THE COLONISING ENVIRONMENT
AN AETIOLOGY OF THE TRAUMA OF SETTLER COLONISATION AND LAND ALIENATION ON NGĀI TAHU WHANAU

JOHN REID, MATTHEW ROUT, TE MAIRE TAU AND CHERRYL SMITH

Whakapapa mai.Te Po. ara i te tima-
runga mai o to tā Maori ana korero.

Ngāi Tahu
Research Centre

Contents

Introduction

While colonisation's traumatic impact is obvious to even the most casual observation, what causes this trauma and how this trauma continues decades and even centuries after colonisation has supposedly 'finished' are more difficult to discern. This report aims to help explain the trauma of colonisation, its causes and the mechanisms which continue to perpetuate that trauma. Specifically, it will address the trauma of settler colonisation with a focus on New Zealand Māori through the context of land alienation among Ngāi Tahu whānau. Though its findings are primarily relevant to the New Zealand context, its insights may be considered generally applicable to other indigenous peoples living in settler states.

We build on the existing theory of indigenous historical trauma, led by the Takini Network, to develop what we believe is an insightful aetiology of the trauma caused by settler colonisation on Ngāi Tahu whanau. The Takini Network has made a valuable contribution to understanding the compounding *effects* of traumatic historical events on indigenous people, however, in this report we broaden our analysis to also explore the additional effects of the 'colonial environment' – the atmosphere created by settler states that traumatizes through economic and political instability, arbitrary justice, and constant threat. Drawing upon postcolonial and postdevelopment theories, we demonstrate that the colonial environment shifts over time, steadily undermining the independent social and economic structures of whanau and hapū, which directly results in poor physical, psychological, and social health. However, our results also demonstrate that whanau have not been passive in response to these effects, adopting several responses and strategies to address trauma. Consequently, the analysis in this report teases out what we believe is the complex, multidimensional and reciprocating causational dynamics that make up the colonising environment, as well as the effects this environment has on whanau, and the response of whanau to this environment.

In this report the colonising environment is described by the whānau participants, across different generations discussing their experiences of colonisation, and the effects it has had on them. Through this method we demonstrate how the colonising environment is both an historic and a contemporary phenomenon and, furthermore, how rather than being discrete and hermetic phenomena they are intrinsically and intimately connected, with the historic colonising environment directly and indirectly contributing to the traumatising mechanisms of the contemporary colonising environment.

Our main finding is that the intergenerational trauma caused by colonisation is linked to the fundamental and long lasting structural changes and psychosocial challenges caused by the ongoing process of settler colonisation. The evidence suggests that it is the diminishment and structural undermining of Māori political, economic, and social institutions and, in turn, the negative impacts on the Māori ethno-cultural identity and personal self-concept that generate trauma among whanau. Ultimately these institutions were undermined by Māori alienation from land, which underpinned Māori political and economic independence, and offered a platform of Māori civil society and ethno-cultural identity.

The institutions of the settler state, which replaced tribal institutions, have proved poor at meeting the human needs of Māori, and other indigenous people, the traumatising effect of which is evidenced in today's statistics. As will be outlined in this report, the trauma within Ngāi Tahu whānau rose with the decline of Māori pā-based formal and informal institutions and subsequent exposure to the settler state institutions and wider society – and the structural changes and psychosocial challenges this exposure has wrought on them. Consequently, it is made clear that the trauma of colonisation is not simply something that happened in the past, the ramifications of which are passed down to effect current generations, but also a reality still experienced by many Māori as both politico-economic deprivation and cultural alienation from the settler state and wider society.

Trauma and Colonisation

Across a world where national borders still reveal colonial history, indigenous citizens dominate the negative economic and social statistics of the settler states: they are significantly more likely to demonstrate signs of mental and physical ill health, significantly more likely to be poor, significantly more likely to be under-educated, significantly more likely to be incarcerated, significantly more likely to be abused as children, significantly more likely to be involved in violence, significantly more likely to be addicted to drugs and alcohol, and significantly more likely to kill themselves. The litany of negatives is typically comprehensive within each settler state and they are nearly the same across the different major settler states, from the Anglosphere (New Zealand, Australia, the USA and Canada) to the Iberian (Brazil, Argentina, Chile etc.) (Cornell, 2006; Kukutai 2010; Indigenous World International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, 2006; UN, 2014). Put simply, indigenous inhabitants typically live well below the median lines in all settler states. But how do these contemporary negative indicators connect with settler colonialism and how does this colonial trauma continue to be perpetuated into the contemporary age? That indigenous people have experienced trauma due to colonisation is obvious, but making the connection between this 'historical' trauma and the current over-representation of indigenous people in the negative statistics of the settler states is not so easy. Is this past trauma the same as current trauma?

Conceptualising Trauma

To explore this, we first need to examine how trauma has been conceived, both in general and with respect to colonisation, before we offer our own definition, explain the limitations inherent in this definition, how we will attempt to overcome then and, finally, provide an explanation of how we conceive the 'colonising environment'. Also, to be clear, it needs to be explained that the study of 'trauma' is often tied up the causes of the trauma and while the following is interested in trauma itself, it is equally interested in examining what causes trauma, as this is understood as critical to this project.

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

To date, most work on psychological trauma has focused on post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). While PTSD is a useful concept for understanding the consequences of specific traumatic events on individuals, numerous scholars have argued that it is an inadequate framework for understanding or resolving the multiplexity of problems faced by contemporary indigenous

peoples (Atkinson, 2002; Ehrenreich, 2003; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Rapadas, 2007; Taylor-Moore, 2009). Broadly speaking, these scholars cite three key interrelated reasons for this inadequacy. Firstly, PTSD pathologises people's responses to trauma by framing them as the 'symptoms' of a 'mental disorder', meaning that the ways in which people attempt to bear the unbearable are seen as indications of an underlying 'dysfunction' within the individual and the focus turns to dealing with those 'dysfunctions' (Taylor-Moore, 2009). As well as blaming the victim, and even potentially re-victimising them, this often means that the broader political, economic and social context – the *wider* nature of a traumatising 'environment' – within which people are traumatised is obscured. Secondly, the concept of PTSD is really only capable of describing people's responses to particular traumatic events (Besser et al., 2009). The experience of victims of prolonged disasters such as ongoing civil wars, long-term environmental disasters and colonisation lie beyond PTSD's explanatory capacity, it is focused on specific traumatising events rather than an *enduring* nature of a traumatising 'environment'. Finally, PTSD is also limited in its ability to explore the cumulative effects of multiple traumatic events occurring over generations and offers "virtually no discussion on the intergenerational transmission of trauma from person to person or within communities and give us little insight into the relationship between historical and contemporary trauma responses" (Evans-Campbell, 2008, 317). PTSD, then, is not able to encapsulate the *cascading* nature of a traumatising 'environment'.

The major problem with PTSD with respect to the trauma of colonisation, then, lies in its limited conception of what causes trauma – as embodied by the term itself: *post*-traumatic stress disorder. Specifically, it is based on an understanding of trauma as caused by specific, abrupt and isolated events. Consequently, it is focused on the 'stress disorder' that comes after the traumatic event. This limitation comes because PTSD views trauma through a 'medical model', itself based on the Newtonian-Cartesian paradigm, which means it has a simplistic and linear view of cause and effect (Taylor-Moore, 2009). Rather than viewing the causality of trauma in a multidimensional and reciprocating fashion, PTSD starts with the false assumption that trauma is only caused by specific, abrupt and isolated. Specific in that they are limited in their nature, abrupt in that they limited in their duration and isolated in that they are limited in their causational complexity in time and space. Fittingly, then, the main reason it is unsuitable for understanding indigenous trauma caused by colonisation is that it is limited because of its inherently western conception of reality (Reid and Rout, 2016a). PTSD is simply not comprehensive or nuanced enough to examine the wider, enduring and cascading nature of the trauma caused by 'colonising environment', and the means by which it is transmitted within individuals, through whānau and communities, and across

generations. By focusing on proscribed traumatic events rather than on a broader, ongoing and cumulative traumatising environment that indigenous people in settler states inhabit, PTSD is incapable of capturing the causes of the trauma of colonisation. In addition, it has the potential to re-victimise as it 'pathologises' the sufferer rather than critically exposing the actual environment causing the trauma – it directs the 'blame' at the victim rather than the perpetrator. These limitations have not prevented it being applied to major, complex intergenerational traumas (Evans-Campbell, 2008). However, real insight into the trauma of colonisation needs to focus on the colonising environment rather than colonial events. Before we outline how we understand the colonising environment though we need to show how others have attempted to understand the trauma of colonisation.

Historical Trauma

In more specific, directed research into the trauma of colonisation, Native American scholars have long sought to understand the connection between the contemporary health and wellbeing disparities of American Indian and Alaskan Native (AIAN) peoples and the rest of the United States population. In particular, the Takini Network, established by Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, has conducted "more than 20 years of clinical practice and observations, as well as qualitative and quantitative research" (Brave Heart, 2003, 7) in this area, developing the concept of 'historical trauma', and the consequent 'historical trauma response', which seeks to go beyond the confines of trauma as conceived by PTSD.

As Brave Heart (2000, 245) explains, historical trauma is "the cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations emanating from massive group trauma experiences", citing events such as the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre and the forced removal of children to federal and mission boarding schools as key traumatic occurrences for her people. In turn, the historical trauma response "is a constellation of features associated with massive group trauma across generations" (Brave Heart 2003, 7). According to the Takini Network, historical trauma is transferred by vicarious traumatisation and historically unresolved grief. The former occurs through following generations experiencing trauma via collective memory, story-telling and oral traditions of the population, with these traumatic events becoming embedded in the collective social memories of the population (Brave Heart, 2003). The latter is a form of disenfranchised grief, a state that Brave Heart and LeBruyn (1998) believe occurs if a dominant group delegitimises grief amongst another group, which inhibits the necessary experience and the expression of grief, causing shame. Building on work directed at understanding

the trauma caused by the Holocaust, Brave Heart expands the frame of trauma transference from the familial to the communal, showing how the trauma of colonisation is passed on through wider social networks (Brave Heart, 2003). However, while this expansion is vital and an important contribution, we consider that further expansion is required.

Evans-Campbell (2008, 320, 321) states that the "concept of historical trauma has served as both a description of trauma responses among oppressed peoples and a causal explanation for them", going on to explain that "the lens of historical trauma allows us to expand our focus from isolated events and their impacts to the compounding effect of numerous events over time". To some extens this notion of historical trauma addresses PTSD's flaws, by moving away from 'isolated events' to 'numerous' and 'compounding' events over time.' However, we consider that the notion of historical trauma can be expanded. Nonetheless, for this expansion to occur the events-centric conception of the causes of trauma needs to be reexamined. Rather than looking at clear delineations between cause and effect – that is a specific set of historical events cause a corresponding set of traumas (effects) – we consider that such historical events are just one part of a broader, ongoing and compounding set of traumatising mechanisms that together create a colonising environment. To explain this notion of the colonising environment an analogy would be useful. In a violent household physical trauma occurs through acts of violence but the psychological trauma comes from both the violence itself and the anticipated threat of violence. The cause of psychological trauma can be a specific event, but equally they can be what may be termed a traumatising environment, such as a home where there is always the potential for violence. In much the same way settler states and societies establish an environment, through injustice and arbitrary acts of physical and psychological violence, which to together present a constant threat, and as such act as a constant source of trauma.

Although the concept of historical trauma has made a valuable contribution to understanding the *effects* trauma of colonisation on indigenous people, it can be expanded to explore the underlying environment that is constantly present within setter states, in addition to the more bloody and miserable historical events underpinning contemporary trauma. Consequently, the analysis in this report is directed at the underlying colonising environment, in addition to historical events, which together give rise to trauma. In other words, we are interested teasing out what we believe is the complex, multidimensional and reciprocating causational dynamics that make up the colonising environment as well as the effects this environment has on indigenous peoples. The environment is described by the whānau participants themselves, across different generations discussing their

experiences of colonisation, and the effects it has had on them. This includes octogenarians talking about their parents' and grandparents' experiences through to current younger generation's discussing their present day lives. Through this method we demonstrate how the colonising environment is both an historic and contemporary phenomenon, but will also reveal the way the past impacts the present in an array of ways that perpetuate trauma. While the Takini Network is focused on understanding how historic trauma remains contemporary, we are also interested in how contemporary trauma connects with history. To do this, we need to define how we understand trauma.

The Traumatising Environment

To define trauma – both its causes and effects – as conceived in this report, we need to go back to first principles. Generally speaking, the term 'trauma', and all of its derivatives, can be used to cover both physical and psychological issues and is also used to refer to both the cause and the effect, giving it a near-universal semantic scope that makes determining exactly what the word is being used to refer to difficult. Physically, it can describe virtually any injury from a minor puncture wound to a severe compression harm to organs, while when used to refer to psychological issues it generally focuses on damage to the psyche caused by something distressing. With regard to causational, then, the unifying bridge between physical and psychological trauma is that they are produced by an external source rather than being an internally-derived malady. However, we would argue that the physical conception of trauma has unduly influenced the understanding of psychological trauma. This type of erroneous metaphoric transferal is, of course, one of the flaws of the Newtonian-Cartesian paradigm where purely physical laws are applied to nonphysical realms (Reid and Rout, forthcoming). Physical trauma is almost always caused by an 'event', be it a car accident or physical violence, that is relatively specific, abrupt and isolated. The physics, or causational parameters of such events, can be mapped, their nature is very specific, and their duration defined. Furthermore, the trauma is unidirectional, from the cause, such as blunt force, to the effect, such as bruising. There are, of course, solid biophysical reasons for these limitations. While psychological trauma can also be caused by 'events' that have similar parameters, such as physical violence, or a natural disaster, to limit its scope to these parameters is to mistakenly conflate the physical and psychological. It is to assume that the human mind can only be hurt in a way analogous to a physical injury when in actuality the way humans can be psychologically harmed is far more diverse and complex. This is illustrated by the analogy outlined previously, where the traumatic effects of a physically violent household comes from both the physical violence itself and the anticipated threat of violence.

With regard to trauma as an effect there are also some similar conceptual issues, which stem from the fact that a physical trauma, say the loss of a limb, may, or may not, cause psychological trauma, like depression or anger, while a psychological trauma, such as stress, can cause physical trauma, including high blood pressure and heart attacks. In other words, the physical and psychological effects of trauma are not always distinct and separate categories but rather are better understood as phenomena that are often interconnecting and interacting. Of course, this is hardly an original understanding, it is well known that along with psychological symptoms – including shock, denial, anger, instability; guilt, shame, self-blame, sorrow, confusion, anxiety, fear, disconnection and alienation – there are also many physical symptoms of psychological trauma and vice versa (McFarlane, 2010). However, while these interconnections and interactions are acknowledged, generally speaking they are still viewed in a binary and linear manner, where the consequences of one may cause the other like dominos falling; that is, each remains a discrete entity and the causal chain can be followed backwards in a clear sequence. Recently, though, the distinction between physical and psychological has started to break down. For example, it is now understood that psychological trauma directly manifests in physical traumas, such as recent work showing how childhood neglect, a solely psychological trauma, causes neurological abnormalities (Teicher et al., 2004). Likewise, psychological trauma is also believed to be passed on from one generation epigenetically, where the expression of the genetic code in descendants is altered (Kellerman, 2013). Consequently, it appears that psychological trauma not only manifests in the sufferer in a directly physical manner but is also physically transmissible. Thus, not only are the borders between the physical and psychological far less distinct than many have considered but the very causal relationship is also far harder to unpack than has long been understood.

These complexities are, we believe, why the trauma of colonisation has been so difficult to unpack. As should be clear from the above, our understanding of 'colonial trauma' is that it is caused both by specific traumatising events and by a traumatising environment, which is a broad spectrum, ongoing and compounding situation. Furthermore, 'colonial trauma' needs to be considered as a complex amalgam of both psychological and physical, in that while the colonial traumas we are examining are primarily psychological they can manifest through physical symptoms. Thus, while originally 'caused' by an external source, trauma is also able to be 'internally' perpetuated through a range of psychological and physical vectors. That is to say, that our conception of trauma is that it can also become internally self-perpetuating within individuals, whānau and communities once inflicted by the external catalyst and that while it generally starts as psychological harm it can

become a composite of both psychological and physical causes and effects. This internal perpetuation – of either a physical (including epigenetic) or psychological nature – can also be exacerbated by the continuing exposure to a traumatising environment, though this is not necessary for the trauma to become internally self-perpetuating. Thus, the historic colonising environment can continue to be traumatic even when the originating external causes have subsided but equally the exposure to a continuing contemporary colonising environment can make those historic traumas even more problematic whilst simultaneously creating new traumas.

Colonisation is, without doubt, a set of traumatising historic events. However, it is more than that, it creates a traumatising environment, one in which indigenous people are not only exposed to historic traumas, but suffer additional traumas created by the 'colonizing atmosphere' of the settler nation state. A traumatic environment, as opposed to a traumatic event, has wider, enduring and cascading mechanisms that traumatise. Wider in that the causal mechanisms are diverse and multiple in type; enduring in that these diverse and multiple mechanisms not only last far longer but also become self-perpetuating; and cascading in that these diverse, multiple and self-perpetuating mechanisms are cumulative and compounding in their cause and effect. While focusing on traumatic events is useful, this needs to be expanded to include the trauma that comes from the subjugation of an entire people and their way of life – their formal and informal institutions, their culture, their very being – that is settler colonialism through a set of events alone cannot fully encapsulate the trauma of colonisation and its impacts.

Potential Limitations of the Traumatising Enviroment

Therefore, the purpose of the report is to identify what we consider are the causal links between the trauma symptoms experienced by our Māori research participants and the colonising environment; that is, what we understand are the underlying cultural structures and institutions of the settler state and society that traumatise through mechanisms such as alienation, subalternisation, isolation, and assimilation. While historic events give rise to the formation of such institutions, once the initial historic event has passed the institutional effect remains. Multiple historical events lead to the development of institutions and structures that create an enduring colonising environment. Our definition of trauma means that untangling the traumatising mechanisms that cause trauma can be difficult as there are layers of cause and effect that interact and interfere with each other in numerous, often reciprocating, ways. Thus, while we will try to peel back each layer to expose the causational chain, this will not always be achievable. We understand that this is highly problematic as the complex nature of trauma as we have defined it

means that we are identify both historic events that lead to the formation of institutions that create contemporary issues in relation to trauma. The complexity of this undertaking means that we have to proceed with a both degree of caution, as each individual and each mechanism that causes trauma has an extensive whakapapa, and with the caveat that while we have tried to expose and explain the layers of cause and effect that underlie colonial trauma, doing so comprehensively is virtually impossible. There are several specific considerations that need to be detailed as well, regarding how these causational connections were made and how we attempted to overcome these limitations.

First, there is a danger with such a broad and comprehensive definition of trauma that it becomes a catchall where any negative symptom is included. To ameliorate this, we have erred on the side of caution, choosing not to include traumas we felt had a tenuous connection. The participating whānau expressed many ills for which connections to the colonising environment could not be directly made, or correlated. This data is not presented in this report given that it would be incorrect to blame *all* contemporary ills experienced by Māori on colonisation – there can be both internal individual and whānau factors, as well as external global factors, that can create traumatising environments or events that are not colonial in origin. Consequently, we have attempted to only associate trauma symptoms that we consider can be directly connected, or strongly correlated to structures common within the colonising environment. However, it is also necessary to be cognizant that even problems expressed by whānau, which may appear unconnected to colonisation, are often influenced by its traumatic effect, from individuals expressing shortness of temper, through to problematic whānau dynamics. Ultimately, it was a judgement call and we believe we have drawn a consistent cut off line, though the position of this line could be shifted in either direction without any substantial loss of fidelity.

A second issue was that it is important not to consider Māori just as victims of the colonising environment, as there is significant evidence of resilience, resistance, success and adaptation among Ngāi Tahu whānau. In fact, many participants in the study expressed a reticence to discuss personal and whānau trauma, given the risk of adopting a 'victim mentality', instead seeking to minimise the trauma suffered, dismissing it or making a joke out of it, though the subtext was clear. This reticence means that in this report the trauma has often been inferred from subtle cues and the tone and nuances in the entire narrative; we have had to put the subtext into context. Put simply, for many reasons people do not always talk in ways that explicitly connect historical or contemporary events or the wider environment to their own personal situation. However, because

the narratives were gathered using a guided conversational technique – discussed below in the methodology section – that was focused on the trauma of land loss specifically and colonisation in general we believe the balance between attributing everything to colonisation and requiring strict causal connections has been maintained though, for the sake of rigor, we have erred closer to the latter. There is, to be blunt, enough trauma that has been and still is clearly and incontrovertibly caused by colonisation to mitigate the need to make spurious or dubious connections.

Finally, this brings us to how we have attempted to overcome these limitations. Rather than speaking on behalf of our Ngāi Tahu whānau participants we allow them to speak for themselves, we let them give voice to their stories, which connect their own trauma symptoms with events prevalent in the colonising environment in which they, and their tupuna, have been immersed. This means that we have often used large quotes so that they are able to express the trauma and its causes. Thus, while there is a degree of informed interpretation required on our behalf, even in the selection of these quotes let alone how we have contextualised them in the overarching narrative, we have tried to ensure that our participants have been able to explain the trauma in their own voices.

We have also drawn on personal knowledge of the participants' and their whānau's lives to provide context and insight. While this type of approach is generally frowned upon by the western academic community, as we will detail in the methodology section, this fits both within the general Māori worldview and the *kaupapa Māori* research paradigm used in this project. By using intimate details that only fellow members of the Ngāi Tahu community could know, we were able to place what would otherwise be isolated statements into a broader life history. These insights helped us to bring the subtext into context as we were able to make the important connections between a reference trauma and the participant's lived experience. For reasons of privacy, we have not detailed these life histories but as with the above considerations outlined above, we have erred on the side of caution when it comes to making vague connections.

Also, and in connection with the above, we have, where possible, gone back to key participants to make sure that the inferences we have drawn were correct, or at least were not incorrect. This enabled us to make sure that we were not reading too much into a statement, that we were not erroneously extrapolating causal connections in ways that suited our research ends. Again, this methodology is one that fits within both the general Māori worldview and the *Kaupapa Māori* research paradigm.

Settler Colonialism

We propose that settler colonisation creates, perpetuates and disseminates a 'colonising environment' that has traumatising mechanisms. There are, we argue, two broad and interconnected traumatising mechanisms that perpetuate the ongoing traumatisation in settler states which can be classified as structural and psychosocial. We believe that the formal and informal institutions of the settler state establish and create the colonising environment through the structural changes and psychosocial challenges indigenous people experience. To understand how this works we need to explore the phenomenon known as settler colonisation, as this will show how the colonising environment – and its traumatising mechanisms – is created, perpetuated and disseminated.

There are two main forms of colonialism: settler and extractive. While there may be some disagreement over exactly how to classify the many forms of extractive colonisation, which can be subdivided into an array of different categories, settler colonialism's categorical separation is somewhat more secure. As Veracini (2010, 6) explains, "Classificatory attempts have repeatedly emphasized this separation", going on to explain that "settler colonialism operates autonomously in the context of developing colonial discourse and practice". To complicate matters, however, as Morgensen (2011) explains, a single territory can be subject to both forms of colonialism, even simultaneously. Nevertheless, there are, as Veracini (2010) notes, unique practices and discourses of settler colonialism and it is these, and the structural changes and psychosocial challenges they produce, that are of interest here. Settler colonialism involves the permanent settlement of an area by a group with the aim of dominating the resources and creating an enduring regime of control over that area in spite of any previous inhabitation – in effect, replacing indigenous institutions and society with settler institutions and society (Veracini, 2010). The primary objective of settler colonisation is the land, specifically gaining permanent control of the territory by replacing the previous inhabitants, rather than extractive colonialism's use of indigenous labour to extricate value. Wolfe (2006, 388) explains that "Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element… Settler colonialism destroys to replace". There is an inherent binary inversion, the settler is the exogenous seeking to become indigenous as contrasted with the indigenous who the settler is seeking to make exogenous. As Wolfe (1999, 2) incisively notes, in a statement that has fundamental relevance to this report, "Settler colonies were (are) premised on the elimination of the native societies. The split tensing reflects a determinate feature of settler colonization. The

colonizers come to stay – invasion is a structure not an event". Morgenson (2011, 57) unpacks this somewhat, explaining that "settler colonialism establishes western law within a white supremacist political economy premised upon the perpetual elimination of Indigenous peoples". These institutional structures are the mechanisms of perpetual elimination and they create and maintain the colonising environment. Thus, generally speaking, settler colonialism seeks to dominate a specific territory and it is this aim of indefinite domination through the replacement of the indigenous institutions with settler ones that creates the structural and psychosocial mechanisms that have traumatised and, in many cases, continue to traumatise, the indigenous peoples living within settler states.

Use of the term 'replace' is ambiguous – though to be clear Wolfe (2006) is certainly not ambiguous about the genocidal actions this term can equate to, as his use of the phrase 'destroys to replace' suggests – and some clarification about what is meant here is important not just for general precision but also for the following analysis of the structural and psychosocial mechanisms. There are two specific means by which the indigenous inhabitants can be 'replaced': assimilation and extermination (Morgensen, 2011). In practice, rather than one being followed singularly, the settler state will pursue a mixture of the two, a balance that generally depends on both pragmatism and ideology. Pragmatically, the approach is dictated by the level of indigenous resistance the settlers face and the sheer difficulty of total extermination, and, ideologically, the level of indigenous 'civilisation' and the current dominant ethical paradigm of the settler society. Where they face greater resistance, the sheer number of indigenous peoples is overwhelming in relation to their own, deem the indigenous society relatively 'civilised', or are more morally restrained, the settler state will seek to assimilate the indigenous people into their own society, where they face less resistance, the population numbers are manageable, they perceive the indigenous society as 'uncivilised', or are relatively morally unrestrained, they aim to exterminate the indigenous populace (Wolfe, 2006). These factors can change over time and this temporal variation means that most settler states have pursued a range of different means of 'replacing' the indigenous inhabitants.

In New Zealand, assimilation was the most common method of replacement, for both pragmatic and ideological reasons – Māori offered significant resistance, outnumbered the settlers by a significant amount early on, were seen as 'relatively civilised' in comparison to other indigenous peoples and were colonised at a time when moral restraint towards indigenous people was being encouraged by certain sectors of the colonising populace (Banner, 2005; Belich, 1988). That said,

there were some aspects of extermination that focused on elimination through either interbreeding or disease though these were never overt government policies or actions. In Australia, the Aborigines – who were militarily weaker than Māori, were far more geographically dispersed than Māori, were considered 'less civilised' and were colonised during a less morally-restrained period – were targeted for extermination by the government, though by the 20th Century assimilation had become the main policy of replacement (Wolfe, 2006).

These forms of replacement were, for the settler, two different means to the same end: taking control of the land. For the indigenous victims – those not exterminated – settler colonisation not only involves the loss of land but also a resultant loss of autonomy across the entire spectrum of indigenous life, from the political and economic to the social and cultural as their own institutions and society are replaced by the settler's. This loss of autonomy needs to be considered as both a process and an outcome; that is, both the actions and events inherent to the process and the ongoing structural changes and psychosocial challenges created by the process of replacing the indigenous institutions and society with settler ones. The loss of institutional control, particularly political sovereignty and economic autonomy, as well as the fracturing and dissolution of social cohesion and cultural identity that are core to the success of the settler colonial project, we consider, cause greater trauma over the long term than the violent events that facilitate these factors create the structural changes and psychosocial challenges that continue to effect indigenous peoples decades and centuries later.

Before explaining what the structural changes and psychosocial challenges are, however, it needs to be said that these are not equal and distinct categories. While structural changes can cause trauma directly, they also help to perpetuate or exacerbate psychosocial challenges. In many respects, the trauma caused by the structural changes is psychosocial, though this is not always the case. That said, in most cases, the structural changes can be seen to feed into the psychosocial challenges and, furthermore, the order the latter will be examined in is not random but rather is understood as homing in on the core issues. Simplistically, the structural could be considered as 'causes' and the psychosocial as 'effects', but this does not do either justice as their nature and interactions are more complex than this as will become apparent throughout the analysis. Focusing on them separately is considered more analytically useful. The aim here is to untangle as best possible this most complex and multifarious situation and this involves pulling some threads apart to expose their composition. The conclusion will draw these threads back together to form a cohesive picture.

Structural Changes

The structural changes that perpetuate trauma can be broadly described as the institutional inequalities faced by indigenous people in the settler states they have to live in – everything from the voting franchise to the job market to the education system, all reinforced by the near total loss of land suffered. In blunt terms, the settler state is a creation that is both intentionally and incidentally geared against indigenous people. The creation of a settler state involves the near-total loss of indigenous political sovereignty, economic autonomy and societal control as indigenous institutions are replaced by settler ones (Hogan, 2000; Wolfe, 2006). The European praxis of regime is such that there cannot be a competing sovereign power within the state, meaning that it must possess the highest political power within a territory. Wolfe (2006, 391) referring to the US, explains that even "where native sovereignty was recognized, however, ultimate dominion over the territory in question was held to inhere in the European sovereign in whose name it had been 'discovered'." Settlers, as Veracini (2010, 3) notes, claim a "special sovereign charge"; European sovereignty trumps indigenous sovereignty, not that the latter is often recognised in the first place, viz. the declarations of 'terra nullius' over parts of North America and all of Australia (Banner, 2005). Underlying this need for absolute sovereignty is the fundamentally economic impetus of colonisation; capitalism is the key colonial driver, its impulse requires that global resources are subsumed within 'the market' (Polanyi, 1944). When considering this impulse Marx and Engels (quoted in Veracini, 2010, 1) wrote, "the need of a constantly expanding market for its product chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe", and that it "must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere". The sublimation of indigenous society into the settler society is less specifically directed, it comes about more as a means of facilitating political and economic institutional domination and also as a means of fulfilling replacement via assimilation. In settler states, then, indigenous people lost nearly all political, economic and social independence – an essentially permanent transition that was largely driven by the near total loss of land – and were consequently enmeshed in the settler's own political, economic and social institutional structures.

To survive, indigenous people have to inhabit the political, economic and social institutional structures of the settler, the totalising nature of settler colonialism leaves them with no choice. These structures are both intentionally and incidentally biased towards to the settler, particularly in the early years of consolidation, though this inequality continues into the contemporary era to varying degrees. That is to say, the many components of the settler state political, economic and

social institutions generally favour the settler, in either an overt or discreet manner. As Rangihau (1986, 18) writes:

> *"[The] history of New Zealand since colonisation has been the history of institutional decisions being made for, rather than by, Maori people. Key decisions on education, justice and social welfare, for example, have been made with little consultation with Maori people. Throughout colonial history, inappropriate structures and Pakeha involvement in issues critical for Maori have worked to break down traditional Maori society by weakening its base – the whānau, the hapu, the iwi. It has been almost impossible for Maori to maintain tribal responsibility for their own people".*

Over time, there may be a degree of moderation but, despite various specific improvements where settler states have sought to redress some of the original imbalances, for most indigenous people the settler state remains an inherently colonising environment because of settler colonisation's structural changes.

There are two reasons for this. The first, more philosophical, is that even when the various aspects of the settler institutions are modified, they tend to remain foreign structures that replicate the alien worldview of the settler. This worldview is, in some fundamental ways, antithetical to the Māori worldview, where the former is abstractionist, rationalist, dualist, progressivist, universalist, and individualist and the latter emphasises phenomenological, holistic, cyclical, local, familial, and tribal (Barker, 2009; Reid and Rout, 2016a). Thus, even when some of the more explicitly biased institutional structures of settler society are remedied, the fundamental issue remains – the structure continues to represent the settler reality resulting in poor cultural fit.

As will be explored in coming sections, the inability of settler institutions to adapt may be attributed to an implicit developmentalist narrative among settler cultures, that view the indigenous society as 'catching-up,' learning, or developing toward, the settler culture (Hefferman, 2002; Nayar, 2008). This results in the indigenous reality being inevitably silenced and disadvantaged – an inherently traumatising experience. Second, at a more pragmatic level, these moderations still do not change the fundamental underlying structural change experienced by indigenous people: the alienation from land, a loss that facilitates the loss of political, economic, and social autonomy. As Wolfe (2006, 387) writes, "Land is life—or, at least, land is necessary for life". Without access to resources indigenous people are exposed to material poverty, and the subsequent physiological and psychological effects associated with this trauma. Put basically, contemporary changes cannot

eradicate history and the sheer mass of damaging structural change that looms in the past has an inertia that will require many years of positive course correction to obviate.

There are a number of different theories that cover how these structural changes traumatise indigenous populations. The first comes from the work of a collective of South Asian scholars called the Subaltern Studies Group. They argue that indigenous inhabitants of colonised states are 'subalternate', that is, they are a section of the population that are politically, economically, and socially excluded from the power structure (Arnold, 1984; Chakrabarty, 2000; Spivak, 2003). Subalternisation generates a psychological state of despondency and low self-efficacy as indigenous political, economic, and social autonomy is lost to settler state control, paternalism, and social dominance. Through this process indigenous people shift from a state of self-reliance and autonomous personal dignity to dependence and self-esteem.

