An analysis of 14 review types and associated methodologies. *Health Information & Libraries Journal, 26*(2), 91–108. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-1842.2009.00848.x

Joyce, S. (2017, June 27). Economic programme – Homelessness and access to services. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates,* 723, 18954. https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-NZ/HansD_20170627_20170627/1541a5335c3df85e5a4a37406fcda64b41cd8be3

Hopper, K. (1995). Definitional quandaries and other hazards in counting the
        homeless: An invited commentary. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,
        65*(3), 340–346. http://doi.org/10.1037/h0085060

Human Rights Commission. (2010). *Human rights in New Zealand*.
        https://www.justice.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Publications/MFAT-report-
        Human-Rights-Review-2010.pdf

Laurenson, P., & Collins, D. (2007). Beyond punitive regulation? New Zealand local
        governments' responses to homelessness. *Antipode, 39*(4), 649–667.
        https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2007.00545.x

Leggatt-Cook, C., & Chamberlain, K. (2015). Houses with elastic walls: Negotiating
        home and homelessness within the policy domain. *Kotuitui /New Zealand
        Journal of Social Sciences Online, 10*(1), 10–22.
        https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083x.2014.927370

Mackey, M. (2010, November 19). Moana Mackey to the Minister of Statistics:
        Written questions. *Order Paper & Questions 36336*.
        https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/order-paper-questions/written-
        questions/document/QWA_36336_2010/36336-2010-moana-mackey-to-the-
        minister-of-statistics

Maeseele, T., Bouverne-De Bie, M., & Roose, R. (2013). On the frontline or on the
        side-line? Homelessness care and care avoiders. *European Journal of
        Social Work, 16*(5), 620–634. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2012.732932

Ministry Of Housing and Urban Development. (2020). *The Aotearoa New Zealand
        Homelessness Action Plan 2020–2023*.
        https://www.hud.govt.nz/documents/homelessness-action-plan/

————. (2021a). *Aotearoa New Zealand Homelessness Action Plan 2020–2023*.
        https://www.hud.govt.nz/community-and-public-housing/support-for-
        people-in-need/aotearoa-homelessness-action-plan/

————. (2021b). *How we're tracking: Progress on the Homelessness Action Plan*.
        https://www.hud.govt.nz/community-and-public-housing/addressing-
        homelessness/aotearoa-homelessness-action-plan-2020-2023/progress-on-
        the-homelessness-action-plan/

Ministry of Social Development. (2016). *Social housing purchasing strategy: For
        Income-Related Rent Subsidy (IRRS) places*.
        https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/work-
        programmes/housing/2016/purchasing-strategy-final.pdf

————. (2017). *Statement of Intent 2017–2022*.
        https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-
        resources/corporate/statement-of-intent/2017/soi-2017-2022.pdf

————. (2018). *Public Housing – Budget 2018*.
        https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-
        work/newsroom/budget-2018-housing-initiatives-factsheet.pdf

Ministry of Social Development, Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment,
        & New Zealand Treasury. (2015, 2017). *Joint housing ministers meeting*:
        Social housing information release [Powerpoint]. Retrieved 3 May 2018,
        from: http://www.treasury.govt.nz/statesector/socialhousing/pdfs/sh-
        3133088.pdf

New Zealand Government. (2020). *About this website.*
https://www.beehive.govt.nz/about-this-site

Robertson, G. (2017). Government financial position – Surplus' impact on
Government services. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 722.*
https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-
NZ/HansD_20170511_20170511/9141f6c2fa61a0501badf0eb16fc19bf7b973
97b

———. (2018, May 1). *Future proofing New Zealand's economy.*
https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/budget-2018-future-proofing-new-
zealand%E2%80%99s-economy

Salesa, J. & Twyford, P. (2018). *Building houses to tackle homelessness* [Press
release]. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/building-houses-tackle-crisis

Schiff, L. (2003). The power to define: Definitions as a site of struggle in the field of
homelessness. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,
16*(4), 491–507. https://doi.org/10.1080/0951839032000099516