The other theory that provides insight is post-colonial theory, which explores how continuing colonial practices of progressive developmentalism have caused serious and persistent psychological, social and cultural harm to indigenous peoples by creating "sharp and painful conflicts in… self-understanding, aspiration, expectation and action" (Hogan, 2000, 10). It posits that the neo-colonial views of development have become internalised within indigenous populations generated a complex and contradictory interplay of conflicting identities, and problematic social issues at the level of the individual, family, and community that are traumatising (Reid, 2011). These traumatic psychosocial effects are discussed in the next section.

These two theories are somewhat entwined, with subaltern studies noting that 'development' is the latest form of subalternisation for the, now independent, extractive colonies (Motta and Nilsen, 2011). For settler colonies, both theories help explain how the settler structure continues to traumatise. The indigenous inhabitants remain subalternate in the state and even attempts by the state to change this status through development only serve to reinforce this power inequality, by reinforcing the idea that indigenous people need 'developing' (Gore, 2000). This is ultimately a disempowering and demoralising process, generating, and reinforcing, psychological harm within indigenous communities.

This is often exacerbated because the settler state operates under the western worldview and its policies are formulated using principles that often counter indigenous understanding of the world (Reid and Rout, 2016a). Thus, the institutional structure of the settler state may still be

traumatising, even when the settler state is seeking to address institutional biases. To fully include an indigenous perspective in the design of institutional structures, we consider that the settler state and society must become introspective of its own developmentalist assumptions in a way that permits indigenous worldviews to enter and shape institutions on an equal footing. Furthermore, the institutional settings need to be modified in a way that permits the underlying structural inequalities related to settler resource expropriation to be addressed.

However, the creation of institutions that embody indigenous culture and identity is not an easy task, firstly because it requires the support and agreement of the settler political classes, and secondly because it requires the unearthing, adapting and efficacy-testing of traditional institutional structures that have been undermined, and often intentionally dissolved, by the colonial process itself (Reid and Rout, 2016b). In the New Zealand context some examples of how such institutions might look exist in the form of rūnanga, post-settlement iwi bureaucracies and Māori governed and operated social service agencies. However, the transformation and development of a broad range of institutions, from justice to property right systems, that reflect Māori culture and interests, is a significant project requiring the visioning and instituting of new structures, and the development of capability to populate culturally-matched institutions.

Psychosocial Challenges

The psychosocial challenges that perpetuate trauma are more nebulous than the loss of political, economic and social autonomy through institutional change, but are equally if not more damaging over the long term. As Jackson (2004, 96), referencing Said, writes: "colonization and imperialism are more than tangible acts of land theft or physical genocide. They are also an accretion of intangibles that… linger where they have always been, in a kind of general cultural sphere, as well as in specific political, ideological, economic and social practices". These psychosocial challenges come from the political, economic, social, cultural and personal inequities that indigenous people must deal with operating within the settler state's formal and informal institutions, with a major component of this being the colonial narrative's impact on cultural identity and personal self-concept. This narrative – or more accurately narratives, as it is not a singular, coordinated, and consistent narrative but rather a multitude of mostly ad hoc narratives that share the same fundamental underpinning – is the story the settler tells themselves and the indigenous people that justifies colonisation. It is a story that portrays the settler institutions and wider culture as superior and seeks to rationalise the settlers' actions, putting any concerns about the total domination of another culture at ease (Jacobs, 2006; Jackson, 2004). However, in reducing any worry the

colonisers may suffer it creates a powerful mechanism of ongoing traumatisation for indigenous peoples as it denigrates their cultural identity and damages their self-concept.

At its core, the narrative portrays western 'civilisation' – its formal and informal institutions and the wider underpinning culture – as superior to indigenous institutions and culture, it categorises societies according to their stage of evolution, from 'primitive' through to 'modern', determining that indigenous societies are less evolved than their western counterparts through a process of simplification and emphasis on difference over similarity (Reid and Rout, 2016b; Said, 1978). The narrative obscures similarities and turns nuanced, complex, variegated and dynamic social identities into simplistic, fixed, contrasting caricatures (Bhabha, 1983, 1994a, 1994b; Nayer, 2008; Said, 1978). At the heart of the colonial narrative the West is portrayed as 'civilised' and 'modern' while indigenous people are portrayed as 'barbaric' and 'backward' (Reid, 2011; Said, 1978). The way in which backwardness is expressed has changed somewhat in our current era, but up until at least the 1950s indigenous people were portrayed as either 'noble savages' or 'primitive savages' (Ellingson, 2001). This portrayal was connected with which form of replacement the settler state was enacting, if they were seeking to assimilate the indigenous population then they would frame them as 'noble savages', if they wished to exterminate them, then they were framed as 'primitive savages'. Either way, the indigenous society is defined as less developed than the coloniser. This portrayal provides several courses for justifying colonisation. The first is that indigenous people are unable to use their land and resources effectively while by contrast the coloniser will be able to maximise output. This 'labour theory of property' can be traced back to the work of Locke, whose biased belief that land use was maximised when intensively farmed was one of the key theoretical planks of the colonial narrative (Banner, 2005). While this form of justification leant itself to the extractive form of colonisation more, it was used in settler colonies, including New Zealand. The second form of justification derived from this portrayal was, for the 'noble savages', framed as a 'civilising mission', where the beneficent coloniser was a patron who was generously 'uplifting' indigenous society (Clayton, 1997; Twells, 2009). As Morrow (2014, 87) states, settler governments "encouraged the replacement of assumedly archaic traditional cultural structures with modern European behaviours and sensibilities. The settler colonial project promised renewal in the European image as a gift to native peoples". Likewise, Mikaere (2011, 246) explains that:

> *"colonisation has always been about much more than simply the theft of land, the decimation of an Indigenous population by introduced disease and the seizure of political power. It has always been about recreating the colonised in the image of the coloniser".*

Hill (2009, 1) explains that "Crown and settler propaganda about amalgamation and equality had proven to be a seemingly benevolent cloak for the alienating of indigenous resources and the disappearing of indigenous culture that typified colonisation". The narrative cloaks the settlers' real intentions – that of a total land grab. Colonisation was, in the main, justified as either or both a more efficient means of resources or as a civilising mission – the important issue here is that both rely on the same hierarchical and binary portrayal of indigenous and coloniser cultures as perpetuated by the narrative.

Through their immersion in settler institutions and culture, indigenous people internalise the colonial narrative that is projected onto them (Barnes et al., 2013; Fanon, 1967; Hokowhitu, 2004; Hollis et al., 2011). The process of internalising the narrative occurs through what might be termed 'cultural flooding', whereby the indigenous social identity (hereafter referred to as the Māori cultural identity, the cultural identity or the Māori identity except when discussing social identity theory) is simply overwhelmed by the dominant settler identity as they are increasingly pressured by political, economic and social forces to interact with and inhabit settler society. Furthermore the internalisation process occurs through state assimilation policies, which are designed to obscure and erase the pre-contact indigenous identity and replace it with settler ideas and practices (Hill, 2004). As Good et al. (2008, 12), referring Nandy, write, "the 'intimate enemy' of colonialism [is] the internalisation of colonial disregard for local cultures and values and the resulting self-hatred imposed through colonial rule, produced – and continue to produce in the postcolony – a split self in which one element is repressed or denied". As the quote suggests, the internalisation of the colonial narrative generates a number of interrelated negative outcomes for indigenous people. To accept the narrative is to accept that one's cultural identity and, thus, one's self-concept (an individual's understanding of self and their place in the world) are inferior and developmentally 'behind' the coloniser (Fanon, 1967). Acceptance of the colonial narrative results in indigenous people forming a negative view of their own culture and the consequent development of negative self-views (Hogan, 2000). At its most basic, the internalisation creates a sense of shame in indigenous people, shame of their culture and shame of their ethnicity. Thus, while the colonial narrative generates a sense of satisfaction in the settlers as it encourages a sense of cultural superiority and a right-to-lead, it simultaneously embeds humiliation in the indigenous populace that their own culture is inferior to the settler. However, the colonial narrative also contrasts its caricature of indigenous people as unrefined, backward, undeveloped and licentious, with seemingly positive elements that portrays them as natural, noble, instinctive and spiritually 'at one

with nature', albeit as naïve and childlike (Ellingson, 2001). The internalisation of these positive and negative narratives emerge as contradicting positive and negative identities at a personal level. Consequently, the colonial narrative not only shames and attacks the personal dignity, self-esteem and self-efficacy of indigenous subjects, but also creates internal identity contradictions. The combination of shame and identity contradictions at an individual level translate to social problems at family and community scales as individuals who have internalised the narratives express their sense of disempowerment, shame, and confusion through harmful behaviours.

When forced to assimilate indigenous people are compelled to associate with the settler identity as a means of ameliorating the emotions of shame, disempowerment, and confusion, and to function within the political, economic and social institutions of the settler state and society (Hogan, 2000). However, there is a barrier that prevents full acceptance into settler society. Indigenous ethnicity and cultural identity are often viewed as synonymous by settlers and, as such, levels of cultural development are linked to levels of racial development (Fanon, 1967). The effect is that being genetically indigenous infers lower levels of cultural development, disqualifying a person from full membership to the settler society. Consequently, even if assimilated, indigenous people may still be subject to ethnically denigrating colonial narratives, which, in turn, may result in a negative self-concept and fractured cultural identity (Fanon, 1967).

This is further exacerbated by the loss of land, which for most indigenous peoples, including Māori, is a central source of identity. The loss of land is also a psychosocial challenge as well as a structural change, one that also reinforces the settler state attacks on indigenous identity and self-concept during the earlier stages of colonization, as land is a central component of indigenous identity. Durie (2004) even suggests that the strong sense of unity with the environment is the most defining element of indigeneity. In common with other indigenous peoples, Māori identity is linked to the land, by a sense of belonging to it, of being part of it, and of being bonded with it (Durie, 1998). Walters et al. (2011, 183) point out that the "seizing of land... has extracted a spiritual, physical, and mental toll on IP [indigenous people]. Assaults on the land are akin to assaults on the body and the people; displacement from the land is akin to being stripped from one's family of origin". The loss of land is not just a loss of a resource but also empowers the colonial narrative's attack on indigenous identity.

The Changing Nature of the Colonising Environment

As outlined, our contention is that the trauma indigenous people experience is not only caused by discreet traumatic historical events and the subsequent transmission of that psychological trauma cross-generationally, but also through the development of underpinning settler institutions and structures that establish an enduring colonising environment. The colonising environment is not, however, a static one, as the institutions and wider culture that give rise to the colonising environment do change over time in response to changing circumstances, again driven by a mix of both pragmatic and ideological reasons. For example, as will be explored in greater detail below, the tenure laws of the settler state in New Zealand constantly shifted to facilitate the transfer of land and assets from Māori to settlers. Thus, although the institutional structures regarding property rights changed, the traumatising impact of the colonising environment remained – in fact, it was changes that helped perpetuate the colonising environment as they were often necessary to continue the alienation of Māori land in the face of changing dynamics. Even when the changes were ostensibly made to help Māori – an often dubious distinction – they still generally resulted in material poverty, subjection, disempowerment and injustice precisely because tenure institutions were always externally designed by paternalistic settler state. Similarly, settler state assimilation, and later 'integration', policies shifted overtime; however, they consistently created a colonising environment that discounted and devalued Māori culture, leading to loss of identity and shame. As Mahuika (2011, 15) writes, it is "Māori who were and are expected to relocate, assimilate and adjust to the more 'civilized' political and social order. Today we are still expected to jump through hoops, to refrain from being 'wreckers' and 'haters', and to write our history on the margins of the New Zealand story". Consequently, the colonising environment emerges from institutional structures – and the wider settler culture that shapes and informs these institutions – that maintain forms of intentional and unintentional psychological, economic and social abuse. In addition, the number of abusive practices tends to grow as the settler state grows in power and influence. This means that exposure to the colonising environment leads to increasing levels of trauma among indigenous people as the scope of traumatic causes widens and the traumas accumulate and aggregate, amplifying over time. For example, the colonial practice of land alienation leads to material poverty, the trauma of which is compounded by the introduction of assimilation practices that lead to psychological harm. In short, the colonising environment at any point in time is the sum product of the wider, enduring and cascading traumas previously perpetuated by the settler state institutions and wider culture.

In the section below, a brief historical overview is undertaken to outline the institutional settings and wider culture of the New Zealand settler state at different points in history, and to illustrate the traumatic effects of these structures and the underpinning culture. It is demonstrated that in the earlier period of settlement Māori were primarily subject to traumas of material poverty, disease, and subalternisation, generated by the abuse practices of land alienation and political disenfranchisement enabled by settler state institutions. Later, these initial traumas were compounded by the abuse practices of assimilation and integration, which led to the traumas of social isolation, cultural disconnection, and identity fragmentation. Together these traumas compounded to create the toxic colonising environment in which many Māori still live.

Chronology of New Zealand as a Settler State

Attempting to divide any history up into neat sections is problematic, this is particularly true of a period of intensive settler colonisation, where two worlds collide in an uneven and chaotic fashion. However, while such a division may reduce nuance it does help provide a degree of clarity and comprehension in regards to understanding how the traumas appear at different points in history, continue and compound, to form the colonising environment. The aim here is to provide insight into the main processes and changes experienced by Māori since the onset of settler colonisation and this division aids this aim, though to do this it will have to elide over the vastly varying experiences of, and responses by, Māori geographically and chronology. For this reason, the history of New Zealand as a settler state will be examined in four particular phases: inundation (1840-1890); isolation (1890-1940); integration (1940-1980); and invigoration (1980-present) with the caveat that not only are these gross simplifications but also that even if these simplifications are accepted the various time periods given could also be debated.

Inundation – 1840-1890

New Zealand became a settler state in 1840, following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, when what Belich (2001) calls 'progressive colonisation' began in New Zealand. The period from 1840-1890 can be broadly categorised as one of inundation, both demographically and institutionally. Around half a million settlers arrived during this period, seeing Māori go from being the majority populace to being outnumbered ten to one by the settlers (Pool and Kukutai, 2011). This mass influx of settlers also saw the regional and national governance regimes put in place, enacting a wide range of legislation which constructed the settler state's political and economic institutions, while the colonial narrative began its attack on Māori culture and identity. This massive influx of

settlers and the mushrooming scope and influence of their institutions created a raft of both structural changes and psychosocial challenges for Māori.

The most fundamental structural change in this phase was land alienation. During the first 50 years of settler colonisation Māori were alienated from most of their land. In the case of Ngāi Tahu, 99.9% of tribal territory was in Crown possession by 1863 – only 23 years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (Ministry of Justice, 1991). Given that the Ngāi Tahu territory made-up approximately three quarters of the South Island of New Zealand, this was an incredible example of the rapidity settler land acquisition. The land was sold through thirteen transactions between the Crown and various Ngāi Tahu tribal chiefs. However, the Crown acted duplicitously in its negotiation of land sales, with the Crown itself noting and acknowledging in 1998 that it had acted "unconscionably and in repeated breach of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in its dealings with Ngāi Tahu in the purchase of Ngāi Tahu land", furthermore it recognised that it had "failed to act towards Ngāi Tahu reasonably and with the utmost good faith, consistent with the honour of the Crown" and failed to "preserve and protect Ngāi Tahu use and ownership of such of their land and valued possessions as they wished to retain" (Ministry of Justice, 1998, 42, 43). The Crown acted without good faith during sales negotiations by: playing rival iwi and hapū leaders off against each other; failing to incorporate all relevant representatives of Ngāi Tahu property right holders; and being unclear and ambiguous regarding actual land boundaries and the size of future reserves to be set aside for different tribal groupings (Evison, 1987; Ministry of Justice, 1991). In addition, the Crown failed to fulfil its contract requirements under sale deeds by not: providing adequate reserves; failing to guarantee ongoing access to mahinga kai (traditional food gathering areas); and failing to provide schools and hospitals (Evison, 1987; Ministry of Justice, 1991). The result was that Ngāi Tahu were forced onto 18 reserve areas across the South Island with less than 8 acres per head. As the Settlement stated, "the Crown's actions left Ngai Tahu with insufficient land to maintain its way of life, and to enable the tribe's full participation in subsequent economic development." Ministry of Justice, 1998, 35). There was not enough land to meet subsistence needs, and as a result many Ngāi Tahu were subject to material poverty and hunger. Furthermore, this state of poverty, and lack of health care exacerbated the effects of European diseases.

The rapid alienation of Māori from land was also taking place in the North Island. By 1890 Māori held only around 40% of the North Island, after both sales and raupatu – the confiscation of land by the state following the New Zealand Wars (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2016). Needless to say, both the sales and confiscation processes by the Crown were duplicitous and unjust,

mirroring the behaviour extended toward Ngāi Tahu earlier (Banner, 2000). As a consequence, by the first half of the inundation period "about two-thirds of the entire land area of New Zealand" had been alienated from Māori (Boast 2012). Apart from raupatu, the process by the majority of land in the rest of New Zealand was acquired is illustrative of the early structural biases of the settler state. During this phase of the settler government the numerous laws surrounding property favoured the settler (Banner, 2000). As Ward (quoted in Williams, 2000, 18) notes, "the law was continually framed to deny Maori more than a minor share in state power and control of resources. That most precious institution of British culture, the rule of law, was prostituted to the land grab". Kawharu (1977, 15) called the Native Land Court "a veritable engine of destruction for any tribe's tenure of land, anywhere". With regard to land sales, the "colonial government continually adjusted the complex of laws that constructed the market in ways that caused the prices received by the Maori to be lower than they would have been otherwise" (Banner 2000, 54). They adjusted the laws governing who could purchase the land, who could sell the land, and who bore the administrative costs of establishing the market. Take the case of Crown Preemption, which was in place from 1840-1865, where only the state could buy land. As Banner (2000, 61) notes, because Māori were unable to form a united front to counter the Crown, "Preemption was thus an instance of the importance of political organization in structuring the marketplace. Two peoples converged, and the better organized was able to take wealth from the poorly organized". The dramatic loss of land was facilitated by the significant structural inequalities of the settler state – in Banner's (2000) memorable phrase it was 'conquest by contract' – and while the laws surrounding land sales have changed there remain, as will be shown, structural inequalities surrounding property title. Consequently, the developing institutional settings of the settler state concerning land ownership and tenure disenfranchised Ngāi Tahu, and Māori generally, from their land and resources resulting in material poverty and disease. Certainly the actions of the state to disenfranchise Māori were intentional, however it is more debateable whether the resulting poverty and disease were also intentional or rather just an extremely unfortunate by-product. Regardless, the act of disenfranchisement was an economically and socially abusive act that resulted both directly and indirectly in the traumas of poverty and disease – two central characteristics of the colonising environment of this period (Anderson et al., 2014).

This poverty and disease have been well documented and discussed, they are core aspects of Māori historical trauma. The loss of land saw a sudden and dramatic material poverty. As Anderson et al. (2014, 340-341) write, "Māori poverty became widespread in the wake of relentless land purchasing and laws that had created complicated Māori land titles, and inadequate provisions for

Māori to manage land in multiple ownerships or raise capital for its development. These factors in turn gave rise to a classic spiral of underdevelopment (poverty giving rise to poor health and poor educational achievement, affecting the potential of the next generation to earn an adequate income)". Related to this poverty was the massive increase in mortality rates caused by introduced diseases, malnutrition, lack of access to healthcare and amongst other factors. As demographer Ian Pool (2011) explains: "Evidence suggests that Māori life expectancy at the time of Captain James Cook's visits to New Zealand (between 1769 and 1777) was higher than that in Britain… After European contact, however, there was a major decline in Māori life expectancy". Also, following colonisation the total population, which had already reduced by up to 30% following first contact until 1840, was cut down by roughly 50% by 1890 by disease, and the wars that raged across the North Island (Lange, 2011). As O'Malley (2016) has catalogued, the Land Wars alone struck a vicious blow to Māori in terms of direct and indirect deaths as well as the ongoing suffering in the aftermath. The inundation period was marked by extreme suffering through material poverty and large-scale death, much of it caused, either directly or indirectly, by land loss.

Land alienation also facilitated the loss of political and economic independence, as the change in land title also meant legal change in the authority that could govern that land and the people on it. O'Malley (2016, 46) notes that "it was not just the land that was lost to Māori. With it also went political authority – effective control over the area in question". Land in Native Title could be governed by Māori tribal entities according to their own culture and lore – a right guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi (Reid, 2011). However, once converted into Crown Title, the governing authority over that land switched to the Crown. As a consequence, once under Crown authority Māori were thrust into institutional structures that were biased, something that ran counter to their expectations of post-Treaty New Zealand, which Māori believed had given them autonomy in their own affairs (Hill, 2004). That said, the loss of self-determination – beyond the legislative facilitation of land loss – was relatively limited in this period, if only because the settler state was itself not particularly strong. Hill (2004, 15) notes that it was only by the 1880s that the "state's coercive machinery gradually but inexorably turned nominal sovereignty into substantive sovereignty", that is, when the state's capacity to actively enforce its own laws across the territory matched the scope of its legal institutions.

Still, the state that was being established was structurally-biased, built from the ground up to deny Māori equal access to power and influence. Māori were given four seats in parliament when their 1867 population percentage would have equated to roughly twenty (Kukutai, 2010). Property

thresholds for voting that virtually no Māori could meet due to the property titles were introduced, The evolving institutions of the settler state were being developed to disenfranchise Māori. O'Malley (2016, 67) explains that while the Constitution Act of 1852 divided the country into settler and Māori districts, this was never implemented and "although some predominantly Māori districts were excluded from the electorates subsequently established they were not removed from the jurisdiction of the assemblies that were set up. Māori were thus increasingly subjected to the arbitrary control of what were, in effect, racially selected bodies, from which they were excluded". As outlined in the previous sections, a decline in self-determination is well-noted to have a toxic psychological effect on societies and communities, creating subalternised states of mind. Certainly, the actions of the settler state to politically disenfranchise Māori were intentional, and may be considered socially abusive acts resulting in damage to the psyche through subalternisation. Consequently, the trauma of subalternisation began to emerge in this period in addition to the traumas of poverty and disease, which together make up three core characteristics of the colonising environment.

The period between 1840-1860 was considered the 'golden age' for the Māori economy, with many tribes supplying settlers and even trading with Australia and America (Petrie, 2006; O'Malley, 2016). However, over the period of inundation the Māori economy was significantly degraded, their economic autonomy weakened and their capacity to compete with the settler economy on a level footing severely compromised, a change influenced by the scale of land alienation experienced in this period. Not only were Māori alienated form the majority of their land but also the land they were left with was often the least productive or accessible. As Keane (2010) writes, "loss of land meant the loss of a key economic resource for Māori. Land purchases were first entered into with the idea that Māori would benefit from Pākehā settling nearby. Māori were eager to have access to markets, and new goods and technologies that Europeans would bring. Much of the success that Māori had in supplying early settlers and the towns they set up was based on Māori control of significant areas of land, which was communally managed to produce food. But land transfer usually gave settlers the best arable lands closest to towns and cities". The Land Wars, and more specifically the Crown's venomous retribution and the general shift in public opinion that followed them, saw the possibility for Māori to compete on an equal footing in the settler economy completely quashed as lands were confiscated, draconian punishments meted out and settlers' views of Māori calcified into a more overtly antagonistic position (Petrie, 2006; O'Malley, 2016).

Thus, during the inundation phase, the loss of economic independence was more significant than loss of political autonomy as the dramatic reduction in Māori land ownership represented a substantial drop in available resources for Māori, to the point where for many their very subsistence was threatened as access to their traditional hunting and gathering regions was lost. Belich (1988) has noted that the New Zealand economy in this period was characterised by contrasting growth and contraction of the European and Māori spheres, respectively. While each sphere was economically dependent on the other, the Māori economy had lost much of its internal autonomy by the end of the Land Wars and was increasingly dependent on the settler economy. Critically, the unequal integration of these two economic spheres was not just a by-product of settler land acquisition but was also a key means by which the settler state increased land sales. This functioned in both strategic and tactical fashions. Strategically, the settler aim was to create a unified market with Māori as weaker but active participants, as this was not only a core part of the capitalist credo but also meant that Māori would need to part with their major asset – land – to secure capital, while at the tactical level, they also used Māori lack of capital as a means of driving land sales in quite specific ways (Banner, 2000).

During this phase of inundation, land alienation also began to impact Māori identity. Māori realised that alienation from their land threatened their identity because of its central role in their sense of being. As Head (2006, 3) explains, land loss was largely seen as the loss of a resource by Māori up until the 1860s, then "in the prophet-led *mana motuhake* movements that arose in the 1860s under the pressures of war, land loss, as a sign for conquest and dispossession, was reconstructed as a mana that represented Maori identity in a Pākehā-dominated country". The reason it took several decades for this transition is not because land's centrality as an identity marker had changed in salience but rather, most likely, that land's very fundamentality as a component of identity would have meant that its importance was barely consciously reflected on by Māori until land losses were so significant – and the totality of the loss made clear – that its impact on identity was truly felt. Before this, it is easy to see how it was the instrumental impact that was more important. As Boast (2012) writes, early on "Maori would have viewed transactions within the framework of their own culture and expectations", viewing the "deals as a part of entering into reciprocal or shared relationships... [and] as a transfer of particular rights which remained subject to Māori rights to the land". Thus, midway through the inundation period, by the 1860s, loss of land had become more than just a structural change but also a psychosocial challenge to Māori identity.

As outlined earlier in this report, indigenous people understand land to be an integral part of identity. For Māori this is often communicated through the notion of whakapapa that describes the experience of humans being related and connected to non-human relatives including land and other species (Reid and Rout, 2016a). Land alienation threatened this core part of identity – a central tenet of psychological health and wellbeing. As the research by Walters et al. (2011, 183) has revealed, "displacement from the land is akin to being stripped from one's family of origin" for indigenous people. Consequently, the intentional acts of the settler state to disenfranchise Māori from political power and land was an indirect form of psychological abuse, the trauma of which emerges as identity alienation. Therefore, the colonising environment during the inundation period not only included the traumas of subalternisation, poverty, and disease, but was also likely compounded by a growing identity alienation.

Land alienation also saw Māori identity attacked through the instigation of assimilation policies. Some of the earliest attempts to assimilate Māori were wrapped up in the creation of the Native Land Court, which was primarily focused on settler land acquisition (Williams, 1999). The reason that the Native Land Court legislation sought to assimilate Māori was because it wanted them to "resile from the 'beastly communism' of the tribal collectivity…[,] embrace individualism fervently, [and] maximise their profits by selling the land to those with the superior technology to use it efficiently" (Hill, 2004, 19-20). As is apparent in the previous quote, the narrative that accompanied the assimilation policies portrayed Māori as not effectively utilising their land. Assimilation policies sought to enfold Māori into the "system of individualized ownership of private property… [of] settler-designed statute law" (Williams, 1999, 74). Consequently, the institutional structures of the settler state sought to alter the social patterns of Māori society through reconfiguring the manner in which land was owned and managed.

That said, assimilation was intent on more than just land acquisition, its focus on creating 'brown Pākehā' also sought to create a subservient class of the populace who "behave in such a fashion as not to disrupt 'the natural order of things'." (Hill, 2004, 20). As Meredith (quoted in Kukutai, 2010, 52) has argued "Persuading Māori to embrace European habits, customs, and English language was one measure of getting them to accept the law". In other words, assimilation equals acquiescence. One of the first assimilation policies enacted was the 1844 Native Trust Ordinance, not long after the settler state came into being, which was an educational policy that stated aim was "assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and ways of the Native to those of the European population" (quoted in Matthews and Mane-Wheoki, 2014, 80). Education would continue to be

a weapon of assimilation for many decades, not only perpetuating the colonial narrative but also suppressing the Māori language; Smith (1992, 6) has observed that education was "a primary instrument for taming and civilising the natives and forging a nation which was connected at a concrete level with the historical and moral processes of Britain". Furthermore, Māori resistance to the structural changes saw an increasingly negative attitude grow amongst the settlers, Schraeder (2016, 136) discusses the "hardening of Pākehā attitudes toward Māori: the 'soft' racism of the 1840s 'civilising project gave way to the 'hard' racism of policies demanding Māori submission to the Crown authority". Therefore, Māori not only had their identity directly undermined through alienation from land that was central to their sense of being, but also faced attacks on their cultural identity and a growing racism. This occurred through settler state institutions, such as schools, that were in part designed to dismantle and demean Māori culture and identity. This was an intentional and direct form of social abuse designed to subalternate, and create an indigenous populous compliant to the political and economic needs of the settler state and society.

In sum, with growing power and control the settler state established a number of institutions, from tenure regimes to schooling systems, which were directly, and indirectly, designed to politically, culturally, and economically disenfranchise Māori. Through these institutions, a colonising environment of physical and psychological abuse was established in the form of material poverty, disease, subalternsation, and identity degradation. However, while Māori had been physically inundated, with their political and, particularly, economic autonomy failing as the geographic and demographic pressures grew, most still lived together in areas that were separate from the settlers, which provided a level of buffering and protection from the colonising environment. Of course, the experiences were incredibly varied, with some coping with greater interference during this phase while others were still living with little change from the pre-contact era (Cleave, 1983). Ausubel (1961, 219) insightfully summed up this phase of colonisation, writing:

"The beginning of permanent colonization in 1840 inaugurated a new phase of Maori acculturation. Colonization represented a serious threat to the cultural autonomy of the Maori and to the integrity of their social and economic institutions. An element of coercion was added to their previously voluntary acceptance of certain selected aspects of pakeha culture. In acceding to colonization and British sovereignty, and in placing their trust in treaty guarantees the Maori failed to reckon realistically with the predatory designs of the colonists who were determined by any means, fair or foul, to obtain the most desirable land in New Zealand and to establish the supremacy of their own economic and political system. When the Maori responded to coercive and illegal alienation of their tribal lands by refusing in organized fashion to part with any more of

their landed estate, the colonists finally resorted to force of arms and confiscation; and after a dozen years of

both large- scale and guerrilla warfare (1860-1872), involving on one side or the other most

of the major tribes of the North Island, they eventually gained their ends".

Isolation – 1890-1940

The next phase, from 1890-1940, is classified as one of isolation largely because while the political and economic integration of the inundation period continued, the physical segregation between most Māori and Pākehā meant that Māori retained a relatively high degree of social and cultural autonomy, thus while they were increasingly exposed to the formal institutions of the settler state, they were more protected from the informal institutions and the settler narrative. By 1890, the Crown believed it had suppressed Māori rebellion to such a degree it talked of having a "society of 'tranquillised' citizenry" (Hill, 2004, 13). As Hill (2004, 28) writes:

> *"After the Anglo-Maori wars, Maori had withdrawn into reservation-like areas and villages to preserve their identity. By the end of the nineteenth century, then, while they necessarily had to engage with the politico-economic world of the pakeha, 'Maori cultural autonomy and identity survived the impacts of Europe'".*

Ausubel (1961, 219) reinforces this, writing that after Māori were "defeated but not annihilated by European (British) colonists, [they] withdrew in reservation-like areas from effective contact with Europeans". Likewise, Pool (1991) refers to this period as 'recuperation through isolation'. This is not to say that all Māori were isolated or that this isolation was total, but it stands in contrast to the coming period, where this was all to change in dramatic fashion.

Land loss continued during the period of isolation, so by the end of this period the remaining 40% held in the North Island had been winnowed down to just 9%. Leaders like Ngata tried to prevent this transferal but the flow continued until around 1928, when the majority of the sales had already been made (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2016). One major issue during this period with regard to land alienation was the increasing fragmentation of the remaining Māori land. Māori title was not 'individualised' in the same manner as settler title, but rather was subjected to a number of different hybridised title types that were all focused on facilitating the sale of land. Generally speaking, Māori land title was collectivised so that a block of Māori land was owned by groups of individuals, with subsequent generation inheriting title for the same piece of land through bilateral succession. The outcome was that by the 1920s, Māori "Individuals or family groups were now named as owners on land titles, and as each new generation inherited the land (whether they lived

there or not) the number of owners increased at a rapid rate. The result was title fragmentation. Owners had no practical means to develop lands" (Kingi, 2012). As Kukutai (2010, 53) explains, "Māori landowners faced much tighter restrictions in accessing capital because the fragmented nature of the holdings made it virtually impossible to access development loans otherwise available to European farmers. The perceived failure of Māori to exploit the economic potential of their land was used by settlers and Crown as justification for alienation through legislation". Thus, the very process of land alienation not only denied Māori use of resource directly but also made the remaining land they had less useful, further decreasing their economic independence and forcing subalternate integration with settler society. Ngata did try to ameliorate this problem by creating a single Māori land administrative structure, but this was not achieved until 1929 with the introduction of the Māori Land Development Scheme, which "provided government funding to Māori landowners to develop the physical infrastructure of their farms. The potential to develop farms encouraged the amalgamation of land titles into single administrative structures" (Kingi, 2012). These schemes were very successful at the time, through their limited scope meant their impact was restricted. The impacts of fragmentation, however, meant that for much of this period, what land remained in Māori hands was difficult to develop or use productively.