Seale, C., & Charteris- Black, J. (2010). Keyword analysis: A new tool for
qualitative research. In I. Bourgeault, R. Dingwall & R. De Vries (Eds.),
The SAGE handbook of qualitative methods in health research
(pp. 536–556). http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446268247.n28

Shaw, J. (2016, June 15). Social housing, Minister – Confidence and homelessness.
New Zealand Pariamentary Debates, 715.
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-
debates/rhr/document/HansS_20160615_050925000/2-social-housing-
minister-confidence-and-homelessness

Sio, W. (2017, December 14). Families package (Income Tax and Benefits) Bill. *New
Zealand Parliamentary Debates 726.*
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-
debates/rhr/document/HansD_20171214_20171215/thursday-14-december-
2017-continued-on-friday-15-december

Smith, N. (2013a, September 26). Ardern, Jacinda: Questions for oral answer. *New
Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 693.*
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-
debates/rhr/document/50HansS_20130926_00000746/ardern-jacinda-
questions-for-oral-answer-questions

——— (2013b, July 2). Questions for oral answer – Questions to ministers,
Questions to members. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 691,* 11722.
https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-
debates/rhr/document/50HansS_20130704_00000929/ardern-jacinda-
questions-for-oral-answer-questions

Statistics New Zealand. (2009). *New Zealand definition of homelessness.*
www.stats.govt.nz

———.(2015a). *New Zealand definition of homelessness: Update.*
www.stats.govt.nz

———. (2015b). *Measuring housing quality: Potential ways to improve data
collection on housing quality in New Zealand.*
http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/hou
sing/measuring-housing-quality/measuring-housing-quality-nz.aspx

————. (2015c). *Preliminary view of 2018 Census content: For public engagment and consultation*. http://archive.stats.govt.nz/~/media/Statistics/Census/2018%20Census/prelim-view-content/preliminary-view-2018-census-content-external.pdf

Stats NZ. (2018). *New Zealand General Social Survey 2018: Objectives of the Housing and Physical Environment supplement*. http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/Well-being/nzgss18-obj-housing-phys-environ/introduction.aspx?_ga=2.215262175.912978793.1560813379-806284614.1560813379

Street, M. (2008, April 10). *Launch Pathways Out of Homelessness Programme*. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/launch-pathways-out-homelessness-programme

Snyder, H. (2019). Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines. *Journal of Business Research, 104*, 333–339. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.07.039

Te Puni Kōkiri. (2014). *The Maori Housing Network: Investment strategy 2015–18*. Te Puni Kōkiri Te Kawangatanga o Aotearoa. https://www.tpk.govt.nz/docs/mhn/Maori-Housing-Network-Investment-Strategy-2015-18.pdf

Thorns, D. C. (1989). The production of homelessness: From individual failure to system inadequacies. *Housing Studies, 4*(4), 253–266. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673038908720665

Tonkiss, F. (2004). Analysing discourse. In C. Seal (Ed.), *Researching Society and Culture* (4th ed.), pp. 367–382. SAGE.

Twyford, P. (2018a, May 15). *Demand for state houses reaches new high* [Press release]. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/demand-state-houses-reaches-new-high

——— (2018b). Programme to fight homelessness to be expanded to Napier and Hastings. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/programme-fight-homelessness-be-expanded-napier-and-hastings

——— (2018c). Programme to fight homelessness to be expanded to Nelson and Blenheim. https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/programme-fight-homelessness-be-expanded-nelson-and-blenheim

Wall, L. (2016). General debate. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 714*. https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/51HansD_20160608_00000016/general-debate

Weber, R. (1990). *Basic content analysis* (2nd ed.). SAGE

Wood, M. (2018). Debate on Budget policy statement. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 727*. https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/HansD_20180228_20180228/wednesday-28-february-2018-volume-727

Wyly,E., & Hammel, D. (2010). *Homelessness*. Department of Geography, The University of British Columbia. https://ibis.geog.ubc.ca/~ewyly/g350/homeless