Politically speaking, the erosion of Māori sovereignty was more pronounced in this period, despite previous mention of Ngata's influence. This was largely due to the settler state's increasing institutional reach and power. While the period may be termed isolation from the Māori perspective, from the settler state's it would be best framed as one of consolidation, its sovereignty turning from nominal to substantive (Hill, 2004). In this fifty year period of isolation, the settlers would come to own virtually the entire New Zealand land mass and the government's sovereignty would become assured as it faced down various challenges from the Kingitanga and Kotahitanga movements, as well as the various syncretic politico-religious groups. Even with the political influence of the Young Māori Party, Ngata found there was a limited amount of actual power Māori could obtain within the political system at that time (Sissons, 2000). Furthermore, as Hill (2004, 44) notes, they "believed that full tribally based autonomy was not only unviable but undesirable. They became mediators between the Crown and the powerful unity movements, proving instrumental in procuring 'compromises' that were deemed to be measures of self-government". In other words, the dominant Māori politicians of this period believed that rather than seek total autonomy the realistic and optimal approach was to attempt to achieve a balance between integration and independence. Hill (2004, 45) argues that they "generally sought to *combine* the technological, cultural and other benefits of European civilisation with preserving

'the best' of Maori culture"; in other words, they sought make use of some European knowledge and integrate with certain settler institutions whilst retaining as much of Māori culture as possible. This view is supported by Belich (2001), who believes that the previously separate strategies of engagement and disengagement Māori had used with regard to Pākehā had been fused by the Young Māori Party so that while the engaged political and economically they sought to remain disengaged socially and culturally. Ngata, Pomare and Buck's philosophy was to "create pride in a Maori identity and Maori culture and use that as a platform for accessing the best of western technology", they "believed it was possible to retain a secure Maori identity while embracing Pakeha values and beliefs" (Durie, 1997, 34). "Ngata, Pomare and Buck… were in no doubt that the answer to Māori survival lay in the need to adapt to western society and to do so within the overall framework imposed by the law". (Durie, 2003, 88). These Western-trained professionals were "strongly and emphatically in support of Maori language and culture [while remaining] equally passionate advocates of western democracy, education and modern health practices" (Durie, 1997, 34).

Economically, this period was largely one of stagnation and subsistence living. Māori became increasingly dependent, economically speaking, during this period. Isolation was marked by "the impoverishment of Maori in a cash-oriented economy" (Hill, 2004, 76). The Great Depression "impacted heavily on Māori, adding immeasurably to the existing poverty. As overseas markets collapsed and small-scale farming became unsustainable, the Māori economy was unable to support the now growing population; Māori unemployment soared and, in parallel fashion, morale declined" (Durie, 2003, 89). Until the First Labour Government took power in 1935, there were no government benefits for the unemployed or poor and Māori were excluded from the limited welfare the state did provide, so that while Māori were being further forced into the capitalist market during the isolation period they had no safety net, they were experiencing all the negative aspects of capitalism with few of the benefits as the economic institutions were biased against them (Sinclair, 2002).

Overall, this period of isolation saw the progressive decline in both political and economic autonomy, the structural inequality Māori faced in the settler state increased in size and scope. Hill (2004, 45) sums it up thus, "Despite the 'kind of equality' that existed under colonial law, 'no real participation in the European order—economically, socially, or even politically' had eventuated for Maori". Likewise, Ausubel (1961, 220) explains that after the previous economic golden age, in this period Māori "lived in isolated villages and reverted to a subsistence type of agricultural

economy supplemented by land clearing and seasonal labour for pakeha farmers and for the railway and public works departments". The structural changes moved inexorably rather than dramatically, there was no single moment but rather an ongoing decline as the settler state itself grew politically and economically stronger.

With regard to the psychosocial challenges, while these were present in this period they were relatively limited. Hill (2004, 45) writes that "state and pakeha attitudes and Maori refusal to assimilate had manifested itself in tangata whenua 'withdrawal'", this period was one where Māori were segregated from Pākehā society, living as insulated pockets dotted across the settler state meaning that they were able to preserve their own informal institutions and culture, as well as ensuring they were largely buffered from the full extent of the racist views of the settlers. Houkamau (2010, 185) explains that while "Maori society had changed rapidly between 1840 and 1940, due to geographical isolation the maintenance of a distinct Maori identity was still possible for Maori up until the 1950s... since generations of Maori families lived in the same communities young Maori were socialised by their own familial role models". Likewise, Morrow (2013, 189) states that "Ngata observed that traditional social structures had not significantly unravelled in many Māori settlements". Hill (2004, 28) suggests that though some Māori may have been truly 'assimilated', most, "however, while using practical and conceptual facets of 'Britishness' which advanced their prospects or enhanced their lifestyles, were not prepared to give up many fundamentals of their culture, of their 'Maoriness'" (2004, 28). Likewise, Ausubel (1961, 220) stresses how the physical isolation served to incubate Māori, explaining that in this period:

> *"… much of Maori social organization and ideology tended to remain intact. Mutual assistance, cooperative sharing of the economic burdens and vicissitudes of life, lavish hospitality, and scrupulous recognition of kinship responsibilities continued as cardinal values in Maori culture. The Maori village, as of old, was centered on the marae and carved meeting house; and traditional ceremonial occasions—anniversaries, the tangi (mortuary rites), and the formal welcoming of visitors—were celebrated as before. The Maori retained their language and preserved many of their social customs (e.g., tapu, greeting by pressing of noses, tattooing, earth oven feasting), arts and crafts, songs, dances, legends, genealogies, and oral tradition".*

This isolation also meant that not only were Māori largely protected from the racist views of the settlers, but also that the settlers' racism was somewhat ameliorated simply because they did not have to confront Māori in an intensive ongoing manner, resulting in this period – particularly the latter part – as being one where Pākehā often touted New Zealand as having the 'best race relations

in the world' (McIntosh, 2005). This myth was maintained throughout the isolation period simply because Pākehā and Māori did not interact on a regular basis. One area where Māori were not isolated during this period was schooling, with youth attending state-run schools where the attitude to te reo Māori hardened from one of intolerance to total exclusion upon physical punishment. Thus, while Māori were relatively incubated from the denigrating effects of the colonial narrative and its psychosocial impacts, including racism, each successive generation brought up in this period were exposed to it during their schooling, though as few Māori attended secondary school in this period it was only restricted to the primary years.

In sum, the isolation period saw the settler state and society consolidate its power and control over the country. Māori continued to be exposed to the institutions of the settler state, from tenure systems to schooling systems, which directly, and indirectly, disenfranchised them politically, economically and, to a lesser degree, culturally. Consequently, the colonising environment of physical and psychological abuse that began in the inundation period continued in the form of material poverty, subalternisation, and identity degradation in the isolation period. However, Māori at this stage continued to maintain a degree of social integrity and cultural identity, whilst being protected from the worst of the racism, which can be attributed to the fact that Māori still lived on their land, and in their pā/villages. This provided a continuity with the past, and maintained the Māori social fabric, which buffered them against the effects of the colonising environment.

Integration – 1940-1980

From the 1940s, there was a significant demographic shift in the Māori populace, specifically the rapid 'urbanisation' of the majority of the Māori populace, which saw them move from a period of isolation to one of integration. To be clear, while this shift is often referred to as urbanisation many Māori – particularly in the South Island – did not necessarily move to urban centres but rather to varying sized Pākehā settlements where there was work, particularly timber milling and public infrastructure projects. That is why this is best labelled integration, as the two groups 'integrating' was one of the most important aspects of this period. Even though Māori and Pākehā had coexisted for over a century, they "had lived in separate realities and experienced very limited interaction" (Nikora, 2007, 47). Morrow (2014, 85) explains that only "Twenty-six percent of Māori lived in towns and cities at the end of the Second World War. By 1956, this proportion had increased to 35 percent. Urban dwellers accounted for 62 percent of Māori in 1966 and nearly 80 percent by 1986". In several decades, Māori went from living in mainly isolated rural settlements,

surrounded by whānau and hapū – the traditional social structure – to inhabiting towns, cities and worksites across New Zealand.

With regard to structural changes, the impacts in this period come from both a combination of actual changes and of the increased experience of already existent changes as exacerbated by integration. During this period, Māori were still being pressured into giving up the last of their land as well, Kukutai (2010, 52) notes that as late as "1967, legislative attempts were made to vest 'uneconomic interests' in Māori land in the hands of the judicial body of the Māori Trustee for potential alienation". That said, most of the land was gone by this stage and the major structural issues regarding land came from its historic loss rather than contemporary alienation. With regard to loss of political independence, the impact was less and mostly centred on experiencing the already existent inequalities in a more visceral and immediate way due to integration. That said, van Meijl (1999) notes, integration weakened the political power and influence of the rangatira and tribal organisations because it made the pan-Māori identity more salient than the more traditional hapū and iwi identities. However, while this weakened the traditional power base it did provide opportunity for unifying 'pan-Māori' organisations, initiatives and political class to appear who would help drive the progress in the invigoration period (Hill, 2004, 2010). Furthermore, as Hill (2010, 150) explains, "the offerings of urban life, rather than leading to full assimilation, had (in Tipene O'Regan's words) 'dramatically fuelled' Maori political consciousness". Integration paved the way for the successes of the invigoration period.

Integration placed Māori in a more precarious economic situation as they became almost completely enmeshed within, and thus reliant on, the settler economy. To be clear, the shift "often meant better opportunity for good housing, full-time employment, and education" for Māori (Consedine, 2007, 2), but this must be considered as relative to the material poverty and lack of educational options available during the isolation period, as integrated Māori were "concentrated in poor housing, working for low wages or on welfare" (Taonui, 2010, 196). Integration "propelled Māori into an urban industrial economy, largely as labourers and often at the unskilled end of the business… the formula was explosive. As more and more low-paid works congregated in the State's new housing areas, so the discontent arose… Jack Hunn in his 1960 report, pointed to a new class of urban dwellers – poor, unhealthy, housed in sub-standard homes, more likely to offend, less likely to succeed at school, and Māori" (Durie, 2003, 91). Also, while their wealth increased as an absolute, they became more aware of their relative poverty compared to the settler – the structural inequality was made more apparent through integration. The urbanisation shift

was not just some demographic fluke but "partly resulted from a deliberate government policy to create a cheap labour market in which many Maori people were persuaded to move to cities and enter new occupations in industries" (van Meijl, 1999, 269). Here we see settler colonialism shift somewhat, the changing nature of the economy, both at the domestic and international level, forced the New Zealand government to treat the indigenous inhabitants in a way more akin to extractive colonialism – that is, as a resource. Māori who shifted to the cities worked in low skilled positions and government policy reinforced this by focusing on trade-oriented training for Māori rather than on increasing the already low rates of higher educational attainment (Consedine, 2007). Māori were to be kept subalternate in the settler state, providing manpower not mindpower.

The 1960 Hunn Report, a review of the Department of Māori Affairs, proposed that the state move from a policy of assimilation to one of integration and provided a "three-tiered Māori typology that noted the majority were somewhere in between either 'a completely detribalized body of Māori with a vestigial culture' and those 'complacently living a backward life in primitive conditions'" (Mahuika, 2011, 15). While official government policy 'softened' the language used and promoted a cultural 'combination but not fusion', the reality was that Māori were still expected to adopt a pseudo-Pākehā identity in this period – there was no move from settlers to 'combine' with Māori culture (Morrow, 2014). The government was interested in socio-economic improvement and saw Māori culture as a hindrance to this, efforts to "accommodate ways of 'seeing and doing' that were different from those of Anglocentric culture were not on any state agenda" (Hill, 2009, 92). As Durie (2003, 1) explains, in this period "Māori had become increasingly dependent on a state that was essentially committed to policies and programmes that would assimilate Māori into the prevailing systems of colonial New Zealand". Thus, while not as overt an attack on Māori culture and identity, assimilation pressure remained entrenched in government policy and wider society.

While the structural changes of integration were severe, it was the psychosocial challenges faced by Māori that caused and continue to cause the most significant trauma. Integration stretched and, in some case, severed the bonds of whenua, whānau, hapū, and whakapapa that had been under attack since the settler colonial project began. The mass migration of Māori to the Pākehā cities saw them move from the traditional pā, with the resultant splitting of whānau and communities. The impact was that the newly integrated Māori became isolated from the social support fabric of whānau and hapū and in turn fully exposed to the subalternising and identity degrading effects of settler institutions – although living in improved material conditions.

During the inundation and isolation periods we considered that the seclusion of Māori communities enabled the subalternising and identity degrading effects of land alienation, material poverty, political disenfranchisement and assimilation to be buffered because Māori still lived immersed in their own culture and were able to retain some of their institutions. However, during the integration period Māori were fully exposed to the institutions of the settler state and culture, and perhaps most problematically exposed to the underlying colonial attitude of cultural and racial superiority that justified the establishment of biased colonial institutional structures. As outlined previously in this report, such structures are embedded within the colonial narrative that positions the indigenous society as inferior, primitive, and subordinate in comparison to the settler society. It is this narrative that Māori in the integration period became exposed to without the counter narratives that existed in their own communities during the isolation period. Hill (2004, 260) explains that integrated Māori "mostly had to interact with, and often came largely to conform to, cultural norms that were largely alien to their rural and tribal upbringing". However, it was not just that these were 'alien', they were in many cases hostile. Māori came face-to-face with racism and discrimination on a daily basis, from their portrayal in newspapers to their treatment by landlords, the 'inferiority' of their culture and identity as portrayed by the narrative was woven into the very fabric of settler society.

It is not surprising, then, that it was during the integration period that, "Psychologically, colonial beliefs about the superiority of the British worldview appeared to have become internalised" by Māori (Hollis et al., 2011, 51-52). The myth of New Zealand's exemplary race relations was thus exploded as the two groups came into prolonged contact. Ausubel (quoted in Kersey, 2002, 1), writing in 1960 referred to this myth as the 'national self-delusion' while Jackson (quoted in Kersey, 2002, 1) explained that his reaction to Ausubel's then explosive book was that "there was actually for me, and the other Maori students around me, nothing surprising in it at all. But for Pakeha people it was an attack on their myths". As Hill (2009, 85) notes, integration brought "an upsurge of ethnocentric incidents and racist attitudes towards Maori. Official pronouncements, however, still tended to promote the idea that New Zealand had as near to perfect an understanding and tolerance between the races as was possible, and this seemed to be generally believed throughout pakeha society". Thus, for many Māori, living in a settler environment meant accepting a view that their own culture and identity was inferior and that the only way forward was to be 'more Pākehā', whilst also having to cope with the prevailing view amongst Pākehā that New Zealand was some sort of bicultural paradise of equality.

This psychosocial onslaught was further exacerbated by the severance from the social, cultural, personal and spiritual support of whānau, hapū, and whenua. Māori were, for the first time, alienated from the collective wisdom of Māori culture, and the psychological sustenance that comes from be surrounded by members of a single cultural identity ingroup (Houkamau, 2011). As Royal (2009, 37) writes, integration "destabilised and decentred the older iwi community and worldview. It also increased deculturation by stopping the inter-generational transfer of knowledge and language". Integration brought with it isolation and dislocation from vital support networks and cultural identity ingroup interactions which are critical for mental and physical wellbeing. Durie (2003, 90-91) explains that during this period, "Left behind were nurturing kāinga, familiar landmarks, culture and language… [integration] meant diminished access to those institutions and skills which nurtured a positive identity so that being Māori was measured more by deficits in comparison to the Pākehā middle class than by any notion of a secure Māori identity". Many of these integrated Māori became doubly alienated, "rejected by the dominant culture and at distance from their ancestral culture, concentrated in poor housing, working for low wages or on welfare, and subject to across-the-board racism" (Taonui, 2010, 196).

Social identity theory posits that having a positive social identity is essential to maintaining mental wellbeing, these group identities are not just a source of self-esteem (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) but the more comprehensive identities, such as a cultural identity, will also have innate capacities for canalising and ameliorating psychological problems (Hogan, 2000). At the most pragmatic level, integration meant children who would have otherwise been cared for by the whānau were raised in nuclear family situations with parents subject to stress from separation from social support networks, and broader stresses of subalternisation, and material poverty; at the more psychological level, many youth were unexposed to their culture – their traditions, stories, practices, and language – and were instead exposed to the negative colonial narrative that denigrated their culture. In a prescient 1947 monograph, the Beagleholes (quoted in McIntosh and Mullholland, 2011, 197), writing about isolation Māori, state that the "fact that there are fewer neurotic and psychotic illness among Maori than among Pakehas in New Zealand emphasises among other things the tremendous value to the Maori of possessing a psychological security that comes from tribal and family security". Integration removed this security and social support network, which meant that Māori rates of psychological illness increased rapidly from the integration period onwards.

In sum, the integration period saw Māori fully exposed to the institutions of the settler state and culture and, perhaps most problematically, fully immersed in the pervasive colonial attitude of settler civilisational, cultural and racial superiority without the psychological sustenance and buffering from the Māori culture, tradition, and social networks. Consequently, the traumas of material poverty, subalternisation, and identity degradation experienced in the inundation and isolation periods became compounded with the trauma of social isolation and cultural alienation. As the final layers of protection against the full might of settler colonisation was stripped away, Māori were hit with the blunt force of an almost exclusively settler-oriented existence. Exposure to the colonial narrative, and the racism it generates, exacerbated the experience of identity degradation and resultant shame. Māori became fully exposed to the inequalities of the settler state and its narrative, bereft of their whenua, whānau, and whakapapa. It was in this period that the full psychosocial impact of colonisation emerged. Māori had already lost most of their political and economic independence, now social and cultural independence had also been undermined, leaving them exposed and vulnerable to the settler state and society.

Invigoration – 1980-Present Day

The final period, from 1980 to present day, is classified as one of invigoration as it is marked by the Māori political, economic and cultural renaissance. This period has seen a renewed pride in Māori identity and a revival in Māori cultural practices. Likewise, Māori have gained greater political power and economic might in this period. But while there can be no denying that there has been a Māori cultural resurgence and significant politico-economic improvement, the structural and psychosocial mechanisms of trauma are still present, as while the resurgence has helped some, the many years of life in a settler state mean that it has somewhat paradoxically added extra structural and psychosocial mechanisms of trauma for others. The period of invigoration has been one of wildly varying outcomes, where some have experienced great material and cultural boons others have been left behind or even further impacted.

First, it needs to be said that while there has been renaissance, this is not to imply that before this somewhat arbitrary date there were not efforts preserve, maintain and build Māori institutions and culture. As Hill (2009, 1) explains "Maori had never lost hope of retaining or restoring ways of controlling their own destiny. Tribal society, moreover, had proved inventive, dynamic and resilient in its many organised responses to colonisation and pakeha politico-cultural domination". However, what makes this period stand out is that the efforts began to pay off across the board.

Of particular importance during this period was the development of the Waitangi Tribunal and the Treaty settlement process, which involved the Crown working with various tribal entities (usually iwi) to provide compensation for past injustice, acknowledge colonial history and apologise for breaches of trust and good faith (Hill, 2009). Many tribes have seen compensation assets provided to iwi, the return of wahi tapu (sacred areas), and the establishment of various power sharing arrangements between the Crown and tribal authorities. Most iwi have managed their assets carefully to grow their economic base, and political influence. However, the compensation provided to tribes is very limited on a per capita basis and can do little to address the significant inequalities between Māori and the rest of settler society.

In addition to the growth in the political and economic power of the iwi, there has been a corresponding decline in the power and influence of the urban Māori authorities, and the Māori Council (Hill, 2009). Each of these bodies represents the interests of Māori to the New Zealand government based on geography rather than tribal affiliation. These bodies have provided vehicles for conveying the voice of the majority of Māori who are urbanised and largely disconnected from their tribal roots and, in turn, the tribal political institutions that might represent their interests. The reasons for this shift of power to the iwi is that the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by tribal chiefs and as such the negotiations for treaty settlement have occurred with the contemporary iwi, or pan-hapū authorities, representing the original signatories, or pre-1840 tribes. However, this configuration is somewhat problematic, as the traditional unit of power was the hapū, rather than iwi (Cleave, 1983). The iwi negotiation model has been pushed by the Crown to expedite treaty settlement negotiations, leading to the consolidation of power with iwi leadership. Thus, while it could be said that the settler political institutions have become more accommodating towards Māori institutions, they have also forced these institutions into a form that suits them better pragmatically and ideologically whilst simultaneously quashing both the more orthodox-traditional and organic-modern forms of political institutions. As a result, many are critical of the post-settlement iwi. In her Bruce Jesson Speech, Sykes (2010) outlined a divide in Māoridom, arguing that the Treaty process has created an elite who have become complicit in the state's neoliberal agenda, while the majority of Māori remain excluded from power and the financial benefits, arguing that the use of a privileged indigenous elite to suppress rebellion is just the latest iteration of the standard colonial modus operandi.

With the iwis' consolidation of political power and economic capital, the power of hapū and whānau has continued to decline, which as well as being the dominant pre-contact groupings were

also the social glue. As outlined in previous sections, the historical home of the hapū was the pā or village, which functioned well up until the integration period, buffering the traumas of colonisation. However, with land alienation, Māori population growth and agricultural mechanisation offering less employment, the pā-based communities could no longer be sustained in traditional areas. Today only remnants of the Māori land that once formed the economic foundation for whānau and hapū still exist. Furthermore, these blocks are held in Māori collective tenure subject to bilateral succession, which has resulted in land being owned by significant and increasing numbers of owners. The resources offered by Māori land are too small, economically marginal and shackled by complex colonial legacy tenure arrangements to be any sort of vehicle for whānau and hapū political and economic self-determination (Poata-Smith, 2013). Currently the traditional Māori social units of hapū do not have a strong enough power base to participate politically or economically. Reid and Rout (2016b) suggest that iwi should devolve a greater degree of political and economic institutional control to the hapū and whānau levels to support traditional configurations for development purposes. There is strong empirical evidence, particularly out of North America, that the best indigenous development outcomes occur when the contemporary institutions match pre-contact ones (Cornell and Kalt, 1995, 2000).

The invigoration period has also seen New Zealand shift to a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) representation electoral system, which has seen the growth of minority parties that are better able to represent the interests of marginalised groups (Vowles, 2000). While this still requires Māori to operate within settler political institutions, as a proportional representation electoral system MMP has meant that as the Māori roll has grown in size, the number of Māori seats has as well, from 4 under first past the post to 7 under MMP (Taonui, 2012). Furthermore, the nature of MMP – particularly its tendency to coalition governments – has given Māori far greater influence, providing Māori political parties with considerable heft and influence in coalition negotiations and in government. Working within the settler state institutions, these parties have managed to gain greater autonomy for Māori, particularly in the provision of social services. Thus, in the invigoration period, a political mix of post-settlement iwi and influential minority parties gaining power under a proportionally representative system has created a situation where there are now more opportunities for power sharing and general influence over settler government policy.

However, while Māori have gained greater power in the settler legislature, the political shifts in New Zealand over the invigoration period have mirrored broader global political shifts – particularly in regards to the reduced role of government in economies. In other words, just as

Māori political power has grown, the state's general scope of influence has waned. Perhaps the most significant impact on Māori during this phase has been the introduction of neoliberal economic policies, which were introduced by the Fourth Labour Government in the 1980s. In a few short years, New Zealand moved from being one of the most highly regulated economies to one of the least. Māori were disproportionately employed in sectors that were restructured or deregulated, often because of historic government policies directing them into these areas of the economy. As Minto (2007) explains:

> *"[The] number of Maori in paid work dropped by 15 per cent between 1986 and 1991 while total unemployment fell just 6 per cent. Maori unemployment peaked at a staggering 26 per cent in 1991 while the non-Maori rate was just 9 per cent. These were the people tossed out of work and into dole-queues as the economy was restructured by Labour and National in the 1980s and 1990s. After being forced out of work they were labelled bludgers and when benefit levels were slashed by National in the early 1990s their alienation was complete. Somehow it was all their fault".*

In other words, the structural inequalities of the integration period came home to roost for many Māori in the invigoration period. For decades, Māori had been shepherded into low skilled sectors through education and vocational training policies, then the government restructured the economy in a way that ended up decimating many of these same sectors. Furthermore, as indicated by the Minto, the National Government that came to power in the 1990s drastically reduced the social welfare provisions that had been the cornerstone of the New Zealand state since the 1930s. Within a decade, many Māori lost their jobs and then saw their benefits cut significantly. From the 1980s onward, the economic gap between Māori and wider New Zealand has, generally speaking, continued to grow. Thus, even as iwis as corporate entities have grown increasingly wealthy, generally speaking Māori have actually become both relatively and absolutely poorer in the invigoration era (Marriott and Sim, 2015). For example, with regard to income in 2006, the national median income for Māori was 85.7% of the median income of all residents while in 2013 it was 78.9 percent of the national median income (Pearson, 2011; Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Even more damning, the net wealth of Māori, who at 12% of population have just 5% of net wealth, is significantly less than Pākehā, who at 71% of the population have 85% (Rashbrooke, 2015). This demonstrates, in terms of ratio, that Pākehā, as a population have on a per capita basis three times the wealth of Māori. There remains an intergenerational poverty, which has been exacerbated by recent economic issues, that will not be easily or quickly remedied, despite growing iwi wealth.

The material poverty of many Māori in the neoliberal era not only stands in contrast with the growing wealth and scale of iwi but also the growing class of Māori political elites who have an improved access to the corridors of power. Over the invigoration period, there has been a growing political and economic inequality within Māoridom. Rata (2011, 359) notes the "the elite's privileged position as a capitalist class [and] the growing inequalities within the tribal collective". Likewise, Poata-Smith (2013, 153) has noted that while "Inequality between Māori and non-Māori has been an enduring feature of New Zealand society… in recent decades, it has coincided with another unwelcome development: the growth of income gaps within Māori communities". It has been noted by commentators that the creation of this tribal elite, whose privileged position is partly due to the government, bears a resemblance to the classic 'divide and rule' strategy of ancient Rome and imperial Britain (Smith, 1995; Trotter, 2012). As a counterpoint, it has been noted that this is somewhat of a Catch-22 situation for Māori, "that divide and rule is implicit in *any* organised mode of rangatiratanga: since Maori are disproportionally represented in lower socio-economic sectors" (Hill, 2009, 280 – emphasis in original). Thus, while Māori still dominate the negative statistics, there is now growing political and economic inequality within Māoridom as a wealthy and powerful elite has come to dominate in the invigoration period.

This division is just as powerful with regard to culture and identity, and can be linked to the inequalities of culture and identity as well. As outlined previously, during the integration period many Māori experience the trauma of cultural alienation. The invigoration period provided an opportunity to reverse this trend, with some Māori reconnecting with their culture, tribe and traditions. However, the ability to reconnect is not equal and while those who have been able to reconnect – or who never suffered the same dislocation as the majority did – have reaped both psychological and material benefits, others have struggled to reconnect or do not have any desire to. Those who have reconnected have not only being able to gain the personal solace from associating with their Māori culture but have, through their cultural fluency, been able to access the numerous new positions in the iwi or state institutions created during the invigoration period. Those without the same facility with Māoritanga have not only missed out on these personal and material benefits, in some cases they have become more marginalised and more alienated. The reason for this is that resurgence of Māori culture and identity has been very specific in its focus – it delineates a 'traditional Māoriness' that is focused on markers such as language, whakapapa, and tikanga and is, consequently, exclusive in its ingroup (Ramsden, 1993; van Meijl, 2006). As Houkamau (2011, 294-295) has written, there has been a "mass assertion of the inherent value of traditional 'Māoriness' fostered the view that Māori identity is most appropriately expressed in a

traditional way by speaking Māori, engaging in traditional cultural practices and associating with *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*". Many Māori, particularly urban youth, feel alienated from this cultural identity, through a number of interviews, van Meijl (2006, 918) has found that for these "mainly urban Maori youngsters… participation in a *marae*-based Maori training centre made them realize that they belonged neither in European domains nor in typical Maori domains of New Zealand society", concluding that not being able to "identify in terms of the model for a Maori identity that was dominant on the marae was therefore alienating and also painful". With regard to some of the key identity markers of this 'traditional Māori identity', as Houkamau (2011, 294) notes, only "only 23.7% of all Māori can speak Māori, and 20% did know their own tribal affiliations". In other words, the majority of Māori are excluded from this ingroup. And they are not simply passively excluded either, the key to reinvigorating a cultural identity is for the ingroup to actively exclude those who do not possess the signifying markers. Van Meijl (2006, 921) explains that the Māori elders involved in training the youth on the marae thought that "there was no question about the relevance of teaching Māori 'culture' and language as they saw no other way of being Māori in New Zealand. [For them] Someone who was unable to perform marae ceremonies and who was unable to speak the Maori language was not considered a genuine Maori".

Critically, this rigid form of cultural identity can be traced back to colonisation and, particularly, the colonial narrative (Hogan, 2000). As explained, the narrative of the settler society denigrated the key components of Maori culture, portraying them as backwards and primitive, casting them in an almost wholly negative light. A means of overcoming this narrative is to reverse it, portraying all things 'traditionally Māori' as positive, and all things Western as negative (Acevedo et al. 2011; Hogan, 2000). The result is that Māori exhibiting few Māori cultural markers, or predominantly Pākehā cultural markers, are deemed not to be Māori. To be a 'pure' Māori is to embody an often idealised form of pre-contact culture and identity, before it was 'tainted' by colonisation. While this is empowering and enriching for those who have the skills and knowledge to be a part of this ingroup, it leaves those who cannot join the group feeling 'doubly alienated' (Taonui, 2010).

Having a positive social identity is critical to sustaining a positive self-concept – an understanding central to society identity theory – which forms the core of human psychological wellbeing, yet these doubly alienated Māori struggle to maintain a positive social identity, with gangs often filling the void, and, consequently, they lack a positive self-concept (Tajfel and Tuner, 1979). Rather, these doubly alienated individuals remain exposed to the negativity of the colonial narrative, which can still be found in contemporary society. In particular, the increasingly pervasive media continue

to perpetuate the stereotypes of the narrative, with numerous studies showing that Māori are portrayed in a predominantly negative manner, reinforcing the narrative (Barnes et al., 2012; Pihama, 1998). Also, even as aspects of the narrative subsides, its impact is still felt, with Māori still facing societal racism from many Pākehā based on the narrative's negative portrayals.

As well as societal racism, Māori still face institutional discrimination. While the state has ceased to promote official assimilation and integration policies, the influence of the narrative is still redolent in many of its policies. Rangihau's 1986 report for the Ministry of Social Development critiqued the state's paternalistic approach to Māori. Likewise, Mahuika (2011, 15) argues that Labour's 1999 'Closing the Gaps' policy was problematic as it "perpetuated negative stereotypes that placed Māori on the margins and Pākehā standards of living as the benchmark in New Zealand society". Furthermore, though the various Treaty settlements have seen some land returned, one of the key mechanisms "developed in Treaty settlement negotiations [was] to provide for the return of land to a settling group on a commercial (as opposed to cultural) basis. This means that the land is returned on the basis that it will be commercial utilised or is capable of providing a commercial return" (Stone, 2012, 122). In other words, the Treaty settlement process itself reinforces the colonial narrative that land only has an instrumental value. There remain, then, underlying psychosocial challenges that come from the narrative; its impact on New Zealand government institutions is still powerful, made even more problematic by the fact that it is no longer an overt policy but rather is submerged, subliminally inscribed into the state's legislation.

In short, the invigoration period has seen the traumas of colonisation compound for many Māori, while they have been ameliorated for others – a divergent yet entwined outcome. Those impacted by the traumas of the invigoration period have experienced further economic marginalisation, and double alienation from both Māori and Pākehā social institutions and cultural identities. For these individuals, the traumas of the isolation and integration periods – material poverty, subalternisation, identity degradation, social isolation and cultural alienation – have compounded with economic marginalisation and double alienation. The combination of these traumas form the contemporary colonising environment for Māori most impacted by the economic and political structures of the settler state. However, those positively impacted by the invigoration period have experienced a resurgence and pride in Māori cultural identity, growth in political influence, increase in wealth and an enhanced sense of belonging to a bicultural New Zealand society. There is, to be clear, a wide spectrum of differing outcomes between those most negatively impacted and those

most positively impacted during the invigoration period, though these ends of the spectrum are most useful for mapping out the contemporary traumas.

In response to the rapid deterioration of wellbeing during the integration period and into the invigoration period, as well as the continuing inequality and discrimination of the settler state, the *mana motuhake* and *tino rangatiratanga* movements emerged. Largely catalysed by end of the relative economic prosperity of the post-War decades and the ensuing financial crises of the 1970s, these movements worked toward increasing the political and economic influence of Māori with an underlying goal of increased political self-determination – and commensurate economic autonomy – to protect, value and revitalise Māori culture and, in turn, its social support structure (Poata-Smith, 2013). This increased political influence has seen the development of such initiatives as Kohanga Reo (early childhood care in a Māori cultural setting) Kura Kaupapa (Māori language schools), Whānau Ora (whānau centred and multi-agency social service delivery) through to Treaty of Waitangi settlement process (compensation and settlement processes for tribes). While there can be no denying that the invigoration period has been marked by a Māori cultural resurgence and politico-economic improvement, the structural and psychosocial mechanisms of trauma are still present, as while the resurgence has helped some Māori, extra structural and psychosocial mechanisms of trauma have been put in place for others. The period of invigoration has been one of wildly varying outcomes, where a small number have experienced improved wellbeing, while others have been left behind or even further impacted.

Although characterised by many successes, the invigoration period has not been able to address the many underlying structural biases in a state made-up of institutions that owe their origins in the goal of gaining and maintaining total dominion over New Zealand and are shaped by the settler culture itself. The impact of increasing exposure to the colonising environment without the buffers of cultural protective factors during the integration period, characterised by increasing levels of mental illness, violence, neglect, suicide and imprisonment, has established intergenerational underclass that continues into the invigoration period. Today there exists a spectrum of 'Māori', from the urban Māori with no contact or engagement with their traditional culture through to those fully immersed in their culture, which has resulted in a complex identity dynamic: of tribal and subtribal identities, urban identities, gang identities, and pan-Māori identities (Durie, 1994; Greaves et al, 2015; Houkamau, 2011; Nikora, 2007).

Summary Analysis

The colonising environment causes trauma through a range of structural and psychosocial mechanisms. As the indigenous institutions are replaced by settler ones, this traumatising environment becomes increasingly difficult to escape or avoid; as the settler state grows in its scale and scope, the colonising environment spreads wider, it endures and its impacts cascade, becoming an increasingly totalising experience that surrounds and infiltrates indigenous reality. Through the chronology given above, this encroachment on indigenous life is clear – as the balance of institutional power shifted inexorably into the purview of the settler state, Māori were increasingly immersed in the formal and informal institutions and flooded by the wider culture and society of the settler. However, while this was an ongoing process that saw the colonising environment effectively created around Māori, it was not an even or equal process but rather one that takes on a particular and peculiarly New Zealand-specific ebb and flow.

The boundary between the isolation and integration periods is the key to understanding the trauma of the colonising environment because it reveals something particularly critical: that the trauma caused by the colonising environment can be somewhat ameliorated if the localised Māori institutions and Māori culture remain relatively autonomous. This may seem somewhat obvious, as this is essentially stating that the less total the colonising environment is in its scale and scope the less traumatising it is, but there is something critical in this understanding: there is a tipping point where the trauma becomes vastly more problematic for the individual, for their whānau, for the community and for the nation-state as a whole.

From the historical analysis above, for Māori this tipping point was the loss of the pā-based formal and informal institutions and the alienation from culture that occurred when individuals and whānau moved away from their local communities. The localised institutions, and the connection to culture that being immersed in these institutions and community life in general, seem to be able to act as a buffer against the mostly structural changes that Māori had already experienced up until integration. By remaining incubated in their communities, Maori were largely buffered from the subalternising and identity degrading effects of land alienation through politico-legal domination, land alienation as resource loss, material poverty, political disenfranchisement and assimilation pressure. They were insulated from the surrounding colonising environment because they were able to inhabit a Māori cultural environment in the kainga despite being surrounded by the settler state.
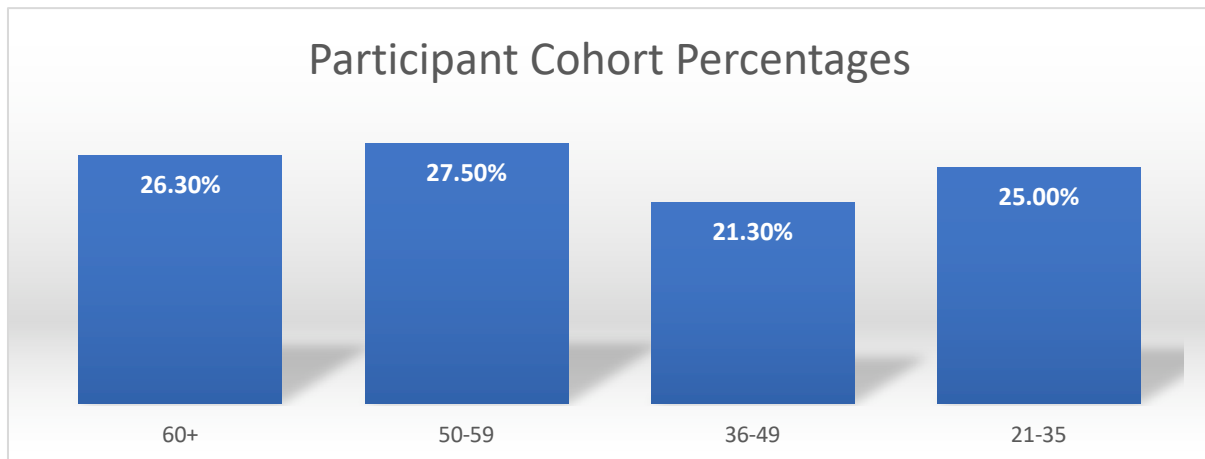
It was after integration that Māori were exposed to the full brunt of the colonising environment, it was when they became fully immersed in the settler state institutions and flooded by its wider culture and society that they began to suffer from the full impacts of the colonising environment – experiencing not just the negative impacts of the structural mechanisms in a more comprehensive manner but also the psychosocial mechanisms – the racism, identity trauma from land loss, alienation from and degradation of Māori cultural identity and resulting negative self-concept. Even though most of the land was in settler possession before integration, it seems that simply being able to maintain a semblance of normality, of being able to live in a relatively Māori environment in the kainga on even a small piece of whenua, helped to form a powerful protective institutional and cultural envelope that insulated Māori from the most traumatic depredations of settler colonisation. This theoretical structure provides the necessary context to examine the study findings, but first we need to provide the methodology used to gain the data.

Methodology

The Whenua Project recorded 80 open-ended narratives from Ngāi Tahu individuals that focussed on the cultural, social and economic impacts of colonisation on their families and communities. A Ngāi Tahu community researcher was employed to facilitate participant story-telling through unstructured prompts and questions as a means to draw out stories related to research themes. The study was constructed around eight whānau social units, with between seven and twelve participants per whānau interviewed, from Southland, Invercargill, Moeraki, Banks Peninsula and Kaikoura as can be seen in the following graph:

Participants by location

Southland	Invercargill	Moeraki	Banks Peninsula	Kaikoura
26.3	20	15	21.3	17.5
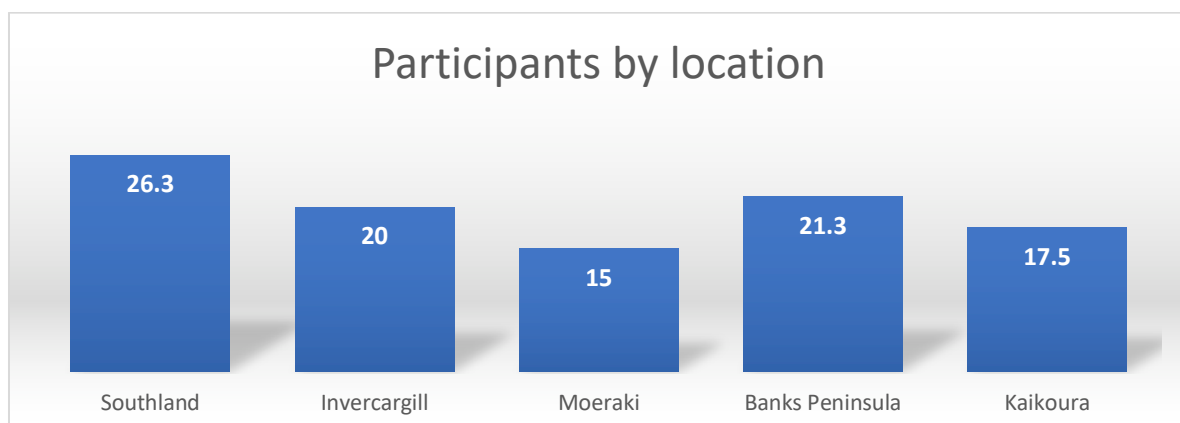
Between three and four generations of each family were interviewed in each whānau with the age of participants ranging from 21 to 86 years, with a gender split of 63.7% female and 36.3% male. The 80 participants were divided into four cohorts, with a balance between gaining equal numbers in each and ensuring they were 'generationally' bound meaning that we ended up with cohorts ranging from: 21-35, 36-49-50-59, and 60+, as can be seen in the chart below:

Participant Cohort Percentages

Cohort	Percentage
60+	26.30%
50-59	27.50%
36-49	21.30%
21-35	25.00%

This research design enabled intra-familial differences over time to be discerned, which allowed for the exploration of the vectors of colonial trauma transmission from one generation to the next as well as offering a means of mapping the changing dynamics of the colonising environment over time. The narratives were analysed to identify any explicit references to the impacts of the colonising environment across the spectrum of potential areas, specifically: land alienation through politico-legal domination; land alienation as resource loss; material poverty; political disenfranchisement; assimilation pressure; racism; identity trauma from land loss; alienation from and degradation of Māori cultural identity; and negative self-concept. Statements articulating these responses were identified and extracted from the wider narrative, though the context in which they were given was referenced throughout the research and writing process to ensure that the essence of the statement was not being distorted or misconceived.

The project was informed by *Kaupapa Māori* research methodology, which has emerged through the works of Māori scholars and researchers such as Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, 2005), Russell Bishop (1995), Leonie Pihama (2005, 2010a, 2010b) and Tuakana Nepe (1991). *Kaupapa Māori* puts emphasis on processes that respect and give voice to indigenous knowledge systems (e.g., *tūrangawaewae* [homeplace] thinking) and that place control of the research process collectively in the hands of Māori participants (Smith, 2013). To

operationalise this philosophy so it could be put into practice, the project focussed on embedding the research within Ngāi Tahu communities and families. An initial hui (gathering) was organised with Ngāi Tahu tribal leaders, elders, health and welfare professionals, project team members and tribal members to discuss project goals and parameters. Over 150 participants attended the hui, providing the critical feedback required to shape project objectives, and research processes. Progress against research objectives were reported back to Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu – the Ngāi Tahu tribal council. A well-known tribal leader, and health specialist, was then selected to: identify whānau interested in participating in the project; organise interviews and story-telling processes; and work with whānau to iteratively review research findings. A broad geographic spread of the eight whānau across the South Island was developed.

The process of personal story-telling, or purakau, was a useful method for gathering data as it permitted the easy communication of the impacts of colonisation (Lee, 2005). It is also part of a common cultural practice of Ako within Māori culture, in which storytelling is used to support learning processes (Walker et al., 2006). Essentially purakau is a variant on the phenomenological narrative approach and is well-suited to the requirements of *Kaupapa Māori*. As an inductive and humanist-oriented approach to health social research, it constitutes a potentially culturally cognizant ethnomethodology as it considers and validates the subjective experiences of social actors as constitutive of sensible social facts (Ehrich, 2005; Lee, 2005, 2008). Phenomenological praxis holds the presupposition that the linkages between social phenomena are normative as well as causal (Dawson, 1985). Consequently, we consider that a phenomenological narrative approach has the potential to unpack a resonant social lexis. The emphasis on experience makes it a very suitable and relevant approach to exploring the collective historical/intergenerational trauma of colonisation, Māori people's relationship to land, and their individual and collective experiences of health and wellbeing. Consequently, purakau proved an appropriate approach to capture the complex terrain of historical trauma, rather than the more researcher-driven quantitative methods, such as structured surveys and quasi-experiments.

The history of social and medical research into Māori in New Zealand, particularly during the early to mid 20th Century, was heavily dominated by a positivist Eurocentric approach (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2003) which usually entailed the study of empirically testable phenomena and the formulation of law-like (i.e., rigid and causal) descriptions of relationships between phenomena and justified Mills' (1959) terms 'abstracted empiricism' and 'grand theory'. Globally, this approach was not unusual at the time and had been widely adopted by social researchers elsewhere in the

world during the same period. Swingewood (2000, 22) observed that this dominant positivist approach of western social scientific research and analysis took two forms:

"First, the widely accepted view that the methods of the social sciences were no different from those of the natural sciences, involving the establishing of laws, the employment of experiment and observation, and the elimination of the subjective element in social analysis … Second, the increasing awareness of empirical method and the value of statistics in the framing of hypotheses and modes of validation. Both forms … emphasised the necessity of eliminating philosophical concepts such as free will, intention and individual motives from social science and establishing [it] as an objective science."

Research undertaken in the last century also tended to adopt a form of neo-Cartesian dualism in its analysis and understanding of the Māori world; that is, many social researchers (although presumably not all) assumed a split between the 'observer' (i.e., researcher) and the 'object' observed (e.g., an event, social phenomenon, situation, etc.) which broadly mirrored Descartes' mind-body dualism. The application of such a binary view envisaged qualitative accounts of experience as 'subjective' and as mere 'appearances' of an 'object' or 'set of objects' – object/s that otherwise can exist independently of consciousness (Ehrich, 2005). Thus, the accounts given by research subjects or participants (i.e., Māori accounts of an event, place or object) were framed or stigmatised as unreliable and 'subjectivised interpretations' rather than 'true' (empirically grounded) descriptions of a materially sensory reality.

Consequently, many in the Māori community have tended to view the numerous research projects done over the years into their lifestyles and culture with a certain amount of justified scepticism and suspicion, a good part of this which has to do with the fact that research undertaken on Māori, especially in the past, was seen to be distant and detached from the *tikanga* values and understandings which Māori people had of daily life, the environment, and their communities (Smith, 1999, 2013; Walker et al., 2006). More pertinently, many of the studies tended to focus on, or emphasise, the quantitative collection and analyses of statistics on almost every demographic indicator, from education, health and imprisonment, to suicide rates, without sufficiently engaging with, or examining in depth, the wider contexts that accompany and underpin such statistics (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Smith, 1999, 2013; Walker et al., 2006). Furthermore, Māori worldviews and experiences were often patronisingly ignored and/or discredited in the research process as being pre-modern and unscientific interpretations of objects and events, or worse, slated as the irrelevant views of dysfunctional individuals and marginalised groups. This project seeks to help

rectify both of these issues, exploring the context behind the grim statistics and examining them through the Māori worldview.

While many Māori scholars and researchers do not necessarily have an objection regarding the reliability of base data collected by Pākehā social and health researchers, they were more concerned with the ways that research projects have been designed (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2003). In particular, they have concerns about the types of data that have been chosen, how such data have been collected, treated and analysed within a predominantly Eurocentric framework, and how cognitively limiting and mono-dimensional forms of data analysis have massively influenced health and wellbeing policy and program formulation (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2003). Māori scholars have since suggested that researchers adopt a more cautious, open, and culturally sensitive approach, and have proposed a Māori-centred research *kaupapa* (philosophy) – one that "does not ignore the range of research methods … but … [which] deliberately places Maori people and Maori experience at the centre of the research activity" (Durie quoted in Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003, 43). Indeed, Durie argued that to operationalise this protocol requires that the research activity must, first of all, be able to empower Māori and, ideally, build indigenous capacity for self-determination and agency. Secondly, the research design must be capable of interlinking culturally coded and embedded understandings of the past and the present, the individual and the community, the people and their environment, and the various spheres of their social life. Thirdly, the research project must allow for the full and active participation and engagement of all research participants – that is, of Māori individuals, families, and communities – over the whole research process from inception to write-up. Furthermore, many *Kaupapa Māori* researchers argue that research must provide some practical and tangible benefit to Māori, and not just to the researchers and/or their respective organisations (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Bishop, 1996; L. T. Smith, 1999, 2005, 2013).

In sum, what *Kaupapa Māori* scholars have identified to be necessary for conducting research within *te ao Māori* (the Māori world) are an awareness of, or attention to, a specific (usually localised) cultural context, and genuine respect for the validity of tribal *tikanga* and indigenous knowledge systems, on the part of both researchers and research participants. These scholars argue that adopting such a position can then provide an avenue for the development of self-empowered or self-determined solutions by and for Māori people and communities. As Pihama (2010b, 5) has noted, Māori "have always theorised about our world" and "Kaupapa Maori theory is based upon and informed by *matauranga* Maori (Maori knowledge) that provides a cultural template, a philosophy that asserts that the theoretical framework being employed is culturally defined and

determined." Consequently, in practice, it is crucial that a research design that would champion the views, experiences and interests of research participants is actively sought by both Māori and non-Māori health social science researchers; for example, through the localised transfer of control over research processes from non-Māori to Māori, and through the adoption of a specific ethic that places the welfare of Māori at the centre of such principled research, and which positions Māori to share leadership of the research process in the identification of key or core problems and solutions. Many Kaupapa Māori scholars and researchers also strenuously argue against the use of a positivist Eurocentric framework and, alternatively, are in favour of adoption of a research framework that is essentially self-reflexively critical (i.e., anti-ethnocentric) and action or outcome-oriented. These arguments constitute some of the most significant outcomes to emerge from the development of a critically reflexive *Kaupapa Māori* praxis.

The report will now present the results.

Results – Structural

The first set of traumas we identified are precipitated by structural mechanisms, or more specifically forms of psychological and physical harm derived from the immersion and exposure of individuals to the institutions of the settler state. The first traumatizing structures outlined in the results are the political and legal institutions responsible for regulating Māori land tenure and sale. It is demonstrated that these structures alienated whānau from their land, denied them access to justice, and created whānau divisions, which in turn resulted in aguish, unresolved grief, and anger. It is also illustrated, that the secondary effect of being alienated from land was the loss of economic autonomy, which in turn resulted in material poverty, and the dependency of whānau upon the settler economy as wage labourers. Through dependency and material poverty the traumas of subjection and hardship emerge. The second traumatizing structure discussed is exposure to the settler political system and in particular disenfranchisement from that system. Disenfranchisement gives rise to experiences of powerlessness. The third traumatizing structure identified is the education system, and in particular the overt and covert policies of assimilation that traumatised individuals, and whānau, through instilling shame for being Māori. It needs to be noted that the structures of the settler state and society that perpetuate trauma have changed over time. In some cases, the structures have improved, and therefore reduced their traumatic effect (e.g. education systems) on current generations, however, as will be demonstrated, even where improvements have taken place the impacts of original traumas still reverberate among current generations.

The Political and Legal Structures of Land Alienation

As detailed in the theory sections of this report, the political and legal (politico-legal) institutions of the New Zealand settler state were designed to facilitate the transfer of land from Māori to the Pākehā settlers (Banner, 2000). The initial statement below has been selected to illustrate a common theme throughout the Ngāi Tahu narratives of a power differential between the Crown and the whānau concerning the control and ownership of Māori land. In this first quote a participant tells the story of a judge known to the family, who they consider used his own position to personally benefit from transactions concerning Māori land sale:

> *'I think at one stage here most of this land was Māori land but there was a particular Judge who actually went and managed to somehow buy it all up for himself, the good stuff, and left the bits to comply. I think perhaps if you go through colonial history you will see quite a lot of that. Our forefathers at that time did not understand how these things could happen; they were trusting' [Female, 75]*

The quote outlines a participant recalling how their family had been exploited by a judge. The participant considers that this exploitation was enabled by the innocence and trusting nature of her forefathers, and the unequal knowledge of settler law between them and the judge. This structural inequality, based on settler control and knowledge of law, was a key mechanism through which the settlers 'legally' obtained Māori land (Banner, 2000).

The theme of having 'innocence' exploited by the Crown also established a drive and determination for justice to address unresolved grief and anger, and reobtain land taken. This theme is expressed in the following statement, where an older woman describes her grandmother's insistence on attending the Māori Land Court to have land returned that had been unjustly acquired, and, in turn, how subsequent generations also took up her crusade:

> *'…a lot of time listening to dad and his brothers and sisters talking about their land, the various Māori land that they had. They never actually had it but they were continually taking journeys to the Māori Land Court, some of the family members. My father used to say that Granny used to pack her tucker box and get on the train and go to Christchurch to sit in the Māori Land Court… We never actually had it if you know what I mean. We had this great list of where their allocations were. Now my brother, who came eight years after I did, we're passionately interested in those pieces.' [Female, 72]*

Not only did Ngāi Tahu, and Māori in general, need to cope with the unjust acquisition of land through the legal and political mechanisms of the settler state, they also needed to deal with the ever-changing regulations concerning property title. The continual changes in title led to divisions and conflict among whānau members, particularly in relation to land inheritance. This is outlined in the following narrative:

> *A: So there was always, probably an undercurrent of a bit of resentment probably about whenua issues. Some of the things that had arisen earlier, there was a time where Māori land through Pākehā law was able to be left to one or two people under Pākehā law. And my grandfather left all his things to one daughter. And so that was a wee bit of resentment there, although my father and us worked really hard to keep in with that side of the whānau because, I suppose because we loved them and like we liked them. Q: So that was all the whānau [land]… A: Yep. Q: …left to one sibling? A: Yeah, yeah. Q: So how does that work in Māori lands? A: Well that door was only open for a little while and then it went back to… yeah but it was, I'm not sure of the specifics but he was able to do that for a time and then it went back to Māori land things. But it was too late for him. And people have looked at the legality of it. Some of my cousins have looked at the legality of that, but it was legal because it was legal in that timeframe. And then it changed back to Māori law again. Q: Yeah it's interesting isn't it, Pākehā law… A: I know. Q:… sort of stepping in and saying, "This is the way."… the children of that aunty whom the land was left to in that time period yeah we see each other a lot and we get on fairly well and they're very sorry about that and there's nothing they can do about it. And I say, "Well actually yes there is" … It is a trauma and it underpinned a lot of the land issues.' [Female, 70]*

In this circumstance the constantly shifting and confusing nature of Māori property title created internal resentment within the whānau that has lasted for generations. This is reiterated again in the following statement, where the participant recalls a family raruraru that has passed down through generations due to the confusing and changing nature of title. Furthermore, the quote outlines the interviewee's general perception of the world being crooked, and how the whānau was constantly attempting to keep their land from 'thieves' and 'bastards' through constant action in the Māori land court.

> *'It all started when Dad died and I was representative of my brother and sister to go do the paperwork and go through the Court to succeed to Dad's lands, which was a mission because the whole bloody world's crooked. And that includes… well these weren't whānau that were in there, but they tried to take land off all going through that process of it getting signed through, like it wouldn't get noticed. So we'll just do the*

documentation and take that out of it… There was some raruraru I know about those down here where some generations; a few generations back where one grandfather bequeathed a whole lot of everyone's land to one person… I was there when the daughter of the one that had received some of that land, when she died I was there when she pulled out the paper and said, "Oh this land was put in trust for her til she was 21 but the Council had sold it." So that was quite a big block of land which I don't mention it because it's not my business to so. But that was one. But yeah there's been raruraru in amongst family about land for most generations… Believe it or not it has actually happened. It took a long, long time to succeed to Dad's lands that were rightfully ours. There were bastards trying to thieve it back all the way through… That's all under statute; it's all through legislation already. So he has that right, but he has to apply for it within six months. So that's been written down. This is the steps that you have to go to. You will have to go to the Māori Land Court; you will have to fill out this number here, this is the form and you do this and this and you must do it within this timeframe. If I don't state that, how's he going to know? And the same goes for the kids. You have this timeframe to do this. To them it'll be foreign going through a Court to go through the process.' [Female, 52]

In general the quote illustrates the manner in which whānau were required to go to great lengths to retain their land in the face of legislative and bureaucratic barriers designed to alienate them. In the end it created a situation where the whānau became cornered into fighting over the remaining land generating anger and division. Anger, anguish, and grief emerge as emotional responses to the trauma, and are commonly expressed throughout whānau narratives. However, what is perhaps most telling is that the anger and tension regarding the situation is primarily directed internally amongst whānau themselves, and only secondarily directed externally toward the settler political and legal institutions – 'the bastards'. The internalisation of the anger and conflict may be the result of political disenfranchisement, where the whānau is unable to gain restitution for injustice and ,as a consequence, the anger remains within the whānau itself.

There was also clear evidence of the manner in which land alienation generated significant outward anger toward the Crown among whānau, but this anger in and of itself caused damage to the whānau. This is illustrated in the below statement, where the participant is describing her anger, and the way in which this anger can make the whānau sick if they are not able to let it go:

'…big time trauma… I'm not through there yet. I'm not through there yet… That's what I gotta forgive. If I don't forgive that… I gotta forgive that. So massively stolen from… I gotta find that forgiveness in myself. If I don't, I'm the only one who gets sick. My kids get sick.' [Female, 62]

Not only was it very difficult to retain Māori land operating within the political and legal structures of the settler state due shifting laws regarding inheritance, it was also impossible to gain loans to develop Māori land due to communal ownership structures. This led whānau to change land ownership title from Māori land to general title so they could access loans. However, this often led to land being sold, as once the land was in general ownership, the land was divided among shareholders, which in turn made each individual share an uneconomic size for farming purposes. As a consequence the land was sold. This is illustrated in the following quote, where the participant describes his father's upset at knowing that their land title had been converted to general title, which he knew would likely precipitate the continued loss of whānau land.

'Some of the people there had converted it to Pākehā land but most of the time that was done my understanding was so they could have access to bank loans and all that sort of stuff. I remember my dad finding out that somehow or another our land had been converted to Pākehā land. He got really upset about that… and he changed it back to Māori land, real fast.' [Male, nu54]

This scenario illustrates the manner in which the tenure system made it difficult for whānau to retain their land, and continually geared the market toward the sale of Māori land to settlers. The scenario is repeated again in the following statement, where the participant is outlining the way in which whānau were not well versed, or did not understand, how the land alienation processes worked or how they could circumvent the processes. Furthermore, he illustrates how there were pressures to sell land by those who needed money, and pressures to retain land, which ultimately led internal whānau conflict. In addition, such conflicts further drove some individuals to sell land to avoid conflict. Generally speaking, the tenure system created strong divisions within the whānau that have persisted.

'To get the loan on the house you had to put the land into general title, so it was Māori freehold land, then to get a loan so you could secure it for the banks and there were special things with the Māori Land Courts to do that; you had to put it into general title. What families didn't realise was that you were supposed to put it back and they didn't so a lot of Māori families who had subdivided off their properties up on that reserve, and in fact all over Ngāi Tahu, because it was in general title and they needed money, or they just didn't want it anymore because they were fighting over it maybe, sold it and split the money between them. It caused a huge rift in dad's brothers and sisters when they sold what dad and his younger brother and sister

considered to be their homestead; it split them…In those days it was very individualised, your land, and I think the ins and outs were just too complicated.' [Female, 51]

Consequently, it becomes clear throughout whānau narratives that the politico-legal institutions of land tenure, with its complexity, bureaucracy, inconsistency and inequality generated anger, division, anguish and grief within whānau. Further fuelling this inequality was the local government rating systems; a land tax based on the property value. Māori land owners were required to pay rates, however many did not know about their obligations, or were not notified, and as a consequence had their land confiscated. As one participant told us:

'… it wasn't enough that land was taken because some of our land was taken 'cause the rates weren't paid and there were so many… when rates weren't paid it is leased out to other people and after a time those farmers or whoever it was that leased it sort of its common usage and it goes. And part of the reason why it went was because; why the rates weren't paid for a start was because people didn't know about it… because the rates bills didn't come to them…' [Female, 70]

In addition, the land owned by Ngāi Tahu whānau was often isolated, fragmented and marginal, and consequently generating income to meet rates obligations was not often possible. The increasing fragmentation of Māori land has its roots in the Crown tenure systems, which have generally demanded bilateral succession, whereby each new generation succeeds to land ownership. The vagaries of the fragmentation process means that the land often becomes functionally unusable by all owners, as the land per head is not enough to sustain economic enterprises, and collectively agreeing to courses of action is difficult due to the numbers of owners. A participant outlined this problem and the internal divisions it has caused within the whānau:

'I don't love the fact that it's started to cause arguments between the family. Yeah, because a lot of people own it. This sounds horrible, but the more people that die, the bigger it becomes because it needs to be put into Māori land or into a trust.' [Female, 35]

Consequently, the legal structures surrounding property title change a unifying force – whenua – into an ongoing force of division amongst whānau. Another participant also described how fragmentation causes disagreements as well as expressing how it can lead to a loss of connection with the land:

'Like everyone else, for us anyway; there is not a great deal of – it's very small, very small inside a block of many owners. But nothing really substantial, not that that matters; but that's not a great deal. Only slightly. For me in my opinion and how I feel about it; is it actually tends to pull me away from it. I don't know how this sounds but – it's not economic; but that's okay… a lot of the owners that own it currently are in their twilight years; and they're going, "Sure," you know?. It's valued at such and such. They were all given this schedule from the Māori Land Court: "The value of your shares is $7500," a lot of the older folk are going, "Shit, I want this money. Let's just sell it, I want my money"… So we're currently going, "Okay, well if that's what you want then maybe we should go down that line because it's just going to sit there otherwise; and we're going to start to pay rates if we're not careful. It's going to get out of hand." The possibilities of it being sold to a developer are very high at the moment. Isn't that sad?' [Male, nu53]

Through this statement we can see, once again, the tension within whānau, and perhaps more pertinently in this case, the despondency and sadness of this situation. However, even where there are opportunities to develop Māori land, some whānau perceive that the political and legal institutions of the state still present obstacles and structural inequalities. This is demonstrated in the statement below, where difficulties raising capital for Māori land, and poor local council knowledge, present barriers to change:

'… looking at what we can do because on paper its worth about between six and ten million dollars. But there is nothing we can do because we're going through all of the possibilities. The most probable situation is that we actually sell the block to develop it or go half and half with a developer and then sell it when it becomes more valuable, when it's all being sectioned off. There are a lot of reasons why that may not be the case and some of it is consent. The council down there aren't necessarily too great on the old Māori stuff, or supportive of doing something like that.' [Male, nu53]

We found similar issues in another participant's narrative, when asked about her land she told us:

'No, it's being leased, grazing. The restrictions on Māori land, not by the Māori Land Court but by the Council means that what you can build on it is limited; you can't.' [Female, 51]

Often Māori property title is zoned rural by councils, which means that it cannot be constructed or built upon, despite such lands being designated originally as Papakainga, or village areas. The consequence is that zoning rules have established inequalities through not permitting Māori land to be developed as the owners might wish.

Ironically, the inequalities are not just present for those trying to develop Māori land, but also for those who are seeking to turn general title land they have brought back into Māori land. Another participant, talking about her daughter's efforts to convert her land to Māori title, explained the difficulties she faced:

> *'Big fight that was getting that. She took it to three different courts…' [Female, 70]*

The narratives of Māori land ownership told by interviewees reinforce and illustrate how the politico-legal institutions of the Crown have been weighed against Māori land owners. They have been primarily designed to make retaining the ownership of Māori land difficult through constant changes to the title that divide whanau and making processes complex, overly bureaucratic and time-dependent. Ward (quoted in Williams, 2000, 18) explains how "the law was continually framed to deny Maori more than a minor share in state power and control of resources. That most precious institution of British culture, the rule of law, was prostituted to the land grab". As one participant explains, it was only through becoming familiar with Crown law that Māori learnt how to combat the legalistic structural inequalities imposed by the settler state:

> *'I feel that the Waitangi Tribunal would never have been; it didn't come until Māori were able to hold their own in the courts of law with those of English descent.' [Female, 75]*

In summary, the political and legal structures of the settler state create unstable land tenure laws, that generate a colonising environment of uncertainty, ambiguity, inequality, and injustice, regarding Māori whānau land ownership and management. This environment affects whānau social dynamics creating division, anger, resentment, anguish, despondency, and grief. These emotions are both directed inwardly within the whānau causing conflict, and outwardly to the settler state and society.

Land Alienation as Resource Loss

The rapid alienation of Ngāi Tahu from their land through the political and legal machinations of the Crown led to rapid resource loss. As outlined in the earlier sections of this report, Ngāi Tahu became alienated from 99.9% of its resource base by 1865. The obvious impact was that whānau were reduced to meeting their livelihood needs off fragmented, inadequately sized and substandard

reserve land. As this participant told us, in his childhood the drastically reduced lands his whānau and wider community had to live off were insufficient:

'Whilst our people were still living in their houses in Wainui people were coming in and squatting on their gardens, so those are the hardships of our many people in those days… I've never forgotten those things, they were passed down to me. I don't hate Europeans for it. It was some of those things you've got to really believe how difficult it was for us in those days; especially my ancestors. They had to live through that and then had to fight very hard to get a piece of 400 or 500 acres of land for their people to come in and live on… Nobody would ever become rich on those reserves simply because they were so small and you could never make a living. You could keep yourself alive with food on them, growing your own food and your own little animals, pigs and so forth and milking a cow on your little acres of land but you couldn't become a person that was going to be rich off his land because there wasn't enough of it to become a very rich person. A lot of it as divided amongst the different cousins and uncles and aunties, so they had their little piece within that 500 acres' [Male, 82]

The level of land alienation meant that generations of Ngāi Tahu were placed in dire economic circumstances and an ongoing position of poverty in comparison to settlers within the broader state. This structural inequality was maintained over the coming decades, with bilateral succession meaning that the remaining land was continually 'divided amongst the different cousins and uncles and aunties' who all 'had their little piece'. The majority of whānau stories describing the isolation period outlined how life involved hardship and imposed difficulties on maintaining a Māori way of life. This is illustrated in the following quote, where the participant told us that his grandmother and her brother:

'… have said that their childhood growing up was hard, that they were poor… It almost seems like trying to maintain that traditional Māori lifestyle of living off the land and make do was part, it was a hard life.' [Male, 32]

The narratives of whānau indicate that the limited resource based meant that subsistence living on reserves needed to be supplemented by wage labouring off the reserves. This shows a dependency on the settler economy, and in turn a vulnerability to the economic cycles and vagaries of capitalism. The limited resource base was compounded by population growth, declining availability of land, and declining employment in rural areas. This placed pressure on new generations to leave their Papakainga and shift to settler areas for work. In short, the political and legal structures that alienated Māori from their land, later led to community dissolution as whānau sought employment

outside the kainga, and further drove the process of integration into Pākehā communities. This is clear in the following narrative:

'By that stage there wasn't any living on that land, there was no living to be got from living on that land. So that was why the sister and her husband moved [away] and that's why we went [away] too. So basically where the mills were.' [Female, 70]

Thus, the economic inequalities resulting from the structural transfer of land wealth from Ngai Tahu whānau to settlers, created and perpetuated a significant and traumatic loss of community and social networks based in the kainga. This is illustrated the following quote, where it is clear that whānau did not want to leave their kainga, but were compelled to by economic necessity:

'I suppose it was economics why everyone moved … I find there's a lot of the ones that haven't got places to live, they feel it. They want to come back, but they haven't got, you know [anywhere to come back to].' [Female, 52]

The structural inequalities precipitated by land alienation led directly to the psychosocial trauma of being separated from kinship ties and community and, in turn, the emotional experience of social and cultural isolation. This shows how the trauma of the colonising environment compounds, one trauma – alienation from land – causing another, each becoming entwined with the other and accumulating over time. In a vicious cycle, hardship drove land loss as whānau sold fragments of land to access money, which made existing land less viable, forcing more sales, and accelerating the decline of kainga and community. This cascading action can be seen in this participant's narrative, where the kaumātua expresses his sadness at the manner in which the land was steadily alienated from under the feet of the whānau, and as the last pieces of the whānau land are sold to pay for a tangi:

'Oh father just used to go out the window and he says, "You see all that there, that was once [our] land."… That's the only area I was told was all [our] land once… when [grandfather] died they never had money to pay for his funeral… when [grandfather] died the family had no money so they signed over the deed to the house plus part of the land that sits there.' [Male, 80]

With Māori land becoming fragmented and isolated, and owners poor, dispersed, and lacking knowledge regarding taxation, council rates often went unpaid, contributing to the cumulative and accelerating cycle of land alienation. In the below statements the participant outlines how the land under European laws had become subject to rates, which meant that they were later forced to sell:

Q: This land that you've got now here? A: Yes. But it got taken off; when it was [my aunty's] it got taken off for unpaid rates and I think Mum said they… Q: Why would you have to pay rates on Māori land? A: You have to. Every land gets rated, it's just not as… well this stuff here's been Europeanised, taken from Māori land and put into… and even Māori lands got rates on it. But the rates weren't paid so it got taken off.' [Female, 53]

However, there is a sad irony that rates charged on Māori land contributed to the development of infrastructure needed for the formation of the settler state, such as roads and water supply. Yet Māori land owners rarely benefited equally from this infrastructure. As Anderson et al. (2014, 309) explain, the "organs of local government (almost entirely Pākehā-controlled) tended to be hostile to Māori interest. They believed, usually incorrectly, that Māori did not pay their share of rates and were therefore not entitled to the services funded by others. Some also viewed Māori as lazy and unlikely to use land productively, and so believed that any new investment in infrastructure would be wasted on them… [consequently] Even today, many Māori-owned lands are effectively land-locked, and without legal access".

Consequently, the political and legal structures of Māori land tenure, including both central and local government, alienated whānau from their resources, generating hardship, vulnerability to economic shocks, isolation from kinship support and grief at the loss of possessions. However, there are also common whānau narratives demonstrating shame for the unmaintained state of remaining Māori land. Despite its unmanaged nature being a product of legal and political systems geared against Māori, whānau take on the shame for its state, seeing it directly as a reflection of their identity and standing. This is illustrated in the following statement:

'It's quite sad for me living there knowing that our land is that bit of gorse over there sort of thing, so no it is quite sad… [I'm] Quite disappointed, quite disappointed because I suppose the next generation that I'm speaking to are looking for their tūrangawaewae and when I show it to them their heads sort of drop a bit and it's understandable and it needs to be worked on so you can actually make some sort of productive [use] out of it instead of being wasted and becoming a fire hazard.' [Male, 50]

Another participant expressed a sense of futility, common throughout the narratives, explaining that the hurdles and difficulties related to developing the land leads to an inertia:

'…you end up doing nothing with it. You could never develop it, you couldn't do anything with it and someone would always have a bigger say than you had.' [Female, nu50]

Even if land is developed though, the returns can be small given the number of owners and size of land leading to cynicism.

'I just got the statement the other day and I think it was two or three cents. I've got an asset now of $2.50 I think in there….' [Male, 72]

Compounding the cynicism, sense of injustice, and futility surrounding Māori land is knowledge that the 1% of land allocated to Ngāi Tahu as reserves following the initial Crown purchases was mostly marginal. Furthermore, compensation lands offered in the inundation and isolation periods were largely unusable economically. This is illustrated in the following quote:

'The irritation for me is that the Māori land is the waste land in a way; that the best land was taken over by the settlers, the colonizers, and the Māori were given the worst land and that seemed to be the way it was… [My dad and uncle used to say] "What can we do about it? What can we do with this?" And here we are the next generation, old now, and asking the same question.' [Female, 75]

This statement illustrates how both the alienation from land and the receiving of 'waste land' continues to be a source of anger for whānau. Furthermore, this historical situation also frames the context and view of whānau, who notice that current generations are increasingly unable to afford their own land and housing, as the original structural inequities of land alienation are being perpetuated as the settler economy changes. As one participant explained:

'Well there's no way my kids are ever gonna be able to afford to get some land down here themselves, ever 'cause it's like ridiculous… Cause originally the reason that they had it was because they got the rest of the stuff taken off them and it was a token, "Here you go you can have this bit," which they gave them; this is just my way of thinking; they gave them stuff that they thought was shit land anyway, that you couldn't do anything…' [Female, 53]

Furthermore, there were also common whānau narratives concerning alienation from access ways and routes to mahinga kai (wild food gathering areas). Such practices connect current generations to the past and play a central role in Ngāi Tahu and whānau identity. Access in the past was often ad hoc and a product of New Zealand's relaxed attitude to private property and trespass laws. However, as the mores of the settler society have changed, one of few remaining ways whānau could access mahinga kai has been limited. This inequity generates a sense of anger and anguish. As one participant told us:

> *'I guess we've lost a lot of things through land access; you know farmers won't let you over. We as a family have lost a lot of those rights that we probably took for granted growing up… Going across land to access places. People have said, "No you're not going across there," and that's really hard to take on the nose, 'cause you've always done it… that's really hard.' [Female, 50]*

Her quotes illustrates the trauma this loss has caused for many Māori, who 'have lost a lot of those rights that we probably took for granted growing up' and find it 'really hard' because this was one area where the inequalities of the settler state had not been rigorously imposed until recently.

Consequently, the political and legal structures of Māori land tenure, alienated whānau from their resources, generating a colonising environment of hardship, vulnerability to economic shocks, isolation from kinship support and grief at the loss of possessions. Furthermore, in terms of Māori land, the colonising environment established: a sense of inertia and futility in the face of land development constraints; shame in the state of land and land-centred identity; cynicism and anger at injustice.

Material Poverty

While land loss was the cause of Ngai Tahu poverty in the inundation period, the structural inequalities of the settler state have limited individual and collective efforts to address this poverty. Poverty is one of the most frequently indicated causes of psychological trauma, particularly intergenerational poverty, as it has cumulative impacts across a broad number of indices (McLeod and Shanahan, 1993). In the isolation period there was a strong reliance upon the kainga subsistence economy, however, as outlined above this was not sufficient to support whānau. Consequently, whānau relied upon wage labouring work outside the kainga. However, before the integration period, there was little to no work on offer, and the work that was available was low

payed and unreliable. This resulted in food insecurity and general material poverty. This is explained by one participant in the following statement:

'We were always well aware that life was tough for them [grandparents and great-grandparents] … It was commonly known that in those times, while they had big gardens and they grew a lot of their kai [food], times were really, really tough … But you never really heard the sad, hard stories; still, you knew there were those stories, that life was very hard. While my father and different ones of his generation spoke about it, the ones [from the much older generation] that truly experienced it the most didn't really talk about it in great detail. They would just say, 'Yeah, it was hard for us, we didn't have a lot', but they didn't go into the gory details.' [Male, 34]

Another whānau participated reiterated this statement from his earliest memories:

The biggest setback in those days was that there was no work; and when there's no work, you live not below the breadline, but very close to it … [My parents] picked up work here and there. Whatever was around…' [80, Male]

These statements represent a common theme among whānau narratives of fairly widespread poverty that caused hardship. The narratives of material poverty decline from older generations to younger generations, demonstrating how dire material poverty has decreased overtime. Despite this decline, the stress of food insecurity, and poverty in general, has been demonstrated to lead to psychological and physical changes in subsequent generations (Heijmans et al. 2008). Although this type of analysis is beyond the scope of this research, it is worth bearing in mind the possible effects of severe deprivation on one generation on subsequent generations.

However, in a positive sense, the hunting, gathering, and gardening that sustained whānau through this period may also be seen as the last bastions of independent kainga economies. As one participant told us, before integration:

'We caught our own food, predominantly. We went pig hunting and we did eat pigeons and rabbits. There weren't that many rabbits, but we had predominantly wild pork, kai moana in the way of meat and the odd pigeon, rabbits, that was about it for meat. We had huge veggie gardens so that you didn't buy vegetables – you ate the vegetables that you grew – and we very seldom bought meat…' [Female, 70]

While some whānau continued to hunt, gather, and garden after integration, this final autonomous sphere of the Māori economy was under pressure, as Māori integrated into the broader domestic and international economy. As Walker (1992, 502) has written, "Once committed to this system, the migrants [Māori] were irrevocably integrated into the economic system of mainstream society. The practice in the rural areas of supplementary subsistence activities such as gardening, hunting, and foraging for kai moana (seafood) to supplement low cash income was no longer an option. Food was now a commodity purchased entirely in the marketplace".

In a similar fashion to the alienation of Māori from land, and erosion of the kainga economy, the settler state systematically began to erode whānau access to mahinga kai through environmental protections, such as hunting bans or quota limits. This is outlined in the following quote, where some children from the kainga are punished at school for hunting kereru:

> '…all these pigeons, you know kereru's up on the trees and everything. And we were all there, we were trying to catching them and we'd make bows and arrows and everything. And we all got taken up to the Head Master and got this big lecture. "They're protected and you're not allowed to do that." And I was just like saying to Dad, "We got told off for trying to get some pigeons." It's like, "Oh they're queer." And it's only like eight miles away and it was like a different planet.' [Female, 53]

The ban on killing native birds was directed specifically at Māori hunting and justified by conservationists, such as Henry Ell (quoted in Robb, 2015), because "there is abundance of food in this Country now, therefore there is absolutely no excuse for killing Native birds which are becoming very rare for food". While the settlers no longer had to rely on hunting to meet subsistence needs, the structural economic inequalities meant Māori often did.

The Great Depression, and the shifting nature of New Zealand's economy from a largely rural to an increasing urban one, was one of the main catalysts for integration. Because of this shift, and their material poverty, Māori were forced to move to locations where they could find employment. One of our Ngāi Tahu participants explained that:

> '…when tāua lived at [the reserve] and they had to leave because of poverty; that's the reason they left [their reserve]. They had to abandon their houses in 1937, the year dad was born. They were poverty stricken… The Native Housing Commissioner went around in 1937, all the Māori Reserves in the country and they described [it] as the most impoverished they had seen out of all of the reserves in the country… People were living in cardboard boxes… it was a big settlement because of the forestry work over there; milling, logging,

farms. Once they had cleared all the forest that was it; there was nothing. They were big farm holdings. Our families could only get work off shearing; so they were all shearers and cow cockies, they would clear land, they helped to build the roads, they helped to build all the new structures.' [Female, 51]

In short, in order to survive whānau were involved in clearing the land they were alienated from, and then helped 'build all the new structures' of the settler state. Another participant had a similar story of how whānau were driven by poverty into the settler economy and society:

'My father and two of his brothers were born there.. and were brought up in the bush there. I believe their father worked at the mill and the kids went to the school out there, dad and his brothers and sisters. There's many a good story that I've heard about them growing up in those times… Dad loved it there and so they've all got fond memories of that… [then] the depression came. They closed the mill down overnight and all these people that lived there were left homeless. No jobs and there was an exodus… Dad and his family and parents came into town…Everybody who could work or was old enough to work needed to work… Dad and his family and parents came into town… Dad was about 11 and got his first pair of shoes. They weren't a pair, which I was told many times growing up; about how lucky I was to have shoes because they were odd.' [Female, 72]

Another participant's narrative mirrored the economic pressure to integrate during the depression, with the closure of mills during this period forcing whānau to leave the rural communities and move into the Pākehā towns:

'Because things like the mills closed down and one uncle went to [an industrial works], so they went to… houses in town. That sort of thing. So I suppose it was economics why everyone moved.' [Female, 52]

The narratives suggest that whānau, generally speaking, did not want to shift, however they were driven by material poverty and the changing nature of the New Zealand economy. Consequently, the political and legislative structures designed to alienate Māori from their land continued to create harm through exposing whānau to material hardship, and pulling apart the kinship bonds and social support network underpinning kainga life.

However, in addition to the hardship, and loss of social support, whānau were also exposed to the shame of becoming marginalised and subordinate in Pakehā society. In particular, the narratives of whānau suggest that damage to self-esteem and pride was inflicted through this process of subalternisation. This is clear in the following statement, as one participant told us, her father:

'… came back as a disabled serviceman. He had wounds in his arm. That kind of set the scene for how they fared after the war. They had five kids and he worked at the Disabled Serviceman eking out an existence. Mum became a cleaner. I think mum must have always been a wee bit ashamed of the fact that she was a clearer because she always used to refer to herself as just an old char woman.' [Female, nu62]

Both the World Wars reinforced the structural inequalities between Māori and Pākehā, or rather the gulf between the way Pākehā and Māori ex-servicemen were treated afterwards did. While Pākehā ex-servicemen were given farms – ironically often recently alienated Māori land – the Māori veterans were treated differently until they "successfully challenged official discrimination in the provision of welfare benefits, rehabilitation and housing" following World War Two (Derby, 2016).

While integration saw Māori financial circumstances improve in absolute terms compared to the isolation period, compared to their new Pākehā neighbours they were poor. As one participant told us on moving to the city:

'I never realised we were actually poor and we were and it was a real struggle for my mum.' [Female, 54]

In the integration period, the education and career possibilities for most Māori was fairly limited. Through a combination of government policies, material poverty and a lack of social capital, few Māori went to university but were rather shunted into 'the trades' (Walker, 1992). As one participant told us:

'Actually when I think about that, even going through school and looking at kids that left school, without sounding racist myself though it was always the Pākehā kids that got the flash jobs in the bank. It wasn't about university back then; I don't even remember that being promoted when I was at school.' [Female, nu58]

Consequently, although whānau were entering Pakehā communities from the kainga, they were entering as wage labourers, and were being encouraged to remain in labouring and trade occupations. University was not 'being promoted' as an option for Māori during the integration phase. In addition, evidence from the whānau narratives suggest that in some cases education was

not being encouraged within Ngāi Tahu homes at the time. This is expressed in the following participant's narrative:

'They were not big on education; they believed in working and living off the land. Only the oldest went to college because they couldn't afford it. Dad probably would have been the better one; he did go to Māori Trade.' [Female, 51]

There may be many reasons for encouraging a life off the land. One possible reason was that during the later isolation period, and early integration period, the union movement was growing and Māori became strongly linked to the Labour Party and the unions. Through this movement whānau, and Māori in general, may have started to identify themselves as a working class at odds with the elites of Pakehā society. However, another more pragmatic reason was that poverty required that children begin work as soon as possible to assist in supporting the whānau. As a participant told us:

'Money was spoken about, but it was more that they never – that they didn't have any. I know my grandfather – he was the sixth of the children of that generation – he left school when he was just twelve, to fish… There were many in his generation like him.' [Male, 34]

The poverty and structural economic disadvantages generated by land alienation meant that most children had to leave school early to help supplement their parents' income. This perpetuated the cycle of poverty, making it difficult for many young Māori to get to high school, let alone university. Another participant, when asked why she did not follow her dream of becoming a chemist, told us that:

'Unfortunately I had to leave [school] at 16 and mum said "I had to talk to your father to get you this last year because you have to go out and earn an income". Times were hard yes. So there I was, I left school and mum got me my first job.' [Female, 75]

While in absolute terms the material wealth of Māori in general improved following integration – coming as it did from a very low point beforehand – there were still many inequalities in the economic structure of the settler state and the majority of Māori remain relatively poor compared to the rest of the country. The original impact of land alienation continue to reverberate down the generations as Māori became most vulnerable and most exposed to economic policy shifts and fluctuations of the international market economy.

The impact of reforms implemented by the Fourth Labour Government during the late 1980s are also clear within whānau narratives. As one participant told us:

> *'When we were here in Christchurch [her Māori father from the North Island] worked in a foundry doing work around recycling steel and melting it down to create other things… Then when we shifted up north found it really difficult to find work up there so he took whatever he could. He looked at working in the gold mines but couldn't get anything in there. Looked at fruit picking and it was sore picking kiwifruit.' [Female, nu45 – is between 33-37]*

The way these changes impacted Maori was also apparent in the following narrative, when a participant was asked about whether her family had any land, she told us:

> *'… not here in [in our rohe], which is quite ironic because this is where we grew up and we did have a whānau home that we grew up in here, but through that economic downturn in the 80's Mum and Dad struggled and they ended up selling and downsizing and downsizing. The sad thing is now my Mum is in a Housing Corp house after owning three houses over the last 20 years and I think that is real sad.' [Female, nu58]*

From 1986 to 2013, the number of Māori who owned their own home dropped by 20%, far greater than the national average (which was also dropping due to 'Rogernomics'), with the greatest fall occurring "in the 1990s, when there was a prolonged recession and high rates of unemployment for Māori" (Statistics New Zealand, 2016, 20). This decline in home ownership exemplifies how the cumulative traumas of the colonising environment help to perpetuate even more trauma in an ongoing cycle.

While many were hit by these changes, actual references to material poverty were not as common in the narratives of younger generations as they were for the older generations. Tellingly, however, many of our participants talked of the new economic inequality that they considered had appeared among Māori - that within iwi. When asked if Ngāi Tahu was a wealthy tribe, one participant responded:

> *'The tribe has a lot of wealth… I also think, this is from conversations that I've heard, is that the better connected you are in at TRONT and the office the better connected you are at how to access funds for the benefit of your whānau.' [Female, nu51]*

Through the narratives of Ngāi Tahu whānau resentment is clearly expressed regarding the sharing of wealth and the perception that the opportunities that have flowed from Treaty settlements have gone to particular families. Although there is pride in the success of Ngāi Tahu there is also the view that the benefits are not being shared. This sentiment was expressed by another participant who told us that:

"… there's some negatives but there is some positives too and potentially at the positive side we're growing economically internationally which is great for us, but the people aren't growing and that's the fundamental flaw in this whole plan. Economically our people should be growing at the same as the economic growth rate is occurring and it's not happening. You have got to ask why not?" [Male, 60]

Across the narratives there appears to be a growing resent at the diverging outcomes the Treaty settlements have brought. Van Meijl (2013, 45) notes that "more and more people are appealing to tribes for their responsibility to redistribute more of its wealth among their beneficiaries to address the poverty in which many Maori people are living. These views are frequently articulated in combination with implicit or explicit criticisms of the growing inequality in Maori society, since a small minority of tribal elites is clearly benefitting from Treaty settlements, whereas the vast majority is not".

However, when viewed on a per capita basis, then actual assets of post-settlement Ngāi Tahu, and other iwi in general, are very small and if divided out among tribal members would do little to address underpinning structural economic inequalities. Consequently, much like divisions that have emerged around Māori land, the deficient resource base relative to beneficial interests generates internal division and conflict within tribal entities when these economic interactions were traditionally generally unifying rather than divisive. In this manner a separation between whānau connected to tribal corporate interests and those distanced emerges, which, in turn, establishes internal tribal divisions, anger, and resentment.

This situation can be connected to the early settler government policies, which sought to deal with the iwi rather than the smaller hapū and this has continued to impact Māori socio-political organisation ever since (Taonui, 2011). Consequently, the development of iwi representative bodies, and the subsequent centralisation of political and economic capital in these structures, has generated tensions throughout tribes. This sentiment was expressed by another participant, who told us that:

'I am a bit sceptical to be honest about the different governing bodies iwi-wise around the country. I imagine them in this kingdom at the top and very little actually filtering down to the people' [Female, 52]

Her statement is common amongst many of the narratives, expressing a sense that the settlements ushered in a new political class of wealthy Māori and whānau at the expense of other whānau – particularly those that led settlement processes. Another participant, when asked about the Act, explained that:

'Yeah I know about that. I know that we did end up becoming quite wealthy and we still continue to become wealthy... [but] It has a potential to be a lot better than it is; I think it does. I feel a lot of work was done and I guess those people are reaping the benefits off the ones that did all the work. It is who you know no matter what; it is who you know, but in saying that too we have a responsibility... There's got to be benefits back to Ngāi Tahu; there's got to be. Not just for their whānau. That's one thing that concerns me a little bit.' [Female, nu46]

Other participants expressed the view that the new tribal structures mirror Pakehā forms of organisation and are characterised by the same problems, such as the pursuit of profit as the primary goal. This is outlined in the following statement:

'... they're acting like Pākehā organisations; bring money and the contracts in.' [Female, nu69]

In summary, the political and legal structures of the settler government alienated Māori from their resources leading to material poverty. This material poverty, in and of itself, created food insecurity and general hardship, which, in turn, caused suffering among generations in the isolation and early integration periods. It has been beyond the scope of this study to understand the impacts of these stressors on later generations; however, evidence would suggest that it is correlated epigenetically with obesity and anxiety, and psychosocially with household domestic problems. In addition, a secondary effect of material poverty was dependency on the settler economy and, in particular, the entering of Pakehā society as second-class citizens. Within whānau narratives there is evidence that this produced a sense of shame and undermined self-esteem in some individuals. Furthermore, material poverty placed pressures on whānau, requiring children to leave school early to work and support whānau – compromising education outcomes and future economic opportunities,

perpetuating the cycle of subalternisation. In short, the political and legal structures of Māori land tenure created a colonising environment of material poverty characterized by food insecurity, hardship, shame, and self-disesteem. However, in the invigoration period, there is growing pride in being Ngāi Tahu among whānau, although there are also tribal divisions emerging from post-settlement iwi structures.

Disenfranchisement

Just as the politico-legal structures of land tenure have been geared against Māori throughout post-contact history, New Zealand's wider political system has also subalternised Māori through ongoing disenfranchisement (Hill, 2004, 2009). As outlined in the earlier discussion within this report, settler states in the Anglosphere are noted for their paternalistic relations toward indigenous people, and for assuming fiduciary responsibility for their 'development.' Such political disenfranchisement, and erosion of self-determination, is known to have traumatic effects on indigenous people generating psychological states of disempowerment, inertia, and dependency (Blackheart et al., 2011; Verba, 1967). This state is illustrated in the following statement, where the participant is describing the need to hold the government to account, and to keep holding them to account, while at the same time, feeling powerless to change anything:

> *'Unless you're there making the policies. Someone's gotta be held accountable and if we don't do anything, if we as a people don't do anything, what right have we to moan about anything. That's how I feel about it. That if we aren't seen to be doing anything then we're actually doing nothing, we're not doing enough…I feel absolutely powerless; feel absolutely powerless to do anything about it because of who has control of all these… that they aren't listening.'* [Female, 49]

Furthermore, many research participants expressed the belief that the only way Māori can affect positive change is to make the change themselves because of the political structural inequalities of the settler state. They believed that Māori need to make an active and persistent effort to carve out their own niche within government, or establish their own forms of government, focused on looking after Māori.

The sense of powerlessness, and disenfranchisement is also expressed by another participant in the below statement, however, she is expressing her exasperation and anger at working for a government agency designed to assist Māori, when she considers that it actually acts in a covert manner to support the further alienation of Māori from their land. Furthermore, she describes

the bureaucratic 'box ticking' exercises that Māori were subject to in order to receive help, however, she could not see any tangible results for whanau:

> '… absolutely hated it. I could see what they were doing. I could see the land field officer, I could see the agenda behind it was to get all the land. I thought oh, this is not right… It was a hidden agenda. It wasn't blatant… People weren't getting the help that they actually needed. Another thing, again, let's just tick the box. Look like we're ticking the box and make it look like we're doing something when really it's just a lot of lip service.' [Female, 49]

However, much of the sense of political disenfranchisement within whānau narratives were not directed at the Crown, but at the new iwi governing structure - TRONT. Whānau were looking to this structure to support them in meeting their aspirations. The problem, as outlined previously, is that the capacity of post-settlement iwi to support aspirations is limited given their economic scale relative to tribal constituents – although their growing political power and economic independence does mean that they offer a conduit for influencing national government policy (Reid and Rout, 2016b). Despite this potential, many participants considered that the current tribal governing structure was not supporting collective action and primarily leading to divisions. This is outlined by the following participant:

> '… we always work best when we're unified. There's nothing unifying us; it only keeps dividing us - "You get back to your patch; what are you doing here?" We are not creating the points of unification where we become united; the corporate structure is not doing that. [Male, 60]

The frustration felt by many Ngāi Tahu research participants comes from the sense that TRONT has a Pākehā institutional structure, and as such will not be able to address the issues faced by Ngāi Tahu. In other words, they see the same institutional structures that have disenfranchised them from the settler political system being replicated in their own iwi and , understandably, believe they will experience the same disempowerment. In particular, the governance structure of TRONT is interpreted by some as distancing them from the decision-making process:

> 'I think there's been a little bit more in a tent from our tribe, our conglomerate of tribes which happened to be called Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, to put things right socially as well. But I think we've got a lot of ways to go… Working in a Pākehā structure; and that's okay, I don't mind that so much, but I don't know if it's going to be the saviour that many of our whānau need. And I am talking about whānau with drug issues.

Like I get the feeling that the people we deal with on a daily basis, through the Act, it's not going to be looked after.' [Male, nu53]

Arguably, underlying this clash is that the contemporary governing structures don't represent the traditional wānanga and collective decision-making configurations (Reid and Rout, 2016b). Furthermore, there is a perception among whānau that the focus of TRONT has gone on generating dividends and asserting centralised control, rather decentralising development and political power. This is illustrated belief in the following narrative:

'My personal feeling about Rūnanga and TRONT, is that sometimes they missed the point and that we bought a whole lot of resources for nothing; doing it all for nothing, to the Rūnanga and to TRONT, and the attitude that those places were positive initially, but when issues strike you kind of get left alone about it… Okay, so now you've gotten into the mode of telling us what to do and we'll do whatever you say we have to do.' [Male, nu53]

Essentially, TRONT is an inversion of the traditional hapū-centric political structure, and to some whānau this reinforces the disenfranchised reality of living in a settler state – whereby even the political structures formed by post-settlement iwi have assumed the same centralised form. This manifested in specific concerns of some participants, with one explaining that there is apprehension that TRONT will take control of the Titi Islands, explaining that it is:

'…the biggest, terrifying fear of every beneficial owner… Ngāti Māmoe were conquered. They knocked them through and threw a leg over our women to get the land. That's the way it was. That's life. We complain about Pākehā; they're doing exactly the same. They've done the same to us from when they got here.' [Female, 72]

For many Rakiura Māori, the concern is that as TRONT has become more powerful, with its control over what were formerly whānau and hapū assets, it will eventually take control of the Titi Islands. As this participant states, she is worried that TRONT are doing 'exactly the same' thing as the settler state.

In summary, there is evidence that disenfranchisement from political power creates a colonising environment that traumatises whānau by removing their ability to self-determination and giving rise to a sense of disempowerment, inertia, and anger. However, it also gives rise to resistance and a desire to attain self-determination. There is concern among whānau that the tribal governing

body TRONT will act in a similar way to the Crown, dividing and centralising political power and assets away from whānau and local areas. Consequently, the colonising environment not only generates a sense of anger and despondency directed toward the Crown, but also a sense of division and alienation within tribal institutions.

Assimilation Pressure

In addition to trauma induced by the political, legal, and economic structures of the settler state, education institutions also inflicted considerable trauma through the overt and covert policies of assimilation. Assimilation policies can take a range of forms, though most commonly in New Zealand the majority of effort was focused on education. At the most basic level, assimilation is a broad curriculum-oriented form of indoctrination, where the syllabus is inherently western in focus and Māoritanga is portrayed as an historical artefact in comparison to modern western civilisation. One participant told us that:

'At school everything Māori was anthropological… Teachers taught Māori… lived in pā and we rode everywhere on waka and we ate hangi…' [Female, nu51 – born around 1964 so about 52]

Portraying Māoritanga as historical is a subtle way of implying that the culture is a relic, or something from the past. As a form of pedagogical programming, it traumatises through shaming individuals. It does this by associating an individual's culture and cultural identity with primitivism and backwardness in comparison to the civilised nature of the settler culture. It is based on strong delineations and differences between the settler and indigenous populations underpinning the colonial narrative, and as a core component of the curriculum during the isolation and early integration periods it was also a key vehicle in perpetuating the narrative.

The most prominent means of educational assimilation – and certainly the one most dominant in the narratives collected – was through language. For many decades in New Zealand speaking Māori at school was banned. Being forced to speak English enforces a different worldview, as Orwell said, "if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought". Also, at a more pragmatic level, this policy disadvantaged those who had to learn in a language that is not their first, further entrenching the other structural inequalities of the settler state. The trauma, though, for the students initially came because they were actively punished for speaking te reo at school even though they spoke it at home, leaving them caught between the two worlds. As one of our participants explained:

'We weren't allowed to talk Māori at school; you got hit over the bloody fingers with the cane…. We never had the opportunities that they've got; like you fellas got to learn Māori and that, 'cause we weren't allowed to.' [Female, 85]

The anger and shame of being physically punished for speaking Māori was evident in the narratives. Several generations were forced into an antagonistic institutional environment where their use of Māori culture was actively attacked, demeaned, and considered inappropriate for educational purposes. This attitude is well encapsulated in the response by a Senior Inspector of the Native Schools to a letter from Apirana Ngata: "if the result [of the education policies] has been to make Maori lose his language, don't forget that in its place he has the finest language in the world and that the retention of Maori is after all largely a matter of sentiment" (O'Sullivan, 2007, 87).

Further evident in the narratives, including the quote above, was that for Māori of the isolation and integration periods, being denied the opportunities that later generations had of learning te reo at school generated a sense of grief at having 'missed out'. Furthermore, there was evidence that this grief was compounded by a sense of jealousy that subsequent generations were able to realise this opportunity. Consequently, the harm and trauma of being punished and shamed for speaking te reo, appeared to also give rise to compounding and subsequent trauma of grief, or loss, and, in turn, jealousy of those who had the opportunity to learn. As a consequence the potential for fracturing between generations was evident, based on opportunities for learning te reo and immersion in Māoritanga.

Many Māori students, particularly those in the isolation or early integration periods, were required to live in two worlds, one where their language and culture was accepted (e.g. in the home or kainga) and at school, where the language was banned and culture demeaned. This gave rise to the experience of living in a contradictory world. This is outlined in the following narrative where one participant told us that her father:

'… grew up in the time when the language was outlawed. It was still spoken at home because grandparents lived with them. So he's living in a life of paradox and uncertainty, and he can do one thing, you're expected, and there you've gotta shut it down. So he lived in that paradigm. He lived in that now you can, now you can't.' [Female, 62]

There was an inevitable tension for those generations during the isolation period who grew up in te reo households but were banned from speaking it at school. They were required to inhabit two contradictory spaces, placing them into a 'life of paradox and uncertainty', where their home life and school life were at odds. It is evident within whānau narratives that this situation created cognitive and emotional stress, with the school environment denigrating and shaming the te reo speaking home environment, and the home environment contradicting the school environment. As this participant says, 'now you can, now you can't'.

While the official ban on te reo was eventually lifted the education system's attitude towards Māori remained negative for a lot longer, the opprobrium of te reo as 'primitive' remained and as a subject it was relegated to a subordinate position within the system for many more years. The shaming process is evident in the following statement, where it is outlined by a daughter how her father ceased to identify with being Māori following his schooling experience:

'Dad came off as an ignorant Māori but I think underneath it all he had a lot more. He was real staunch Māori values and things but I think he had things happen in his life time growing up that he didn't want to be associated with being Māori… he told me that he got caned at school for speaking Māori. I said, "What did you say dad?" and he said, "It was kia ora." He said kia ora accidentally to the teacher and so he got six of the best for that…[Female, nu51]

However, expressing pleasure at the lessening assimilation pressures in the education system, when talking about the difference between her daughter's generation and her own the same participant told us that:

The beauty for my daughter was that Kōhanga was around; she went to Kōhanga. She actually grew up fluent in the reo and she had those opportunities… She grew up in a world where it was okay to be Māori and it was okay to be confident about being Māori; whereas her Aunty and I grew up in a time when that wasn't so cool. It wasn't cool to speak te reo, actually was a non-academic subject, I wasn't allowed to learn it high school and neither was my sister because we were considered to be academic kids.' [Female, nu51]

This statement, once again, reinforces the manner in which te reo Māori was not historically seen as an academic subject, however it also illustrates a shift toward far greater acceptance. It also demonstrates how assimilation pressure remained on individuals to abandon Māori language, even

when the official ban had been lifted, due to the perception that it was non-academic and, hence, was not necessary to succeed in the settler state. This perception reinforced the idea of Māori culture as something backward.

Again the theme of whānau not passing on Māori customs in response to schooling is outlined below:

> *'No and she told us that when she was five, her first day at school, she must have said something in Māori and got a strap for it. But mum as have the other uncles and aunties have also said that pop and nana have been told that there was no future for Māori so they must bring their children up as European because that was the way of the future so they did.' [Female, 56]*

Once again, this illustrates how a key function of the curriculum was to teach that Māori culture and te reo were backward and historic, and that to be a successful in the settler state required the adoption of British culture and language. This is reiterated by the participant below, who connects the racist assimilation policies with the decision of her whānau to not pass on tikanga Māori:

> *'But she used to tell us that they weren't allowed to speak Māori at school and they weren't allowed to do this and they were taught that the Pākehā way was better… So she imbedded that I think in her kids, in her older kids in particular.' [Female, nu46]*

Thus, as well as all the other influencers, education played a key role in creating the pervasive sense of the Māori way as being a relic that is expressed in the above narratives. This created psychosocial challenge that will be in later sections of this report.

The challenges faced by each generation also created difficult intergenerational dynamics. As outlined previously, there was evidence of jealousy among older generations for the opportunities of younger generations – generating intergenerational tensions. However, another common theme was younger generations expressing confusion regarding why they were not taught te reo Māori by the parents, or grandparents, or did not have customs passed on to them. This is expressed in the below narrative:

> *'I always wondered why dad didn't speak te reo Māori with us when we were growing up; he didn't teach it to us but of course he was in the era because kids were strapped for speaking it so he had this block I would*

say. Mum was the same; she can speak te reo as well. It was dad's first language. I went through this period of thinking why didn't our parents teach us these things.' [Female, 52]

Within some whānau children were sent to Māori church-run boarding schools. Unsurprisingly, these schools were not immune to the assimilation pressures. Another participant explained that:

'… the specific purpose to go… [to a Māori church-run boarding school] from my mum and dad's point of view and to learn te reo 'cause they recognised how much they'd lost… Anyway so perfect opportunity to learn from girls who were fluent I thought. So at all opportunities I tried to do that and they were a bit hesitant and then I found out why, because you weren't allowed to korero Māori. Then it became known that you were not allowed to korero Māori, that's what the Māori lesson was for you had once a week. And so didn't want to take any notice of that. But however I spent the nearly four years that I was there doing lots of punishment… For talking and it was predominantly trying to te reo. And I had to stop in the end because the people that I was talking to were punished as well.' [Female, 70]

In short, te reo Māori treated as a 'subject' rather than a living language. However, it was not just Pākehā who were involved in this form of assimilation pressure but also Māori school teachers – which demonstrates the extent of internalized shame. This is illustrated in the statement below:

'I remember I had an argument with a girl one time; I was just a little teenager and was a little egg. I think I got so frustrated and angry that I started yelling at her in te reo and she cried. I got pulled into the matron's office and I got told that te reo Māori is a waste of time and it will never get me anywhere… I will never forget it and she said it with the straightest face. I thought, "Oh yeah, I'm going to show you, watch me." So from them on that has really helped me… She was Māori.' [Female, nu47]

In sum, the educational institutions of the settler state were specifically calibrated to assimilate Māori and denigrate Māori culture. This created a colonising environment characterized by systemic abuse, where speaking the language was first physically punished, and later marginalised within the curriculum. This had the effect of generating shame for being Māori, which can be directly correlated with whānau decisions to stop speaking the language and transmitting traditions. In essence whānau internalised the colonial ideas of their culture being backward, primitive, and a relic. However, changes in education policy have meant that this abuse has reduced significantly, with a new generation coming through who are more culturally fluent than the previous generation. Nonetheless there are also intergenerational tensions as older generations can feel

jealousy toward younger generations, and younger generations' confusion as to why they did not have traditions passed onto them. Consequently, the colonising environment also infiltrates families to generate not only shame, but also conflict.

Results – Psychosocial

The first set of traumas outlined above were caused by structural mechanisms, or more specifically forms of psychological and physical harm that derive directly from the formal structures of the settler state, namely political systems, legal systems, and education systems. The structural mechanisms that cause trauma are overt and can be relatively easily identified – such as politico-legal land alienation and disenfranchisement, economic marginalisation, and assimilation policies. In other words, the causational flow is fairly obvious and easily discerned. However, the psychosocial mechanisms of colonial trauma are more covert and their causational dynamics are more complex. While it would be incorrect to label the structural mechanisms as 'causes' and the psychosocial ones as 'effects', the former do cause effects for the latter. However, the psychosocial mechanisms are themselves causational, particularly in the way they cascade through individuals and populations. One primary difference is that the psychosocial mechanisms create a psychologically-toxic environment that directly undermines the collective (Māori, iwi, hapū and whānau) identity and sense of self. As outlined above, the formal structures of the settler state can also create toxic psychological environments (e.g. schools cultivating a shaming environment); however, they are different to the psychosocial mechanisms in that are dependent on the ongoing structures (e.g. schools, land boundaries, courts, trading markets) for their effect. Conversely, the psychosocial mechanisms of harm not only directly attack the cultural identity and sense of self, but once catalysed can continue to ricochet through a group in an increasingly complex set of causes and effects. Certainly, the structural mechanisms have negative if indirect impacts on identity and self, but as will be shown, the psychosocial mechanisms act in a far more direct and complex manner. As is outlined below, the primary mechanisms of psychosocial harm are: racism; alienation from tūrangawaewae; and cultural denigration. A fourth mechanisms emerges from the previous three and involves the internal perpetuation of conflicting and negative self-concepts within individuals, whānau and tribes. The effects of each of the psychosocial mechanisms are explored sequentially below.

Racism

As has been explained throughout this report, settlers bring with them a colonial narrative that portrays themselves as racially and culturally superior in comparison to the primitive and backward indigenous inhabitants. This narrative is used to justify racism, or the prejudice against Māori based on their racial features and customs. As will be outlined in the results below, although the racism is less direct today it still exists, operating in gradual or subtle way. Racism, of course, goes beyond the colonial narrative and is an almost unavoidable outcome of interactions between different cultures and ethnicities – dynamics which are mapped out by numerous social psychologists. However, racism based on the colonial narrative is specifically applied to indigenous people by the coloniser to magnify the differences between groups and remove similarities and shared values, justifying colonisation. More particularly the narrative predefines the traits of what is it is to be Māori, or indigenous, and therefore frames, limits or 'boxes in' the indigenous 'other.'

Within our results we find that whānau experiencing racism had a tendency to feel 'confined,' to 'shutdown,' and not be able themselves. As one participant told us:

> *'It wasn't okay for Māori to exist too much beyond their given station thanks Jack. You can be this big but don't try to exist too much down here because we're expert at clipping wings. Let's show you how that works… We struck all kinds of interesting stuff, boy. They crossed the road when they saw us coming. They called us strange names, half caste and quarter caste and rough caste. … And the thing is my Māori family were all shot down. They'd shut off. It was too hard to try and navigate that stuff. It was shut down Jack. They had shut down… I felt I'd lived in a straightjacket; that something that was in me couldn't exist too much. Something that made up a good part of my life couldn't exist too much.' [Female, 62]*

This narrative outlines how the Māori self is denied its freedom to be, and perhaps problematically how this view becomes internalised within the whānau as they shut down the expression of this part of themselves. This represents the shaming effect of racism (based on the underlying colonial narrative), distancing the whānau from Māori culture and tradition. Furthermore, it also outlines how the colonial narrative creates a narrow identity that 'boxes in' the whānau by 'clipping their wings' and placing them in a psychologically subordinate position where they cannot 'exist too much beyond their given station'.

It is also clear in the data that the shaming effect of racism drove many whānau to abandon Māori culture and assimilate. This is outlined in the following quote:

'… the neighbours walked past our place saying, "That poor [woman] and that older girl living with all those Māoris." Not all the neighbours of course. But that's the social environment that we were in and mum and dad knew we were and they believed they were protecting us by making us less different by allowing us to integrate; and in fact not integrate, to assimilate into Pākehā society which we did largely.' [Female, 61]

However, integration into Pakehā society often was not possible as racial differences were continually highlighted. This was particularly the case for intermarriage where many Pakehā families rejected Māori entering their family. This is outlined in the following quote:

'Dad's family because they pretty much disowned dad when he married mum. Some of my uncles wouldn't talk to us, any of us kids, because we were half-castes.' [Female, 50]

The result of this interfamily racism was that the interviewee did not get to know her Pākehā family. However, to make matters more problematic, her mother internalised the shame of being Māori and chose not to pass on Ngāi Tahu culture and tradition to her children. This is illustrated in the following statement made by the mother of the participant above:

'Yeah we're Māori, my family are Māori, but you don't need that, you don't need to know all that, it's over, you don't need that in this world, it's done.' [Female, 50]

Consequently, a situation is created where the participant's mother attempted to assimilate into her husband's family but was then rejected despite her efforts. This illustrates the double-bind of settler racism, where there is a demand to abandon indigenous culture, but at the same time there is a rejection of becoming part of the settler culture. Fanon (1967) was the first to identify and catalogue the raft of traumas this situation generates, including an inferiority complex, self-doubt, impaired will and, in extreme cases, insanity.

However, it was not just from Pākehā that this form of ostracism can occur. It was also explained by some interviewees how their parent ended up being rejected by both their Māori and Pakehā families due to an interracial marriage. This is illustrated in the following quote form a participant, when asked about his mother's marriage to a Pākehā, he told us:

'… she always felt that she sort of missed out there also, because being Māori she wasn't accepted in that family or she wasn't accepted in the other family either, because she was Māori.' [Male, 72]

In other words, not only did his mother experience racism from the Pākehā family that she married into but she also was subjected to a negative reaction by her own family. This shows how the ripples of settler colonisation create a divisive situation where families, communities and ethnicities are pulled apart.

This challenge can be seen in another participant's narrative, however in quite a different way:

'… dad really tried to distance himself from that I think and tried to keep us kids away. He didn't want us to have Māori names because his name was Paku and he got crap from it; even from his Māori mate and the Māori kids he grew up with. He got made fun of and he always used to go, "Look I'm a little short fat Māori man and that's because I've got this, that's my name Paku, and that's what it means to be short".' [Female, nu51]

This narrative demonstrates how the racism against Māori is not only expressed by Pakehā but also becomes internalised and expressed by Māori communities themselves. In this particular situation Māori children were making fun of another Māori child because they had a Māori name. This led the interviewee's father to give his children Pākehā names so they would not be subject to ridicule. This is what might be thought of as a form of 'intra-ethnic racism' which may create strong divisions within the ethnic group.

The internalisation of the racist colonial narratives was also evidence in other narratives. For example, one participant, talking about an acquaintance of his, told us that:

'I still remember one guy in particular… I can remember crossing the road down there and I had a half peeled banana in my hand - and this sounds crazy doesn't it - standing in the middle of the road waiting for cars to pass and then him commenting to me, and basically it was a reference about Māori and apes with me standing there. I still remember thinking "You arsehole," but not having the balls to confront him at the time.' [Male, nu54]

The conflation of indigenous people with animals is a common mechanism of the settler narrative, it fits into the Darwinian-oriented evolutionism that underpins much settler discourse. Specifically,

this comment implies that Europeans are more evolutionarily-advanced than indigenous people. This trend was also present in another participant's statement:

'… they used to call the house where dad and them… lived I suppose, or ones from the pā, probably all the young ones from the pā, the taxi drivers used to call it the jungle; and Māori's having a great sense of humour used to think it was funny but actually the Pākehā's are saying that's where the niggers go down to the jungle they live; it must have been really bad.' [Female, 51]

Once again the 'the jungle' carries with it the inference that Māori are primitive. This type of racism illustrates the influence of the settler narrative as a means of framing Māori in an oppositional manner, while Pākehā are 'advanced' Māori are 'backward'. And while she says her father found it funny she notes, 'it must have been really bad'. Reinforcing the negativity of her father's experience, the same participant also discussed how:

'Mum and dad both talked about the racism in Christchurch when they were first married because they had to take their Pākehā friends with them to ring up landlords to get flats in the houses. They would get their Pākehā mates to ring up and they would get it for them and then they would get the house.' [Female, 51]

This statement shows the psychosocial challenges Māori faced when integrating. Racist behaviour by landlords was one of the most common forms of discrimination Māori faced as they moved into the cities, with some even advertising housing as 'European only' (Woods, 2002). The same issue arose in another participant narrative, where a participant told us that his 'more Māori looking' brother and he:

'… learnt when we were hitchhiking that I would stand on the road and thumb the cars. We found out by trial and error that if he was the one doing it the cars wouldn't stop. It was exactly the same thing with going to look for flats; I would go and do that. They would find out when they came to visit but it was too late by then; I'm talking about the people that owned the flats.' [Male, nu54]

Another common theme within the Ngāi Tahu narratives was the association of being Māori and being poor and uneducated. This is outlined in the following statement:

'And yeah I remember [my sister] saying, "What's this nigger?" And she got called, "Nigger, nigger, nigger."
And she went home and Dad goes (phew sound) like this. But yeah that's when we started think, "Well are
we different." One, we didn't wear shoes.' [Female, 52]

In short, the quote demonstrates that a lack of shoes, that being poor, was a mark associated with being Māori. Such associations reinforced the colonial narrative, which correlated not only race and culture with low levels of development, but also characteristics a lack of shoes with being uncivilised. A common thread through the narratives illustrating the presence of the colonial narrative was the manner in Māori were associated with traits of social underdevelopment. This is demonstrated in the following statement:

'What I don't like is when, "Oh yeah, typically Māori," when it comes to things like anything like benefits,
Corrections. Anything that has a negative connotation to it, "Oh yeah, typical Māori." I don't like that. I
said, "Yeah, I'm Māori. I'm proud to be Māori but we're not all in the same basket. We make our own
decisions. We make our own choices."' [Female, nu72]

In addition to noting the negative connotations associated with being Māori the interviewee also perceptively notes the generalising nature of settler narratives, which place Māori into singular stereotypical categories that deny individual agency or intra-group variation.

To be exposed to such an onslaught of negative reinforcement impacts on both the cultural identity and self-perception. It reinforces a narrow and negative version of who and what 'Māori' are and does it in a way that never raises any of the reasons for certain issues, such as higher incarceration rates for Māori. Few media stories explain that Māori have a far more biased experience with the justice system than Pākehā – a dynamic that is itself driven by the settler narrative, with police, the judicial system and juries all generally perceiving Māori to be more criminally-inclined than others (O'Reilly, 2014). The racism in the contemporary settler state is not always as brutal as it once was, but this does not mean it has lost its power to traumatise. An example of this can be seen in this participant's statement:

'I did some ethnicity training at [work] and a colleague, who I hold in very high regard, had a high standing,
saying as he was handing over, there was this lady and he said, "Her teeth are causing her trouble, she's got
no teeth. She's a typical Māori lady." I said "I beg your pardon, what do you mean by a typical Māori
lady?" He said, "Oh, I didn't mean to offend you" and I said, "Too late". I said, "What do you mean by

that?" 'Cause, actually, I'm a Māori lady and I wanna know what a typical Māori lady looks like... So, I actually challenged him on that and he kind of backpedalled and he said, "Oh no, no, I just meant that she was..." "Cause a lot of older Māori ladies don't have teeth" and I said, "Perhaps but I know plenty of Māori ladies that wouldn't be seen dead without their teeth. Most of my whānau for starters, we're far too vain". It was just... I couldn't believe it. That would've been in the two thousands, so it's still alive and well, racism, institutional racism.' [Female, 55]

This form of stigmatising Māori by negative categorisation remains common, however, the subtle nature of the settler narrative means that many Pākehā are not aware of their judgements. As she explains her colleague tried to say he 'didn't mean to offend you', his was a subliminal racism that obviously angered her more because she held him in high regard and because it happened so recently when she may have hoped that racism was declining.

While the overt racism of previous eras may have decreased, Māori still face psychosocial challenges in the contemporary era that perpetuate trauma. Another participant, when asked if there was anything in particular he wanted to talk about, explained:

'...I have a problem with is that when I'm out and about, socialising or whatever, bowls and that, this fortnight ago a chap sitting at our table and we're having a beer after bowls said, "Well, that chap's got the Māori cheque book now".' [Male, 72]

This interviewee, who grew up in the first generation of urban integration, is still facing racist attitudes in the contemporary era. However, while this stigmatising racism still exists, and Māori have become more politically and economically powerful, a new form of racism has emerged:

'These days, you know, people would say something about – oh well, we've got a water pond at golf. It's a pond, you know. We were playing golf there one day and somebody said to me, "Oh, do you own the pond? Are we allowed to get in to get our golf ball out?"... It was when with the water rights thing ... Yes, "do you own the pond". I sort of looked at them and said, "Do you want me to laugh or what?"... You now hear people talking about special things for Māoris – Māoris as they say.' [Female, 75]

This new form of racism is now directed at the economic power and emerging political influence of iwi. This appears to be another iteration of the colonial narrative, which does not allow the

success of Māori to be associated with Māori innate skills and abilities, but can only associate their success with special treatment and help from the settler state.

Within the narratives outlined above, it is demonstrated that Ngāi Tahu across several generations have experienced racism, which despite becoming more subtle and even changing in nature still retains its power to traumatise. This racism creates harm by denigrating and stigmatising, which in turn generates shame and anger, and places psychological boundaries on personal growth and development. The racism is not only experienced personally but also collectively as the cohesion and pride of an ethnic grouping is eroded. Furthermore, it encourages assimilation through the internalisation of the settler narrative, which undermines a positive and coherent Māori and Ngāi Tahu identity.

Alienation from Tūrangawaewae

Land and authority over natural resources are core to Māori identity, land is an ancestor and the source of personal and familial psychological and physical wellbeing. Alienation from land is more than just the loss of a resource or the loss of political autonomy – it is also a direct assault on identity. Furthermore, land and place is a point of belonging where whānau, hapu and iwi derive, it is a site for social connections. Consequently, alienation from land can act as a direct psychosocial trauma. This was particularly apparent in the integration period as whānau and hapū became physically dispersed from each other, when they use to be geographically proximate. This psychosocial mechanism has a strong linkage to structural changes as land and authority over land lead to the disintegration of whānau and hapū mana.

The graph below shows the percentage of participants who experienced a 'separation from place' in each age cohort:

Separation from place

	60+	50-59	36-49	21-35
	62%	59%	53%	35%
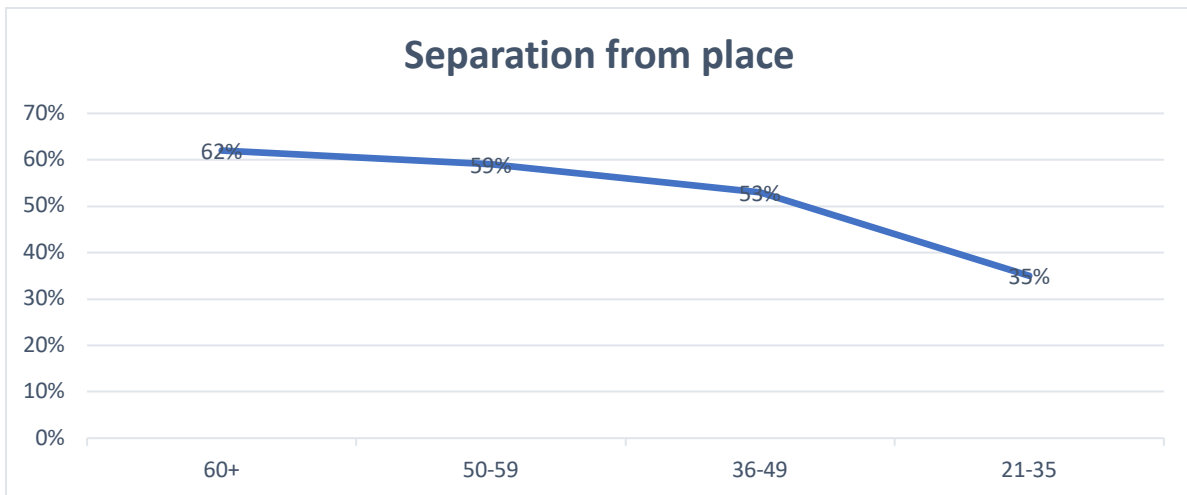
We also mapped the numbers who felt a 'separation from kinship' in each cohort, as can be seen in the graph below:

Separation from kinship

	60+	50-59	36-49	21-35
	29%	45%	47%	15%
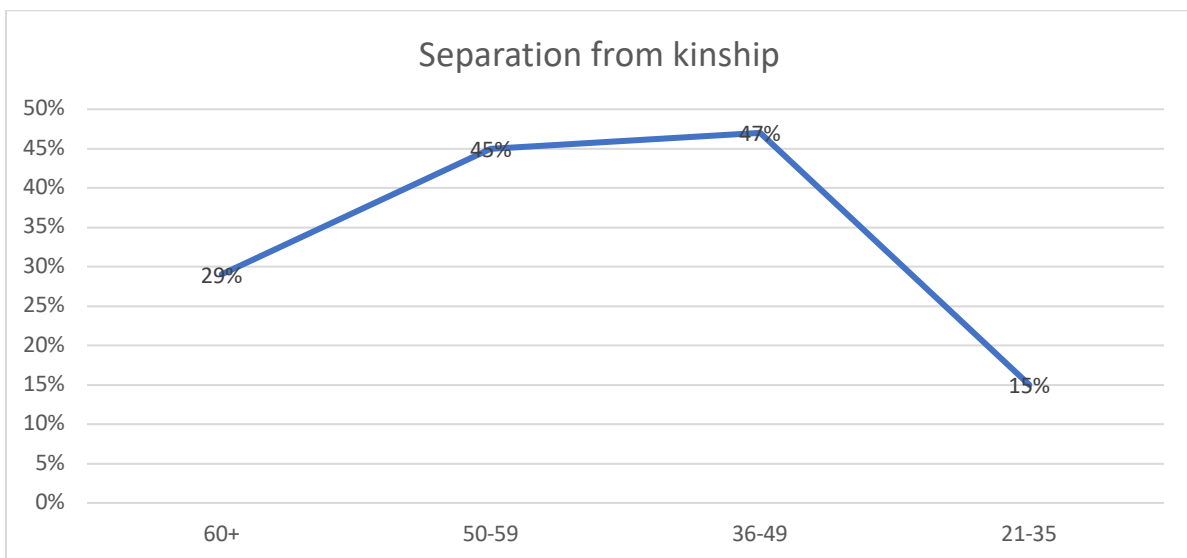
As can be seen in both of these graphs, there was a major decline in both of these for the youngest cohort, those raised in the late integration and early invigoration period. Also interesting is the relative lack of 'separation from kinship' the oldest cohort experienced.

Within the narratives a trend can be identified in which trauma is experience from first the physical separation from land, and second from psychological separation. In the following narrative the interviewee tells of his alienation from the whānau land, which can be traced to changes in the laws surrounding Māori land ownership that enabled certain family members to be excluded from

inheritance. The land was a place where he was raised, and where he belongs. Separation from the land has generated some anguish, which has been compounded by the logging of forests native to the land:

'… the thing was that when Grandfather… passed on he willed the Māori land to Aunty… and two of her children. So we missed out on all of that which was quite... It doesn't particularly worry me, but deep down it does. We can't go back onto that land that we used to go onto it. We can't go back onto that land that we used to go onto it. You know it was part of [our] block, it was ours and we could do what we wanted on it sort of thing, but now we can't. And people came in and sawmilled, you know cut the trees down of recent times which was not good either… Yeah. But it hurts a lot because… we've still got some Māori land at Riverton and things like that, but it's not the same 'cause that's where we were brought up… we didn't sort of connect to it.' [Male, 72]

Rather than being traumatised by being disenfranchised from the ownership of land, we also found numerous examples of individuals losing their connection to their ancestral lands through the fragmentation of Māori land. This is illustrated in the following statement:

'No, I think there's a small strip of land. It's owned by hundreds and hundreds… You don't feel any connection to it.' [Female, 40]

Another participant expressed a related sentiment, however, she is referring to the effect of collectivising assets, including many individual whānau property rights (e.g. to take tītī), into the centralised iwi structures. She sees this as an inherently alienating process through which their individual connection and identity with their tūrangawaewae is undermined.

'… the government want to be able to deal with [the iwi] rather than having to deal with the 40,000; they need to be able to collectively deal with us as a people. I get that it takes take away a bit of who we are and what we are and our connection with that land and those things.' [Female, nu50]

A common theme also emerged among whānau – the zoning of Māori land and wahi tapu for waste disposal. This process caused considerable anger, grief, and anguish among whānau, as sites key to their history, identity, and spiritual connection to land were used in ways that directly disrespected their culture, tupuna (ancestors), and other whakapapa (genealogical connections) – including land and water. One participant told us:

'… so the council then put a council house on there, farmland, and a sewage and a rubbish dump… So, the bits that I remember about [this tapu area] and growing up is not as much as dad would talk about, because they stopped talking about it. So when they put the rubbish dump there, they were angry, but you didn't know why they were angry. When Toa went past, she would have a cry or she would be sad or there'd be a moment of silence, you know, there'd be that moment of silence but you didn't know why. You just knew that there was something, that there was a reason for that place, but you didn't know it and so as a child growing up, I remember it as the rubbish dump. I remember going there to have a look for stuff… So as we grew older, we grew up with more knowledge; the stories started to come out and when the whare was built was when they really started to talk about the history then. That was when the interest fell for me because I knew the place, but now I was about to know it even more. You know, I was about to be privy to so much information that it was just overwhelming at times, especially when you started to learn about [this tapu area]. So it was really coming down in the last rain shower type of information, because all of a sudden you were angry, sad, and everything.' [Female, 35]

This phenomenon is again described in a second narrative, where a road is put through an urupa (cemetery). Once again, the disenfranchised status of the whānau is demonstrated, where they have no control over council and government activities, which leads to denigration of places key to their whānau identity, and sense of spiritual connection to place and tupuna:

'My grandfather was buried in the local cemetery, and when they fixed the road, they ran over him – that's over his grave … They ran over the cemetery … It is hard to go over the road. I hate going down that piece of road. I really do. It's horrible.' [Female, 75]

Another related theme concerns the connection between land treatment and human health. The participant below expresses her concern regarding the use of 1080 poison to control pests in native forest areas, and the associated toll this might eventually have on humans:

'I can relate the same thing to the 1080 drops. Everything that they're doing, it doesn't surprise me that our people are getting more and more sick because this is how we're supposed to be looking after it and the power has been taken out of our hands and they're not listening.' [Female, 49]

This connection between loss of land, the way the land was treated and personal illness was common in the narratives. This theme is supported by Durie's (2004, 1142) study of 400 Māori over 60. Durie found that "wellbeing for older Maori was therefore conceptualized as an

interaction between personal health perspectives and participation in certain key elements of Maori society e.g. land, language, marae". Further illustrating this perspective, another participant makes a strong connection to the physical damage of her father's heart to the emotional damage to his heart of having to cut down native trees to support their family:

'It's very hard to put together in your head when you think that because there wasn't any land to farm or anything, like enough for all of the family to farm that people had to go and fell trees, which is totally against what... You know to fell that for a living, yeah. And yeah I can't remember my father saying things like he'd rather; he thinks that why he has his heart attack at 40. We'd say, "What do you think dad?" He said, "To get out of cutting down trees that I don't want to cut down but I have to do to provide food 'cause there's no other work here".' [Female, 70]

In this sense the emotional trauma removing the forest is connected with physical trauma. This theme is supported by the research of Mark and Lyon (2010, 1760) which found that Māori understood that "committing an offence to the land and showing a lack of respect for the land" could result in illness. This reciprocal interaction between the land and personal health is core to hauora.

Another participant also noted the connection they saw between land loss and their health, describing the harmful process of their whānau being separating from the land as that of becoming 'broken.'

'I do absolutely connect the loss of land to poor and bad mental health in our family ... People have considered our family to have had mental health issues, and the doctors have always said it is genetic and all that, and I know it isn't. Well, maybe it is now but it wasn't then... I have put that firmly and squarely on the fact that they were moved off the land... They were told to go... I think they tried to hang in there as long as they possibly could ... it broke them... Back then it was a really thriving place, [but] once we got colonised then you all got moved off...all your kaika and your interests all gone, all lost... and it was tough.' [Female, 52]

Another participant has also identified connection between land alienation and social and health problems, telling us that whānau were 'pushed into unbelievable situations' through this process from which drinking and gambling problems can be directly attributed:

'I do believe [the social and health problems are a] direct result of what happened in the colonisation process and how people were pushed and put into unbelievable situations… people lost their land and their homes that had been with them for generations… Like gambling and drinking weren't an issue prior to colonisation. They weren't, they just weren't… they're driven by deprivation.' [Male, 52]

Another participant attributed the illness and death of her father to the severe trauma, pain, and anguish from being separated from his whānau land and lake:

'There's a bit of alcohol issues and mental health issues and I have put that firmly a squarely on the fact of when they were moved off the land at [the reserve]. They were asked to go in 1937 but they didn't get off until 1945 so I think they tried to hang in there as long as they possibly could, but because of no work it broke them. Tāua still had her connections at [several whenua] but dad's father was not really connected to there, not in his heart; whakapapa yes but I think he died over the lake and not being around that and not being on their land. He died only eight years later… the same time dad was born; that was when they got the notice to get off the land. I think he had a bit of spell there, so there had been a bit of poverty because of the depression in the 30's, they'd had a number of deaths in the family, young cousins, and he was quite a lot older. I just think it was all too much for him because you don't get mental illness at 50. I think he was totally depressed and not happy.' [Female, 51]

We also found a number of specific references to how not having tūrangawaewae resulted in a state of listlessness, casting people adrift, unable to settle either mentally or physically. One participant explained to us, when asked about their connection to land:

'Actually I don't consider anywhere my home. I think that's another problem… I have a theory. That is a problem with me 'cause that's why I travel. I really have not found the place to put my heart in. I will always be [my hapu].' [Male, 55]

Another participant told us a similar story; however, her experience of being 'adrift' from place is combined with feeling alienated from those who have remained on the land and connected to it as ahikā:

*'A: I feel very actually quite disjointed from where I come from… I feel disconnected in terms of when I got to whānau hui out there I know I belong there but I don't feel I belong there. Like all the ones that were kind of raised around that area they all know each other and there's more of a connection and I feel like I'm sort of more of an intruder and a bit of an outsider.' [Female, 46]*

In summary, alienation from whenua appeared to cause a number of psychosocial traumas. First separation was linked with anxiety and grief, which many whānau attributed to early death, illness, and addiction issues within their whānau. Second, pollution, or harm to the land, was directly linked to personal illnesses and early death by whānau. Third, the denigration of wahi tapu was associated with grief, mourning and loss of key connections to tupuna, culture and whakapapa. Fourth, the lack of recognition of individual whānau connections and rights to particular sights of cultural importance was associated with anger and feelings of disconnection. Finally, not having a tūrangawaewae was associated with listlessness and being adrift. Consequently, the colonising environment, characterised by the psychological alienation from land, is connected by whānau with various forms of psychological suffering.

Alienation From and Degradation of Māori Cultural Identity

As outlined previous, a primary vector for psychosocial trauma is the internalisation of colonial narratives that portray Māori culture as undesirable, primitive and backwards, in comparison to European culture as desirable, civilised and modern. There is strong evidence throughout this report that this narrative, during colonisation, has become internalised among many whānau. Clearly, the education system, as outlined, was a primary mechanism for indoctrinating whānau into this narrative, however, so too was the poverty in the kainga that demanded whānau integrate into Pakehā-dominated urban areas. However, perhaps even more problematically, the colonial narrative is pervasive in Western culture (from laws to literature, from movies to media), and, as such, its internalisation is difficult to avoid. As will be outlined in the next two sections, the internalisation of this narrative harms the psyche in a number of ways, which, in turn, generates a number of cascading negative psychological and social traumatic effects.

The below graph shows the people who experienced a 'separation from culture' by cohort:
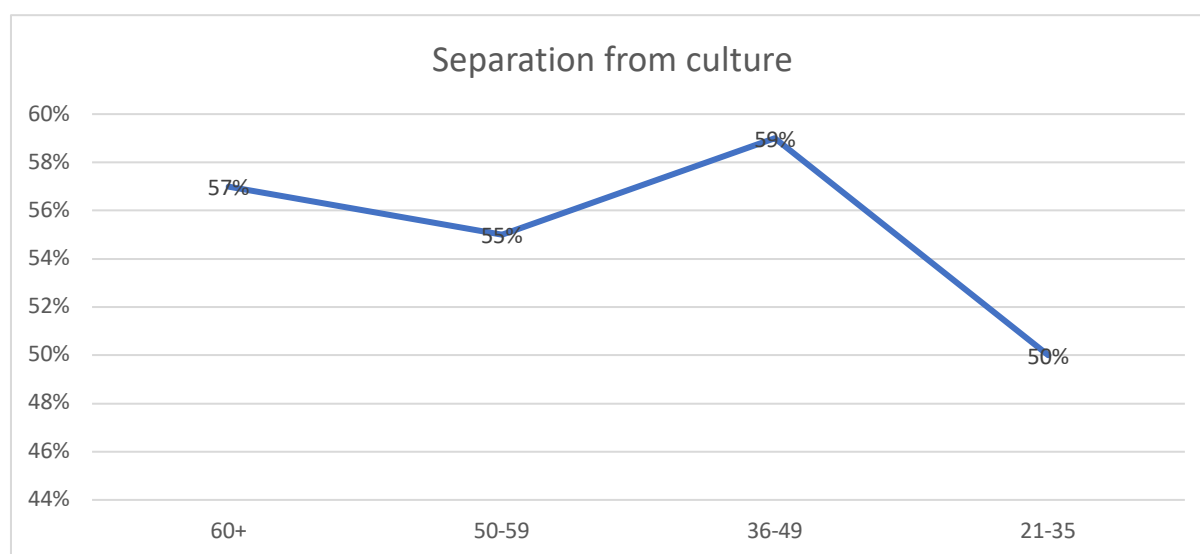
While the numbers of those 'separated from culture' were higher than expected for the oldest cohort, the decline for the younger cohort fitted better general expectations of the invigoration period.

To begin with we find whanau, particularly in in the late isolation and early integration periods, making explicit decisions not to pass on Māori culture, language and tradition as they are seen as historic and backward. This is outlined in the following statement where the participant is

discussing her father's decision not to pass on Māori culture because of his belief that there would be 'nothing for' the children as 'Māoris':

'Well Dad always said to us that when we were born, as each one was born, he said to Mum, "What do you want your kids brought up, how do you want your kids brought up? Do you want them brought up as Māoris or Pākehās?" And he said, "Before you say anything there's nothing for them as Māoris," he said, "There never will be".' [Female, 85]

This theme was echoed across many whānau narratives, with another participant, telling us how his father, with clear influence from the colonial narrative, called the Pakehā road the 'high road' and the Māori road the 'low road':

'More so Dad's side; he always said, you know what I mean, if you want to choose any way in life choose the Pākehā way. His silly old saying was, "There's two roads; ones the Pākehā side and one's the Māori side." And I always used to take the Pākehā side; the top road. That's what he always said, "Take the top road." And of course I took it right all through my life. To me it paid dividends; I stuck with what he had told me in earlier years, so I did… a lot of my sisters married Pākehās because that was the trail we were told to take in our early years.' [Male, 80]

Another participant, talking about her family also described the pressure to assimilate:

'… mum as have the other uncles and aunties have also said that pop and nana have been told that there was no future for Māori so they must bring their children up as European because that was the way of the future so they did. Mum did say that nana and pop both spoke Māori, they were both fluent, but only spoke it when they didn't want the kids to know something… It would seem that our parents' generation were the first link if you like to Western, everything in a Western way if you know what I mean. They were told and brought up as European. They knew that there was no way forward for Māori because their parents had told them that. I don't know about the younger ones; but the older ones were betrayed but they never followed that tikanga either. So there was a lot of… I guess for them it started to disconnect.' [Female, 56]

In both of the above cases, the narratives of each whānau described the decisions to raise the children as Pākehā as means of integrating and succeeding in the Pākehā world. However, what makes the situation problematic is that much of culture is transferred in practices, or simple ways of acting and behaving that embody cultural values, and cannot be easily abandoned. In other

words, abandoning language, formal rituals and codified forms of knowledge (e.g. concepts) can be achieved, however, knowledge embedded in behaviours, and ethnic physical features, cannot be easily abandoned. Consequently, within the whānau narratives there is also evidence that although there was an attempt to raise children as Pākehā they did not become Pākehā. As one of our participant's told us his grandparents:

'… were raised as Europeans so effectively their knowledge of [our rohe's] history, the older whakapapa, is lost 'cause it wasn't handed down. So effectively they almost ceased being Māori…. they still actually know a lot because while they were raised as Europeans, their parents were Māori and still engaged in Māori activities: karakia, the marae, tangi. So they weren't taught a lot but they observed a lot.' [Male, 32]

This theme is also illustrated by another statement:

'… I think it started the generation above us; they'd lost on it. But because they were sticklers on kaupapa Māori, we were just brought up Māori eh, we didn't know we were brought up Māori. So a lot of the tikanga that was old, that they had, they'd retained, was installed in us. We didn't have the language though. And we didn't have the whakapapa. Whakapapa wasn't big with us.' [Male, 55]

Another participant provided further understanding of this situation in reply to a question about tikanga:

'Which wasn't a word that we ever used. You didn't know that were tikanga, we just; all we really knew was you were allowed to do that; you weren't allowed to do that sort of thing. And I was always one to ask, "Why?" Well they didn't tell you why did they? Well a lot of the time they didn't tell you why.' [Female, 70]

We found a similar theme another participant's narrative:

'So those sort of things that [my father] really drummed into us he doesn't really understand that its tikanga. Because he didn't grow up on the marae he didn't grow up with the language but he grew up following the practices of his father and his grandfather and his uncles. So he got tikanga in that sense… For them it was just life; it was just the way they done things.' [Male, 34]

The statements from these whānau clearly demonstrate that a transition occurred across generations. Older generations, in the isolation period, were raised and immersed within Māori culture, including formal rituals, te reo Māori and Māori concepts communicated through that language. As a consequence, they were culturally fluent and possessed a single and holistic cultural identity. The decision made to raise children in the late isolation and integration periods as Pākehā meant that they did not receive this formal and codified knowledge. Despite this they did receive knowledge-in-practice (preontological knowledge) that is embedded in behaviours; however, they lost many of the explicit markers of Māori identity, and the language to describe and explain their embodied knowledge. Simultaneously, these generations also gained many of the key markers of Pākehā identity, including language and worldview. From a positive perspective this provided members of these generations with more tools to operate in the Pakehā world; however, it also created the grounds for identity conflicts and confusion – the cognitive dissonance of not being either fully Pākehā or fully Māori.

Consequently, within whānau, children were not being brought up as Pākehā, but were rather having a mixture of the two cultural identities instilled. What makes this problematic is that during this period of colonisation the identities were in conflict, with the Māori identity deemed backward and inferior, and the Pākehā identity superior and developed. In this way the identities were incompatible as they were in conflict, giving rise to the experience of shame for being Māori, whilst not being able to identify with, or belong among Pākehā. Thus, while children in pre-contact society were absorbing a *single holistic cultural identity*, those in post-integration society were unequally exposed to *two antagonistic cultural identities*. This type of upbringing – essentially living between two worlds – creates a uniquely colonial mixture of identities, where two different and antagonistic identities lead to individual psychological suffering and group disintegration (Hogan, 2000). The consequences of the unequal emphasis on the two conflicting cultural identities can be seen in the following participant's narrative, who explained that her mother:

> '… had poi made of harakeke and a lot of hunks of pounamu, you know greenstone, chisels and bits and pieces, photos. And she'd say, "Yeah we're Māori, my family are Māori, but you don't need that, you don't need to know all that, it's over, you don't need that in this world, it's done." She'd come out with comments like that. "How do you use these poi mum?" and she'd go, "You don't need to know, it's just something that they used to do." She left it; she parked it up… [Female, 50]

The statement demonstrates the cognitive conflict that occurs when attempting to manage two antagonistic identities. These identities come out in statements such as 'we' and 'they,' whereby the participant's mother refers to herself as Māori, then refers to Māori as 'they,' then suggests that her daughter need not know about being Māori. These conflicts were most apparent in the generation that was raised in the later isolation, and early integration periods. The identity conflict is again outlined in the statement below, where being Māori is associated with shame, and something to not talk about, yet, is still being practiced in an implicit way:

> '…I don't know that much about it. We weren't brought up with a lot of Māori stuff… So that's kind of a big gap of stuff, of knowledge and stuff… but yeah Nana never really… it was never really a thing with us which is a real big shame… maybe deep down we did know [we were Māori]. Like I knew we were Māori and obviously nana looked Māori, and dad would be the darker one of all of them, but it was just never something that you could ask her. It wasn't something that she would be comfortable talking about… But then you know she had her little traditions. Just little things like when we were kids we were never allowed toi toi inside; just little things like that.' [Female, 37]

Similarly, in the statement below, we can see both a sense of shame in being Māori, and a clear denial of being Māori among an older generation; however we also see the younger generation tracing the origins of this shame and denial:

> 'We heard Pop speaking Māori to them and when we questioned him later on about what he was saying, he just turned around and said, "I don't speak their language I don't know what you're talking about," and pretty much just denied it… They were very clear about that, not just... my grandfather… but also his other brothers and sisters. They grew up with their uncles and aunties; they grew up with their kaumātua , they grew up with people that had the language but it was a conscious decision not to pass it on. They were told to succeed in this world you've got to live the way of the white man. I don't understand why they made the decision not to speak it at home; I understand the need at school and that type of thing, but I don't blame them either… I do believe that our old people made the right decision at the right time with the tools that they had; they obviously believed that this needed to happen. So I think it was really a fear that if they held onto the language or transmitted the language that maybe they wouldn't acquire English, our children wouldn't be successful and get ahead. Because we know that they had hardships; they had nothing, so for them they wanted their kids to have a chance in the world. I genuinely believe that they made that decision thinking it was the right one for their kids… when I began learning te reo I learnt a whaikōrero and I went and asked him could I do it for him and he understood. When I went to translate it for him he said, "No,

no I understand everything you're saying," so he obviously comprehended the language, but obviously as time went on, he was very young when he acquired it and by the time he was an elderly man he just said he didn't have any. So it wasn't a spoken language [for me].' [Male, 34]

Despite the rejection of Māori identity within the early integration generation, we find later generations, like the participant above, seeking to address, as the participant above describes it, *'the big gap'*. Filling *'the big gap'* involves learning the codified Māori knowledge and language skills that are the explicit markers of Māori identity. This is outlined below by a participant whose mother had not passed on the language and formal customs to her, though when going back to study Māori she could suddenly make connections with the knowledge she had learnt in practice:

> *I guess when she died was the trigger for me. When I lost her there was big emptiness, so I guess to keep her alive or a memory I thought I'm going to pick this up. I wanted to pursue who she was. So I decided to go back to school… I went and did my teaching degree and majored in Māori studies and that probably sparked that interest, 'cause a lot of things, how we'd grown up, you never knew why you did things, but all of a sudden there was all these bells going off and all these connections. It was like, "Oh wow!"*

The theme of emptiness, or something missing, being filled by reconnecting to formal Māori language and knowledge is repeated again below:

> *'The interesting thing is that there was always an element missing I felt. I didn't really know what it was but there was just sort of that feeling that there wasn't something there personally. As I went through life I didn't really connect with my Māori side, didn't really do much… The interesting thing for me I guess is that it wasn't the land, the connection to the land that I felt was missing, it was a connection to family, to tupuna, to te ao Wairua… the older whakapapa, is lost 'cause it wasn't handed down. So effectively they almost ceased being Māori… my decision to sort of get into Māori came late in life, after some traumatic experiences where I needed to try and find a new direction in life... the identity trauma that's there, it's apparent and that has come from that disconnection... we have these almost identity crises because there's a connection to something that we don't understand... you have that trauma from identity crisis, an identity crisis basically where you know you're something but you don't know what.' [Male, 32]*

The quote above also highlights the psychological pain of the identity crisis, of knowing you are something, but not being able to connect to it. There was also evidence within whānau narratives

that, in more extreme circumstances, the shame of being Māori developed into a hatred of being Māori, and hatred of Māori in general. This is outlined in the following statement:

> '… mum quite often talks about Māori in the… third person, "Oh those buggers on TV look at them." "But mum, you're Māori." "I'm not like them." So she has a real negative perception of Māori and then Māori from political parties will come through and off she'll go again. So she has really stuck to the assimilation that was done to her as a kid and lived the Pākehā way. All my siblings do exactly that, they very rarely come into te ao Māori and when they do they feel, and you see them, they are extremely uncomfortable, whereas I've just embraced it and take it on.' [Female, 56]

Consequently, the impacts of assimilation, and the internalisation of colonial narrative can give rise to not only shame and internal identity conflicts, but also self-hatred. It can also be seen that families get divided between those that seek to heal their identity conflict by embracing their Māori identity, reconnecting with the formal customs and language of Māori culture, and those that reject the culture. This was apparent in the following narrative, where a division between brothers emerges because the older brother should have been the one to speak at a tangi because he was senior; however, his younger brother had taken an interest in Māoritanga and learnt the language, which meant that he spoke:

> '… because he could. Because [her father who could not speak te reo] is the tuakana over that uncle…that put a bit of rift for a bit between dad and his brother…' [Female, nu73]

We can see through the above narratives that many individuals overcame their identity conflicts, or identity 'absence' by reconnecting with their culture. Consequently, we conclude that creating a stable personal identity demands that an individual's instinctive knowledge and affinity with Māoritanga is connected with explicit markers of Māori identity. However, there is also an opposite reaction within some whānau, where a strong affinity to the racist views of the settler identity is adopted, which results self-hatred and potentially inner conflict. In such cases an individual's instinctive knowledge and affinity with their Māori culture is placed in conflict with their assimilated identity, resulting in a negative response to Māori identity markers. This alienation can, as illustrated by the above quotes, occur within whānau, creating a rift between those engaged and fluent in te ao Māori and those whose views of Māori are negative based on an assimilated identity. The negative response to Māoritanga and the rifts this creates within whānau can be seen in the same participant's following statement:

'I've always dabbled in te ao Māori, always under the radar because Mum has never wanted us in there.'
[Female, 56]

It is also clear throughout whānau narratives that there is a specific intergenerational issue – the integration generations tend to see less value in Māoritanga than younger generations, which is likely due to a combination of Māori-led initiatives that have enhanced mana and changes in the settler state and society, that have seen greater respect for Māoritanga and a decline in racism and prejudice. However, while overtly good, these changes can create discord between the older generation, who still hold these beliefs, and the younger generations who want to reconnect with the formal markers of their Māori culture.

The need to knit together new identities that address the internal conflicts, sense of inadequacy, and feelings of disempowerment, are also expressed through whānau narratives. This is illustrated in the below statement, where the participant is describing the process in forming her identity, based on her intuitive understanding of Māoritanga as a foundation stone:

'So if I look back now I think there's always been that part of me that is I will always be Māori but I can be successful being Māori regardless… I think in doing that there always something missing, there was always that something that was not quite fully there. I think it was always there and the way I see it now was I think the foundational stone was always there but sometimes we've got to go around the world or sprinkle that little plant to make that grow. So I think it was always there but I think that along the path there were influences that have brought me back to where I am today, and that's taken me around the world to get to where I am today.' *[Female, nu58]*

While not as common in the narratives, we did also find discussion of how some individuals also struggle to feel completely at ease in the Pākehā world as well. While not alienation from the Māori identity, this sense of not fitting into the Pākehā world is important to discuss as it highlights the possibility of 'double alienation,' where an individual can become alienated from both Māori and Pākehā identities. This can leave individuals adrift, caught between two worlds and often not feeling like they belong to either one. One participant told us that:

'… going into an environment like [my school] where the tikanga's very different and you've been raised in a particular way I tell you you're gonna clash, you know you're not gonna fit… in terms of the curriculum; the methodology that's used to teach our kids is not necessarily fits for them.' [Female, 48]

Often it is through interactions with the settler institutions which cause Māori to not feel like they 'fit' with Pākehā society. School, in particular, was a place that made a number of participants feel that they did not belong fully to the Pākehā world. Being forced into an alien and alienating institution placed even more pressure on the Māori identity, as can be seen in the following participant's statement:

'I think growing up in Christchurch as a Māori and going to a Pākehā school, going to a church which was predominantly dominated by the Pākehā culture, it was all about their etiquette – you dressed a certain way, you spoke a certain way – probably had a huge part to play with why we conformed a certain way, and being Māori didn't always fit on the same.' [Female, nu76]

The outcome for many Māori children was that their schooling made them feel like they were second class citizens, that they were not equal to Pākehā. This was clear in the following participant's narrative:

'When I think back now I think at school without me probably realising, it probably made me feel inferior…' [Female, nu58]

Feeling alienated from Pākehā society also emerged from racist, intolerant or simply uncompassionate reactions many Māori have received from Pākehā concerning historic and contemporary grievances. As one participant told us:

'I am resentful, I have to admit it, in terms of the lack of understanding or appreciation by Pākehā people that seem to gloss over it so easily or don't even consider that the loss of land, the loss of whenua and everything that that means in terms of the whole way the Māori world revolves around the whenua spirituality that goes with it, how that you can lose all that and other people think nothing of it. It still gives me the shits I have to admit. Mind you, you have got to be careful about that because I think it can act as a barrier in terms of your relationships and interaction with people.' [Male, nu54]

Consequently, the indifference or disinterest of Pākehā society to the impacts of colonisation acts as another mechanism that alienates whānau. Other whānau narratives also identified this same lack of empathy as being embodied in the settler state itself, with one participant telling us that:

> *'You kind of think in the end what's the bigger picture of the whole thing? Is it because the government kind of like [1.06.42] we don't, with an attitude of we really don't care what you do with your land, as far as you're concerned you can all argue and fight over it and try and do something with it, but we're not having anything to with it, it's your land. And that's their mandate, it's called "I don't care".' [Female, 56]*

It is clear that the settler state has only grudgingly become more reasonable towards Māori so it is unsurprising that for many whānau this position has left them feeling alienated from the state and settler society. Being alienated from Pākehā society makes the alienation from the Māori cultural identity that much more difficult as it places people between worlds rather than firmly in them. However, it needs to be stressed that this alienation from Pākehā society did vary and some participant's felt relatively comfortable while others did not, though for those who did mention feeling comfortable often mentioned how they did not 'look' Māori.

The absence of the Maori cultural identity can generate trauma in individuals, as one participant told us:

> *'Not being able to say my mihi, I felt shame about that.' [Female, nu70]*

This form of trauma was also readily apparent in the narratives, where participants were angry, ashamed, or frustrated, that they did not have proficiency with certain components of Māoritanga. Even though, as outlined throughout these results, the reason they did not have proficiency can be traced back to the colonising environment, whānau still felt shame and blamed themselves for their perceived inadequacy. These negative emotions – anger, shame and frustration – are in many cases internalised rather than being directed outwards as blame. The results suggest that this anger, shame and frustration, evident in some individuals, is the product of a rigid demarcation between what is considered authentic and inauthentic Māori identities. Authentic identities possess the identity markers of being Māori (e.g. language and knowledge of formal protocol), whereas those who may have been raised in their everyday behavioural norms as Māori, but do not possess these key markers, may considered inauthentic. Consequently, those who have lost their cultural identity

markers through colonisation processes not only suffer from identity confusion, but also feel shame and self-hatred for feeling inauthentic. This is illustrated in the following narrative, where the participant describes wondering why both her parents, who were fluent in te reo, never taught her:

'I went through this period of thinking why didn't our parents teach us these things and of course I'm an adult now and I've tried to learn it two or three times and it's like a travesty; I'm fluent in French which I learnt at school but I can't speak my own native tongue which is just disgusting really.' [Female, 52]

Consequently, within the results we identified a tendency for participants to blame themselves rather than the colonising environment for their lack of cultural proficiency. This theme is reiterated again by another participant, who told us about how in her study:

'A:…it wasn't unusual for me to be the only Māori in my class… Q: As Māori in a [vocationally-oriented tertiary institution], often because you're the Māori and if something Māori was being taught, were you the one that was pointed to, to say, "Now what's that about?" A: I remember being put on the spot. Of course I had just come from school and I was going, "I don't know. Why are you looking at me like that?" sort of thing…. They said, "Oh well you're Māori…, what do you think? And I go, "I don't know."… I just thought it was still that kind of how society problematizes things and I felt like I was the problem because I didn't know. So there was a bit of that.' [Female, nu48]

In the invigoration period, where Māoritanga has become much more accepted in Pākehā culture and kaupapa Māori approaches have been incorporated into many state institutions, ethnic Māori are often expected to be experts in all aspects of their culture. This places them in a difficult position if they have come from an assimilated whānau, as they may feel angry, ashamed or frustrated at not having formal knowledge. This shows how even as the colonising environment changes, and could even be described as improving, shaming mechanisms can remain – albeit in new forms.

The whānau narratives also revealed that growing up in an assimilated whānau involves associating positive characteristics with the Pākehā identity and negative characteristics with the Māori identity in a way that mirrors the colonial narrative. Revealingly, one participant told us that:

'I know that since the tribe and the settlement our family is really proud to be Ngāi Tahu; like ones who haven't actually been brought up like all this. They're very proud to be Ngai Tahu because we seem to be successful in a Pākehā sense. Before it was always about, "Why don't you do something with your land?" and because of the kids you don't really know why, you're just think we're all too stupid. You really do, you start to believe that we must be stupid and don't know what to do with our land.' [Female, nu49]

The prudent investment of the Waitangi settlements has seen Ngāi Tahu grow their asset base substantially and for some who were brought up with a mixture of Māori and Pākehā identities this has converted what was a negative social group into a positive social group they want associate with. By growing their asset base, Ngāi Tahu have become 'successful in a Pākehā sense'. One of the core aspects of the colonial narrative, and a key part of its justificatory capacity, is the binary contrast between Pākehā being able to 'successively' make use of the land and Māori 'failure' at generating an income off the land. This binary forces Māori people and institutions into 'good' or 'bad' categories that often mean when someone or something Māori is judged 'good' it takes on a Pākehā aspect and vice versa. The influence of this binary could also been seen in the following narrative:

'[I was brought up in a Pākehā environment and] I always had those feelings of being different to a lot of the people that I was surrounded by, because I was surrounded by my mother's family who were all Pākehā, but very functional … [then at high school I met some Māori friends and] They were much more fun than my Pākehā friends. I have always said there is two sides of me; there is a really good functional side of me and then there is the other side of me which is probably a bit more mischief and non-conforming… I was 14 when I got pregnant but 15 when I had the baby; not good… I was at [a specialist youth maternity hostel] at the time; my mother didn't want me to go [there] but I thought that sounded like a lot of fun. This is how different I was from everybody. It would be more that whānau thing you see that was in my blood..' [Female, nu69]

The theme of mixed identities, where positive traits were associated with the Pākehā identity and negative ones with the Māori identity can be traced to the colonial narrative, which projects bad and good traits onto entire social groups, denigrating Māori and venerating settler society. These internalised binaries can impact both the individual personally and their interactions with others as they have the effect of tainting cultural groups with a black and white brush. This mixture of antagonistic identities, as outlined before, also creates an internal conflict, where one identity denigrates the other. Interpersonally, it effects the way people relate to others, causing them to

prejudge others on their ethnicity rather than as individuals, and alienating people from one another. Similarly, another participant told us, when asked about why there is trouble at the Rūnanga:

> *"That warrior nature that sits within all of us as Māori… [it's] lucky for us as Māori have none of us have huge amounts of wealth that we have to divvy up but if we did we would kill each other for it, and the lawyers would be the only ones who would get the money; the rest of us would all punched up and battered and bruised. That's because at that whānau level we are unable to sit back and remove our emotions and look at it as a business model and what needs to be done. I love my sister dearly but she still lets her heart rule her business way of thinking instead of letting her head dictate what's the best approach for this." [Female, nu72]*

The difficulty, as illustrated in the above statement, is that negative behaviour is associated with the Māori identity, even though the person observing the behaviour is also Māori. This demonstrates an underlying negative self-view, and potentially internal conflict. The research findings also suggest that binary judgements separating the cultures into good and bad categories also works in the other direction, another participant who, when asked about troublemakers at the marae, told us:

> *'I actually think they're very Pākehā actually; it's with their head, they don't come from their heart. They come from up here. They've got serious issues with trust.' [Male, 55]*

As the literature on social identity theory shows (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), one response to belonging to a negative social identity that is inescapable – such as a ethno-cultural identity – is to seek to make it positive. In the colonising environment, with a rigid binary hierarchy in place, the most effective means of doing this is to invert the hierarchy, to essentially make the settler identity inherently negative and the indigenous one inherently positive. While this approach is positive towards 'Māori' qualities, it still perpetuates the binary portrayal of complex human qualities as either Pākehā or Māori. This can have traumatising effects on most Māori who display the markers of Pākehā identity, as it means they are often alienated by other Māori. This is an ongoing psychosocial trauma for those Māori who were brought up in an assimilated environment yet still identify as culturally as Māori (and of course remain ethnically Māori). Not only does it leave them alienated but it also, in turn, fractures the Māori cultural identity, generating divisions between Māori who associate different characteristics to different identities.

A major reason for this is the influence of the colonial narrative, which delineates a very narrow 'purist' version of who Māori are and what Māoritanga is, that means that anyone who does not have facility with the key markers, such as te reo, marae kawa, etc., is not considered an 'authentic' Māori and the ostracism is often compounded if they look Pākehā; that is, if their ancestors chose to assimilate through marriage. This 'authentic' version of Māoritanga is promoted by many Māori as they see the degradation their culture has experienced and want to preserve the remaining components. This results in a more rigid and restrictive view of who is a member of the ingroup, meaning that for individuals to be considered Māori they must display these particular identity markers and must 'look' Māori. Those who do not meet these criteria are excluded from the Māori ingroup as their differing 'Māoriness' is seen as a threat to the ingroup's authenticity. Thus, these individuals are often caught in a no man's land, where they are not 'Māori' enough to be considered Māori by other Māori and, yet, they are still seen as Māori by many Pākehā.

To be clear, the point here is not to determine who is 'right' or 'wrong' in this situation. Those Māori who hold a rigid position on ingroup status are simply trying to protect a culture that has been under attack for over a century and a half. Instead the problematic situation can be attributed to the underlying mechanisms of colonization discussed throughout the results section – the political, educational, and legal, structures of the settler state – and the underlying colonial narrative. However, the rigid and narrow definition of who belongs in the Māori ingroup helps perpetuate trauma amongst those who are not able to associate as Māori in this specific sense. We found among the whānau narratives participants a number who felt judged and alienated from the Māori ingroup. Evidence suggests that belonging to an ingroup that has positive associations is a fundamental requirement for human wellbeing, and without it trauma results. This is illustrated in the following statement:

'… *something that really annoys me and gets up my nose is that I get judged by Māori people for not being Māori enough. "So do you speak Māori?" "No, I don't speak Māori but I do other stuff that defines me as a Māori. It's not just speaking Māori." I know it's a big thing. I know it's a big deal and it's really important.'* [Female, 40]

In addition to causing individual harm, exclusion also fractures the social group, alienating those who identify as Māori but are not able to meet the requirements to be considered as part of the ingroup. Certainly key identity markers like te reo, and knowledge of marae kawa are important parts of Māori culture but in the settler state environment formal cultural practices have been

under intense pressure for decades, as such, many identifying as Māori do not possess the key markers of cultural authenticity. The trauma of not possessing the key identity markers, and being excluded from the authentic in-group is outlined in the following statement:

'I think I find that with a lot of people I almost feel a little bit like an alien. I have to say to people, "I don't know what you're talking about. I don't know Māori and I want to learn. Can you help me?" Otherwise I feel that other people who know Māori, they've kind of got this little clique and I'm a bit of an outsider. I'm not in the in crowd.' [Female, nu70]

This alienation is traumatic as people have a powerful need to belong and the consequences of being excluded by the ingroup they want to belong to can be devastating. We also found that the effect of the authentic ingroup was to push participants identifying as Māori (but without the key identity markets) away, toward the settler identity – effectively supporting the process of assimilation. This was particular true for those who did not 'look' Māori,, as this participant told us:

'You know how they used to come around and ask if you were Māori because of the Māori factor funding and there was only two of us in the whole school; me and a boy… who was absolutely pango and here I am white and everyone is saying, "You're not Māori," to me and here's me I'm putting my hand up in front of everybody saying I'm Māori and they checked out and they knew who I was then; but only two of us in that huge school identified as Māori.' [Female, nu46]

This was also illustrated in the following participant's narrative:

'So it was easier to think I don't want anything to do with that [Māori culture]. *I think that was one of the hardest things of going to high school and being kind of teased about not being Māori enough was that we had grown up believing that our grandfather died of tapu things – had gone into the forest and cut down the wrong tree or something – and knew he was going to die. How do you live with that knowing that that's happened to you and yet people are saying you're not Māori enough. You go, "Well if fullas are Māori enough how come we've had to suffer that and pay that?" … It comes from us; we're the worst.' [Female, nu50]*

Consequently, we find within the narratives that many assimilated households struggle between these two cultural identities, a part of them not wanting anything to do with the Māori world, while remaining inextricably connected to te ao Māori. Participants experienced ostracism by other

Māori and Pākehā, often at high school, which was compounded by their sense of connection with their Māori identity. Such individuals were left experiencing a liminal existence where their intuitive understanding of the world is Māori yet other Māori do not believe they part of the ingroup. Furthermore they became alienated form their cultural identity, denied that sense of belonging by others, whilst also strongly affiliating with their cultural identity. The results suggest that this creates a further problem, where some individuals are unable to bond socially with other Māori, reinforcing their feeling that they are only able to experience the negative aspects of their Māori identity and not the positive aspects. Another participant spoke of the same problem, she told us:

> *'When I started high school I think it became important [to know who you were and where you come from] because… there was a very strong Māori influence there with te Waipounamu girls going there, but I was seen as not Māori enough or not good enough; there were only three Māori girls in our class and the other two were connected with te Waipounamu and I wasn't. So I always sort of felt like not enough.'* [Female, nu50]

Like this participant, many other participants expressed that they did not feel 'Māori enough or good enough' to belong to their cultural ingroup, an alienation that either pushes them away or makes them more determined to know about them Māoritanga. The teenage years, and high school in particular, are a period where people are more susceptible to the pressures of ingroup-outgroup dynamics and the feeling that others do not think they are Māori enough. They are at a point in their psychological development where they are questioning who they are. Another participant, following a question concerning her experiences of racism, told us of her experiences at school:

> *'I feel it. It's ridiculous. I wanted to be in the Concert Party but could never be because I look so fair and take after my mother. I'm fair as fair....and you could see that people...sometimes I see they're just a little bit offhand in their treatment… It's almost like an unconscious thing.'* [Female, 73]

This statement illustrates how some participants often experience what they perceive as racism from other Māori. This form of 'internal' racism may be considered perhaps more traumatic than racism directed at Māori by Pākehā, as the person affected is being denied their own identity by members of their ingroup.

This trauma does, however, also cut the other way. While being judged as 'not Māori enough' is traumatising for many people, the problem of cultural degradation is also real. After several

generations of restricted, limited or non-existent cultural transmission of formal knowledge and language, there is a danger that many important components of Māori culture will be lost. The grief of losing culture is also a cause of psychosocial trauma as well. As one participant told us:

'What I've found in the last 12 months is a lot of our runanga are disenfranchised. Colonialism has changed their whole thought patterns away from our old ways and it's trying to get them to come back. There's a lot of stuff we will never ever retrieve; a lot of our tikanga and kawa have gone and we'll never, ever get it back.' *[Male, 49]*

Similarly grief is also clear in the following participant's narrative, who told us when asked if there was anything important he wanted to add at the end of his interview:

'… if you are on this track that you are doing, this journey that you're doing of Ngāi Tahu, find some young person in this family and get them interested because not very far away the amount that I've lost - I'm 74 years old - they're losing information all the time and it will be completely gone. Whether it's put down in written form or just told; the stories told to them.' *[Male, 74]*

Finally the same grief is also expressed by another participant, but who also expresses shame in not being to appropriately welcome people to his marae:

"Culturally we're unable to prop up the cultural protocols - just basic powhiri for example. We're having to bring people in and we're even having to pay them to be there so that we can be assured that there is going to be somebody there on the paepae to welcome the group." *[Male, 60]*

Consequently shame of not being able to fulfil basic protocols on the marae, and grief at the loss of formal protocols and values, is a common thematic strand found among participants. Thus, while those who are judged as not being Māori enough are traumatised by their exclusion from the ingroup, those who have retained more of their Māori identity are also traumatised by the cultural degradation caused by assimilation. As one participant told us:

'And likewise with being Pākehā and then coming into Māori world, called born again Māori's as you know, that I've seen some people who have done that, that have lived in a Pākehā world and mindset and then they discover that they have some whakapapa and they end up working with Māori but they bring those Pākehā values to the Māori side and it doesn't work' *[Male, 50]*

As a result, for participants who have retained their cultural identity, the effects of assimilated individuals looking to rediscover their Māori identity by working in Te Ao Māori, but inevitably using Pākehā values, can be traumatising. Again, this is not to blame either set. The point here is not to argue who is 'right' or 'wrong' in these situations but rather to trace the mechanisms that continue to perpetuate trauma in the settler state. Thus, these interactions can be traumatising for either ingroup or outgroup Māori.

In summary, alienation from Māori culture and identity generated a number of traumas. First, the internalisation of beliefs that Māori culture is inferior generates self-hatred and shame. Second, the policies of settler institutions placed strong pressure for whānau to assimilate during the integration period, which resulted in subsequent generations developing cultural identity conflicts, fragmentation, and alienation. Third, the loss of cultural capacity and fluency generated experiences of loss, grief and anger. The lack of cultural markers is also a source of shame to many whānau. Fourth, the development of authentic and inauthentic Māori identities has created divisions within whānau, and communities, and feelings of alienation among those who feel they don't belong. As outlined in previous sections of this report, these traumas originate from the political, educational, and legal structures of the settler state, which created the stage for assimilation into the colonial narrative. The direct traumatic effects of assimilation was grief at the loss of culture as well as shame and self-hatred. However the secondary trauma effects, of emerged as identity conflicts, alienation, and social divisions. In short, alienation from Māori culture and identity has led to intense psychosocial suffering.

Negative Self-Concept

The self-concept lies at the heart of every human. It is the view and understanding a person has of their self as a whole, which draws upon their social identities – ethnic, cultural, national, gender etc. – as well as individual and universal factors (Houkamau, 2006). An individual's self-concept is the totality of their self-relevant knowledge, the processes that construct, defend, and maintain this knowledge, and the means by which we make sense of our experiences. Critically, the positivity with which an individual perceives themself can change. People are driven to maintain a positive self-concept. As Tajfel and Turner (1979, 40) state, people "strive for a positive self-concept [and therefore] strive to achieve or to maintain positive social identity", which is generally achieved through making "favorable comparisons… between the in-group and some relevant out-group" and, depending on the circumstances, this drives people to "either leave their existing group and

join some more positively distinct group and/or to make their existing group more positively distinct".

Settler colonisation has a significant impact on self-concept as it not only directly attacks the indigenous cultural identity but also seeks to overlay an identity that is inherently antithetical to the indigenous identity. Emerging out of two worlds at war, many Māori have been thrown into a battle to attain maintain a positive self-concept because they have been exposed to an unequal and antagonistic mixture of Māori and Pākehā identities. Achieving a positive self-concept when there are two competing identities, one which is derided by the other but cannot be disassociated from because it is an ethnic identity, is a challenge. As quoted earlier, Good et al., (2008, 12) explain that colonisation often results in "a split self in which one element is repressed or denied" through "the internalisation of colonial disregard for local cultures and values", which can cause "self-hatred". It is this 'split self', its traumatic consequences and the potential pathways to resolving the identity paradox that we will explore in this section.

The way the negative framing of the Māori cultural identity impacts self-concept was apparent in the following narrative, where the participant, whose father is māta waka, told us:

'My sense of self; although I do identify with Ngāi Tahu the other half of me, and I kick myself for this, says you cannot deny the other side because of the viewpoint you can't just believe in one source, you have to see from every angle. So to answer that question in shorter formula; dad comes from up north so I have to identify that I'm up north. I don't have to say that first but I do come from up north… I went through a process of asking those big questions; being Māori where is this going to take me? At that time with everything that was going on, or that paradox, I couldn't see opportunity or I couldn't come out and say, "I'm Māori, I'm going to be the next Prime Minister, vote for me and I'm going to win." What I saw was, "I'm going to be the next Prime Minister and be treated as we all did in some way in a negative form." Because I went through a private school where a lot of people's viewpoints are very uneducated… Again using that analogy of like the jigsaw pieces to make up that big picture. A piece of me is up north, a piece is here in Christchurch, a piece of me is at [one pa], a piece of me is at [my mother's rohe], a piece of me is on the West Coast and then there's still pieces out there I still have to find out; again I need all those pieces of the jigsaw puzzle to make that one picture.' [Male, 23]

For those who belong to the culturally dominant ingroup of a state, there are no questions of whether their cultural identity will have a positive or negative impact on their life, their cultural

119

identity is virtually subconscious. However, cultural identity is highly problematized for those who are part of a cultural minority who have been exposed to a racist colonial narrative and assimilation pressures. This participant's statement illustrates well the impacts that the negative framing of the Māori cultural identity can have on self-concept, where he 'went through a process of asking those big questions; being Māori where is this going to take me?' Cultural identity becomes something that needs to be consciously negotiated, the need to attain or maintain a positive self-concept in the face of the negativity placed on the Māori cultural identity forces individuals into an incredibly difficult and 'paradoxical' position where they need to positively associate with a single identity but they have a mixture of more than one conflicting identities. These identities include, as expressed in the statement above, not only Māori and Pākehā identities but also iwi, hapū and māta waka (urban) identities. This adds to the complexity of resolving the conflict at the core of the split self that the contradicting identities create – as this participant puts it, using all the 'pieces of the jigsaw puzzle to make that one picture'.

This identity confusion, as well as the conflict it creates, was discerned in the following narrative, where the participant told us that:

'… as kids, I remember thinking yes, we were very much aware of being Māori and they weren't always Māori that we played with; the kids in our group were Pākehā, all different things. But I remember thinking we spent a lot of our time thinking to all the other bits and pieces that we were… as kids when we used to talk about our heritage, we always marvelled out the other bits of us, not the Māori stuff. 'Cause in those days people called you 'Maoris' and actually sometimes, as a kid, you kind of got that actually it's not that cool; not that cool to be a Māori. But looking at me you can't help but see that I am. But you sort of come through that thing where there's this constant discourse and constant opposition to that all the way. But even though I was very much reminded all the time who I was, don't ever forget where you're from, there was a constant sort of conflict about who I am because actually it was other people saying out there.' [Female, nu48]

Reflection on how the conscious awareness and resultant ongoing negotiation of identity was present during childhood and adolescence, and how this was driven by the negative framing of the Māori cultural identity, was common across the narratives. Childhood and adolescence are critical periods in the development of the self-concept and dealing with an antagonistic mixture of identities at this time adds to difficulties. When one of these identities is denigrated by the other, and wider society, this creates an internal discord where, as the participant explains, 'there's this constant discourse and constant opposition… there was a constant sort of conflict about who I

am'. Her statement encapsulates some of the processes that underlie a negative self-concept generated by having two warring identities. The way the uneven and antagonistic mixture of Māori and Pākehā identities generates internal turmoil as the self seeks to form a positive self-concept can also be seen in this participant's narrative:

'…there was a conflict [between Māori and Pākehā sides] but today there's not a conflict; I don't see conflict between them, but I did once upon a time... So that was my life and I guess although I was down in that dark world I was being moulded almost into what I am today. And so I sort of went through that world and when I was about 26, I think, I sort of hit a wall … And so I went down this wild track. I was in places; I got to places where I'd think what am I doing here, you know with regards to gang situations and seen things that was pretty horrible stuff and was part of pretty horrible stuff… You know there's that fine line between sanity and insanity and I flipped over the line. I actually went insane and I flipped over… I was just ranting and raving with no logic. You know just spitting all this rage… it ended up being four days and I came back and I had another experience it was like the world was on my shoulders; I had the weight of the world on my shoulders like this 'woosh' feeling, like something lifted off me and I came back… I haven't touched a drug or a drink since then.' [Male, 50]

The overlaying of the racist Pākehā identity over the Māori one, and the suppression, denial and, resulting, absence of the Māori identity, places individuals into a situation of internal conflict. This conflict generates a range of negative emotions, particularly anger, self-doubt and confusion, as the contradictions and inequalities of the two identities play out. Having two identities that are at war with each other often leads to a negative self-concept as the person struggles to associate with a positive social group. The statement above demonstrates how this participant found the struggle with his mixed identities, and the resulting negative self-concept, was escaped from through alcohol and drugs, which, in turn, created more turmoil. The way the negative self-concept manifests, its origins and its resolution, was also clear in the following narrative, where the participant explained that:

'… growing up, dad was like, "Just stay away from things Māori. They're no good."… in his mind, there was no value… Now he's going through this whole revival thing where it's the best thing… I think he's come to love himself a bit more now. He's cut himself a bit of slack and it's okay to be himself. Coming through from when he grew up, he used to tell stories. The horror stories that you hear about the schools, getting the strap for speaking Māori and I just think that's just wrong. That's probably not even the tip of the iceberg. It was law. I think it's affected his self-image a lot' [Female, 40]

Growing up in an environment where expression of cultural identity is prohibited or somehow controlled throws an individual into a crisis of self-concept (Comas-Díaz, 2000; Fanon, 1967). Even adult immigrants, who have chosen to move to a new country after growing up immersed in their own culture, experience self-concept issues because they are no longer part of the dominant cultural ingroup (Usborne and Taylor, 2010). This participant's quote encapsulates the struggles many Ngāi Tahu individuals had growing up in assimilating households, she explains that it took her father a long time to 'love himself' because the constant attack on his Māori identity during his life 'affected his self-image'.

One outcome of this ongoing assault on the cultural identity is that many find it hard to accept the Māori component of their identity, as they suppress it rather than express it. This suppression generates an inordinate amount of pressure, having a mixture of two antagonistic identities generates internal contradictions. As outlined in the previous section, this suppression can create a self-hatred at a fundamental core component of being. The connections between the state-mandated corporal punishment for expression of cultural markers and the pressure on cultural identity and self-concept are clear, the punishment serves to reinforce the internal identity conflict. However, it is also clear from the results generally and, in particular, the quote above, that self-hate can be resolved through learning about and embracing a positive cultural identity. Attaining a positive self-concept requires the individual to change their view of the Māori identity, to start to see it in a positive light so that they can see themself in a positive light. This journey is challenging as it must contend with the ongoing structural changes and the psychosocial challenges as have been mapped out in this report.

Those who have a mixture of Māori and Pākehā identities generally suffer from dissonance that has been built into the way they perceive themselves. Cognitive dissonance is the psychological stress an individual experiences when they hold two contradictory beliefs, ideas or values simultaneously and people suffering from dissonance are driven to reduce or resolve it. There is, then, clear similarities between cognitive dissonance and self-concept. In fact, while there are many competing understandings of dissonance, one of the main focuses is on its connection with self-concept. Aronson (quoted in Thibodeau and Aronson, 1992, 591) believes that dissonance "is the result of cognitions inconsistent with the self-concept" and while this may frame the position in too absolute a form, most in the field agree that the more important the two conflicting cognitions are the greater the magnitude of dissonance. In other words, having a mixture of identities that

negatively impacts on self-concept can generate severe dissonance because self-concept is one the most important components for any individual. The contrasting cognitions created by this mixture of identities is clear in the following narrative:

> '… we don't worry about stigma of mental illness or drugs or crime because a lot of Māori families have got that. That stigma is on a lot of Māori families and it shames them into not speaking up…' [Female, nu49]

In such narratives we see true statements that directly contradict each other, as each statement is coming from the position of a different and antagonistic identity. For example in the example above it is both true that Māori whānau may not worry about the stigma of drugs and mental illness when viewing from a Māori point of view, but when viewed form a Pākehā point of view it becomes a source of stigmatisation and shame. These contradictions represent the oppositional nature of Māori existence in the settler state, manifesting as paradox of perception where the individual holds dissonant positions because they are essentially representing the perspective of both identities simultaneously. Thus, many Māori in the settler state have antithetical cognitions that view the Māori identity in antagonistic ways. The influence of the colonial narrative in these logical inconsistencies is also clear.

For many, the internal conflict drives them towards wanting to understand more about their Māoritanga, this largely denied, suppressed and absent identity. This is a positive path but as will be seen it can still have negative outcomes. This same drive to rediscover Māoritanga can be seen in the following participant's narrative, who did not have much to do with Māori culture growing up. In the statement she is describing how encountering other Māori attempting suicide:

> '… started me on my journey for my own health. I think it was in conjunction with [working for] a Māori organisation for Māori, but also helped me on my journey to my own wellbeing and trying to understand why the depression hit me; I thought my life was great. But you just block things off and then all of a sudden they fester and they come up and hit you in the arse. I think that's where I started the journey of looking at my cultural identity…' [Female, nu73]

There were many participants who either suffered from mental illness themselves, or noted others in their whānau suffering from it, and made a specific connection to identity issues. Often the participant connected their mental illness to their attempts at trying to suppress or deny their Māori identity. In many respects the mental illness may be thought of as the result of colonial assimilation,

or the forced suppression of indigenous identity; however, the assimilation process is taking place at the individual scale rather than the national scale. Although, evidence from the whānau narrative suggest that these deep-seated issues cannot be suppressed or denied forever but will manifest in some detrimental manner. These issues were also present in the following participant's narrative:

> *'I felt I'd lived in a straightjacket; that something that was in me couldn't exist too much. Something that made up a good part of my life couldn't exist too much… By the time I'm 14, I'm screwed up and mixed up. I've had enough of school. I love the nuns at the first bit. Second bit I'm starting to get pretty titchy and I can see that Māori, there's something I want there and they ain't giving me. There's something I gotta have there. I'm hungry for this stuff and I'm searching the newspapers for names of Māori. I search everything for Māori, where are we?... I left home first 14; I'm gone. I gotta sort something for myself thanks. I'd die of boredom here because nobody's saying anything. We're just keeping the show together. There's something in me that… the search engine's running. Google ain't nothing on this thing when it's living inside you. I gotta find what the hell is going on because I don't like this… There are certain things that we don't know about, that kind of darkness of not knowing, knowing a tiny bit and knowing that you need the whole picture but you have only got that much… Here I am nearly thirty, forty years later and the rest of the story is just arriving so it is coming out of the dark and it is also finding the language when we have got a gap in our language. It is finding the gaps in our understanding and going into places… There is a whole new work sitting over the back waiting for this to be finished and to explore because things have gone off in the dark of the soul.' [Female, 62]*

In a number of narratives, the anger, confusion and self-doubt that comes from growing up in an assimilated household drove participants to fill the void by finding out as much about Māoritanga as they could. Evidence from the results suggest that the anger, confusion and self-doubt is generated by a negative self-concept, and these participants often desperately sought to find a way to make their Māori identity positive. As outlined by the previous participant, she described 'not knowing' as the 'darkness'. Like many other participants, coming to know more about Māori culture and embracing her Māori identity in a positive manner has been like 'coming out of the dark'.

While the process of discovering more about Māoritanga is a generally positive one, it can have some negative repercussions. As outlined in the previous statement, the journey is often a painful one as it means confronting the 'darkness' and understanding it, learning how much has been lost to the 'darkness,' presumably colonisation, and why it was lost. This means that the process of

rediscovering the Māori cultural identity is one of ongoing trauma because while it is, ultimately, a positive experience it also involves learning about the loss and what underpins it. However, understanding the cause of the problem does not always resolve the trauma. This can be seen in the following narrative, where the participant who had been discussing the problems many young Māori faced when trying to reconnect with their cultural identity:

'I think firstly it makes them lost and confused and the by-product of that is anger. It's a horrible feeling to not know where you come from and who you belong to. We all have a longing to belong. When you know you're Māori, you feel ripped off because you're Māori. It almost comes hand in hand. You should belong somewhere. You should belong to someone. So it's almost like you get given something but at the same time you get nothing for it. So it's like you feel ripped off.' [Female, nu70]

A number of participants described not just the confusion, anger and alienation that comes with conflicting identities and the resulting negative self-concept but also how the antagonism in this situation means that trying to embrace the Māori identity can also be a painful experience, both because it creates internal conflicts and because often during this process the individual encounters others that exclude them from the Māori identity. Across the narratives there was a common set of steps that while not a hard and fast rule offer a guide to the way many process and move through these issues towards a resolution. First there is generally an absence, the suppression and denial of the Māori identity often felt as a palpable void, then comes confusion and self-doubt, as they try to negotiate the battle lines between Māori and Pākehā identities and attempt to understand the complexities of having one identity that has been denied and suppressed and another that is racist. Then comes an anger that flows from the understanding of the damage done to the Māori identity, the growing awareness of the conflict inherent in the split self created by living in both worlds, and the difficulties of being accepted as part of the ingroup. This confusion and anger are direct products of a negative self-concept, of someone who is conflicted by the mixture of unequal and antagonistic identities. Finally, comes the positive association with the Māori identity through wānanga, awareness and connection to te reo Māori and worldview.

In summary, the process of assimilation leads Māori to develop traumatising antagonistic and conflicting cultural identities and a negative self-concept. The suppression of this dissonance is personally linked by research participants with mental illnesses including depression and psychosis. Furthermore, it is linked to the use of alcohol and drugs as coping mechanisms. Once again, both

the traumas and coping behaviours can be linked back to the underlying colonising mechanisms of the settler state.

Results – Whānau-Led Strategies for Addressing Trauma

It is clear from the discussion above that both whānau, and individuals within whānau, have been subject to a range of traumas, which through narrative, can be directly connected back to the structures of the settler state that established an environment that denied whānau psychological, social and economic needs. However, it would be incorrect to portray whānau as passive victims to the actions of the Crown. Instead, most whānau demonstrated resilience and established a number of responses and strategies for ameliorating and mitigating the impacts of colonisation. These responses are outlined in whānau narratives below, and are organised into different categories based upon commonly appearing themes.

Socio-Political Engagement to Address Political Disenfranchisement

Getting involved in the socio-political activities of the iwi, hapū and whānau are important as this embeds the individual in a network of support, learning and development, and acts to counter the experiences of disempowerment and alienation. It is demonstrated in the results that there were many ways whānau and individuals engaged politically and with the tribe generally. At the most basic, it could simply be registering with their iwi, rūnanga and marae so they are able to keep up with the news both locally and across the takiwa. For example, when asked if she was registered with Ngāi Tahu and her rūnanga and whether she received *Panui* and *Karaka* one participant told us:

> *'It's how people stay connected and how the powers that be choose to connect with people on the ground; that's the key thing… I always keep up to date with reading those. I think they're good actually.'* [Female, 52]

These are simple engagements but they are able to help weave the threads together by providing a sense of community. As one participant noted, engagement is a two-way street, it not only helps the individual but it also helps the tribe as a whole, as he told us:

> *'I think my generation have gone through a lot; I think we have a lot to answer for and we have a lot to add to Ngāi Tahu in a way if harnessed properly. The way I see it a lot of us can be lost in the form of opportunities elsewhere, or to share lack of knowledge in a way; very similar to me in the respect that for so long I was so*

sport, sport, sport, education, education, education. There's nothing wrong with that but what I'm trying to say is because we have maybe resources where was someone from Ngāi Tahu to say, "Hey look, you're from here, this is our story, this is what we can offer, this is what you've got to look forward to, it's on you to make sure this happens," and put it on them or people like myself in our generation to say, "Right, time to man up," rather than going to Australia and finding opportunities over there and then returning 20 years later to find we're not better, or in the same position that what we were 20 years previous. Or living dare I say the Pākehā way in a non-racist form and then come to our 60's and 80's where its effectively too late to learn about who we are and make a small change in a way. The reason why I emphasise at such a young age, it's more likely that it's going to absorb and affect in a more positive way for both the tribe and the person because for me, or in my life to this point… For me knowing a part of you or a sense of self coming from this great tribe to me again what better Māori CV to have.' [Male, 23]

Such statements illustrate the way in which engaging with the tribe establishes a positive 'sense of self' and builds a sense of common cause and purpose essential for political action. Another participant outlined how becoming involved made her feel connected and accepted:

'… he took me… to the marae and I met the whānau down there. They kept ringing me up and I guess made me feel welcome and I kept going back and made that relationship with the marae down there. It's just all kind of transpired from there… [it] Exploded; a big world for me. I guess the more little pieces that you got you just wanted to know more. It's like a never-ending journey.' [Female, 50]

Following this same theme a participant, who had been estranged from her father, also found acceptance at her marae:

'I went to the marae I was already known about and I was already acknowledged as a child of his by him and his wife and whoever was close to him at the time, which is actually a big thing… I have to say that they are very welcoming to me…' [Female, nu69]

While other participants noted some issues with re-engagement, they did, however, find that the positives outweigh the negatives. This is outlined in the following statement where the participant talks about the challenges of marae politics:

'… it's just the politics and that I can't be bothered getting involved in. If they ever need me for anything then I would do it, but I would do that for any of my marae if they asked me or any of my rūnanga if they asked me.' [Female, nu51]

The same divided perspective was clear in the following participant's narrative, where she explained that:

'I struggle a wee bit going to meetings and stuff with all of our stuff. If I go to a meeting like with a rūnanga and stuff or any kind of hui I'm the only one that's there under 30 and there's only about four, maybe five of us that are under 40… You learn lots though, they're interesting.' [Female, 24]

In both cases, while they have some issues with engaging with their marae or rūnanga, they both express an underlying benefit they gain from these interactions. Some of our participants enjoyed the interactions wholeheartedly, gaining energy from the passion. As one participant told us:

'…they had their meeting once a year for the tītī people who went to the island. Not a formalised meeting. It was a gathering where everybody expressed and everybody had something to say and I love it actually. Some of it can get very unpleasant and heated. There are those that are burning out older people who believe that it is not right. It's not civilised and I'm a staunch believer in it and I advocate for it really. Where else can these people go where they can stand unless now we have the marae? That's my thing. It's once and five minutes a year. All this passion is there.' [Female, 72]

This statement demonstrates how the marae is still active as a place for providing a political voice regarding the management of whānau and collective tītī taonga resources, and a site for vigorous debate. Another participant outlined how the rūnanga meetings provided him with a strong sense of identity explaining that:

'In time we ended up going to rūnanga meetings… So the four of us would go back to rūnanga meetings and we started to develop a real strong sense of identity that [our traditional rohe] was our home.' [Male, 32]

The way engaging with marae or rūnanga can help with deeper needs was also obvious in another participant's narrative:

'I recognised that my work was not nourishing my soul… so I stopped and I went and worked as a volunteer and the Marae Coordinator…' [Female, nu62]

Another participant, who had not been brought up in the Māori world, told us how his involvement in his rūnanga was a powerful learning experience connecting him into whānau and community relationships:

'[I was chair of the Rūnanga for] 11 years and that was an incredible learning curve especially the last couple of years. But the first nine years we made huge progress and it was intense learning being thrown into the family and the family dynamics and the politics… And so I had an intense learning curve learning about my own whakapapa but also the historical stuff… [there was] this sense of injustice there, just in terms, but I also was tempered with realism… and so understood that we needed to integrate ourselves into the community to be a really positive force and manage a lot of relationships.' [Male, 55]

In a similar vein, another participant told us how her whānau had decided to take control of their Māori land development back from the Māori Trustee (New Zealand Government Māori land management agency) – establishing an advisory committee, and how this had given a sense of control and ownership back to the whānau:

'[My aunt] remembers dad and [my uncle] walking across this block [of our land] and saying, "What can we do about it? What can we do with this?" And here we are the next generation, old now, and asking the same question. … So we have just formed an advisory committee… We are only on it to try and see if we can do something to take [the land] off the Māori trustee because it can't get any worse; no matter what we do it can't be any worse than what the Māori trustee has done or hasn't done. I think generating that feeling of taking back your ownership, even if there's a whole lot of people involved…' [Female, 75]

A broader sense of empowerment and meaning through giving, reciprocating and connecting into Papatipu Rūnanga activities is expressed by the following participant:

'… Ngāi Tahu is the corporate stuff and the Rūnanga; actually to me the Rūnanga is the real stuff. I'm not staying that the TRONT stuff isn't real, for me personally, it's about wellbeing. So being connected… I am passionate about what I do but I am driven by values base and I guess if it fits well with me, within my own value system, that's what I'll be doing. That's what drives me. That's what keeps me going. If it doesn't I won't be doing it. I couldn't do with the same… if I didn't have the passion I wouldn't be doing this if I

didn't feel that way. So I'm very much emotionally driven…. the other thing is, that also to me some of that's a Māori thing, is about giving back. So while I've been on a journey, actually it's not just been about me and it is about actually who's coming after me which is a Ngāi Tahu thing. So for me and everyone else after… So where to from here? That will be about giving back. So befitting of me being here, like I know it was only just a teeny amount of money years ago, I've never forgotten about that little grant that I got from Ngāi Tahu every year for those three years. The fact that I'm here now, I've ended up here, says a lot for me that actually this wasn't just a fluke. It's not a fluke. In many ways it is what it's meant to be.' [Female, nu48]

The above statement illustrates a common theme concerning how positive engagement generates a sense of pride in who you are, reversing the negatives that have been placed on the Māori identity. This was apparent in another participant's narrative, where she explained that it was when she started working for a Ngāi Tahu organisation that:

'… I first started to experience that real strength of Ngāi Tahu… I think I have always known through hearing about whakapapa that I am Ngāi Tahu and being [my hapū] but standing up actively as a Ngāi Tahu person probably was when I first started working [at a Ngāi Tahu organisation]… there was that sense of pride. I even remember feeling that; thinking this is awesome… I remember we had [Ngāi Tahu rangatahi] coming into the [organisation] and I remember seeing these kids feeling really proud and excited. That was awesome because they were upskilling our kids and giving them a sense of belonging and feeling proud in what they do' [Female, nu58]

In short, for some individuals becoming political involved means connecting with a network of whānau and Ngāi Tahu community that provides an empowering sense of belonging and identity. This may be considered to act as one antidote to the paternalism, marginalisation, and negative stereotypes characteristic of the colonising environment.

Economic Resilience to Obtain Economic Security

There is a need for economic resilience for individuals and within families to combat the traumatic effects of material poverty, the stress of hardship and provide increased capacity to explore opportunities beyond meeting basic needs such as: education; cultural identity and self-awareness. Economic resilience does not necessarily mean becoming wealthy, but can encompass everything from simply supplementing purchased food by hunting and gathering through to ensuring that your family is well provisioned. With regard to the former, one participant told us how mahinga kai was important to the whānau:

'… Dad is old-school Māori. You know, anything you can get free and put it on your table saves money; otherwise, you're stuffed, pure and simple … yeah, anything for free like watercress, puha, anything out of the moana. We used to go and get it from when we were young and he still goes now.' [Male, 33]

Incidentally, the need to supplement income with mahinga kai also helped keep Ngāi Tahu cultural food-gathering practices alive. Furthermore, as the statement below illustrates, ths also provided a mechanism for maintaining reciprocity and manāki between whānau:

'I'm the diver in the family. I am the official diver in the family so if someone needs some crayfish - doesn't have to be for any special occasion.' [Male, 52]

The continuing drive to collect mahinga kai was common in the narratives, with another participant telling us how appreciative she was to have had an upbringing embedded in this culture:

'…just little things like we'd go and get a lot of kai moana and stuff like that. And hunting… we did a lot of that sort of thing and Mum used to take us into the bush a lot and just talk to us about the bush and the different things and stuff like that. She was really good at passing on her knowledge to us from a very young age… [it was not until] I was older and kind of thought about it more. Learning how lucky I was to have an upbringing like I did living in the country and just gathering our food so much more so than buying it from a supermarket also.' [Female, 24].

A number of participants sought to extract themselves from the settler economy as much as they could. One participant outlined how she had been attempting to set her children up to be self-sufficient through changing the title on their Māori land, explaining that:

'I'm not materialistic; I'm not materialistic and I don't like show ponies; I don't want to be a show pony; I don't need that recognition of any sort. So I just do what I do and that's it. Part of here is, well for the future is that nobody can take it off the kids in the future. So even if there's no house here it's their bit of dirt… I don't wanna leave a burden on the kids for the future. As I said, even if the house isn't here it's still somewhere that's theirs, nobody can kick them out… What we're doing is, I hope just setting an example to the kids. Let's say it's not just hours for dollars to feather someone else's nest. It's not a greed for the dollar; it's to get a life.' [Female, 52]

She was, after great difficulty, successful in her attempts to transfer the title, which means she has effectively removed her piece of land from the settler market. As she went on to explain:

'I didn't pay the rates here for a long time and that was before I'd changed it into Māori land because I wanted to know what their policies were and I got flipped off… So I actually went to Court over it, I took QV to Court over the land value and how, you know, blah, blah, blah. But they kept putting the rates up and up as a lifestyle block for like resale when it was clearly put into a… as I stated, "I don't want to sell it, it's not on the same market, it's not on the market".' [Female, 52]

Similarly the idea of acquiring assets and land as mechanism for community economic, and in turn political, independence, is outlined by the following participant:

'I think for me one of the things I did as a Chair was accumulate as much friggin' land as I could for the hapū and did quite well actually quite frankly. 'Cause I see land as our connection… in our space the same as where you're from, we could be the biggest landlord, the biggest landowners and the biggest employers and landlords in the area if we take a long term view of what we're going to do. And that's where I've tried to do it.' [Male, 55]

Another theme in the narratives was the manner in which money is used, and in particular the notion that money should only be seen as a means to value-guided ends. Or in other words, making money should not be an ends in and of itself, but should be earned with an outcome in mind. This is illustrated by the following participant:

'There were things that I feel were compromised, especially in terms of values, and even today I would say to the people who measure the success of Ngāi Tahu as being the dollar signs that get reported in the Holding's Corporation, bank balances – that's just so off the mark because money is nothing more than a vehicle for that side of the tribe, and that must be the marker of success. And how they make that filter through to families like mine I don't know; I don't have the answer. I only know that the measure of success must surely be are your tribal people living a healthier life, a more educated life, fewer in prison, longer living, more satisfying, able to speak te reo or whatever. And if you can't demonstrate that that's happening, then you're not doing it right yet. That's all; simple.' [Female, nu62]

In summary, economic resilience involves creating ways of buffering from the vagaries of the settler economy that are also culturally-resonant. Generally, this resilience was focused on whenua

and mahinga kai, traditional lodestones of the pre-contact Māori economy, though there were references to other avenues, including education.

Education with a Māoritanga Focus

Education is also important and while many Māori have struggled in the Pākehā-centric state education system the growth of kura kaupapa and bilingual units means that many have been able to learn in more culturally-conducive environments. Also though, and this is very important, many others have been able to make the settler education system suit them better through the creation of likeminded communities or by choosing to pursue Māori-oriented topics their chosen field. One participant told us:

> *'I went into the bilingual unit, to the Māori; so I've been to Māori everything. And so I met a lot of good friends there… [and at] high school did kapa haka and that and I was in the bilingual so we were everywhere. I travelled the whole of New Zealand through high school in the bilingual unit. And we went to all the tangis that were in Christchurch and we had a marae; our classes were in the marae, so we learnt about powhiri's and all that sort of stuff as well… [and] I would love for [my children] to go through Māori school and [my daughter] from pre-school to high school, it's gonna be bilingual… They just need to be able to talk to anybody. You can go into a Pākehā environment and feel comfortable and then go into a Māori environment and feel comfortable as well. To be able to talk with everyone… Yeah I can feel comfortable in either.' [Female, 30]*

This statement illustrates how many participants considered going through a bilingual unit helped ensure that Māori felt confident in both Māori and Pākehā environments – an essential means to navigate the complexities of the settler state with assurance. This same sentiment was expressed by another participant, who explained that:

> *'When it comes to the whole reo side of things all my children have grown up in bilingual education. I could have chosen Kura Kaupapa but bilingual more because they need to be strong in two worlds and not just one these days.' [Female, 37]*

Another common theme of parents sending their children through bilingual education also becoming engaged in their became immersed in her own educational journey. For example one told us that:

'I took [my daughter] to Kōhanga and while I was at Kōhanga I became involved with [a Māori education organisation] which at that stage was just a home school based at [a local school]; the principal had given them a room. I used to work in the evenings 'cause having kids you kind of couldn't work during the day. Anyway the opportunity for a job came up…. that's how I learned te reo just ngāti taringa. I just listened, made mistakes, got laughed at, got corrected and mostly by the kids and that's how I learned te reo.' [Female, nu46]

Another interesting aspect we found is that the benefits of attending one of these schools flowed onto tertiary education as well. As one participant who had attended a kura kaupapa told us:

'… during my 6th and 7th form year we got the opportunity to go to university for Te Ao Māori and that was awesome. It was awesome because so many people came out of Kura we got to socialise and create networks with other people that when we started university we knew quite a few people, although we were only high school students. So the people that we did know they were there helping us and looking after us and making sure that we did everything and understood everything because university is such a different environment to Kura Kaupapa. It was awesome… I ended up graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in Te Reo Māori and Māori indigenous studies. During that time I got to be a part of Te Akatoki - the Māori Students Association there on campus. Without them and their support and watching everyone else struggle the way I did, I don't think I would have made it through. Everyone is there to study but they're also there to find friends and find support. That's one thing that I felt like I really needed. I feel like everywhere I go I need to find that whānau bond in order for me to feel safe and secure.' [Female, nu47]

Also pertinent in the above statement is the manner in which those who had attended kura kaupapa went on to 'indigenise' the University through building whānaungatanga among the Māori students, and supporting the development of Māori subjects. We also found participants directing their education within Pākehā institutions in a way that was congruent with their culture. This is illustrated by the participant below, who not only did her degree to gain employment but to also fulfil her role as kaitiaki and develop knowledge to be passed to successive generations – thus helping the cycle of Māori educational engagement. When we asked her why she studied environmental management she told us it was because of:

'Time spent out at Waikawa on the land and everything like that and me noticing a big difference in what we could gather and where we could gather from and what we could do on our land, was really big to me. And in my short lifetime of being that age is noticing the difference and imagine what the timescape for older

people, like my Mum's generation or even the older ones, what differences they've seen. And I just want to do my part in looking after it so that it's still there for my mokos and my children… Yeah I really want to, after I've been in the field for 20 years, go back and do my post-grad or something like that so that I can go back and lecture. So I can teach the next generation coming up 'cause I think everybody should do that in their jobs.' [Female, 24]

Following a similar theme we found participants building their existing professional capabilities by becoming more proficient with their Māoritanga, which, in turn, gave them opportunities, and the ability to change the way government agencies are operated. This is illustrated in the quote below:

'There was plenty of opportunities when I could have gone back to school or could have up-skilled but then because I love nursing, but I guess my thought was, 'If I'm going to go back to school, why go back and do nursing because actually I know how to do that? If I'm going to go back to school, I wanna do something different'… I did some other studies around Māori things. So, when [a colleague] was in the DHB and Māori manager, there was a course… for Hauora Māori. I have a Certificate in Māori Health… I can remember going to board meetings [at various institutions and some there asked] "What do we need for our Māori patients." I said, "You need more brown faces on the ground floor." She said, "I beg your pardon." I said, "You need more staff in the hospitals if you want your whānau to come in, they need to know someone that's in there. So get more Māori staff in. I'm sick of being lonely".' [Female, 55]

In a similar vein, research participants outlined the need for greater cross-cultural knowledge within government service sectors, or individuals trained to meet the needs of Māori as well as Pākehā. This is illustrated in the following statement:

'… a well-qualified workforce both with Pākehā and Māori qualifications. One of the biggest issues I see is that I have just a whole lot of study with some young Māori women, or older Māori women too, who are working in social sectors who are being told by their Pākehā providers they have to have a qualification. I don't see that those same Pākehā people are telling their Pākehā colleagues that they need to have qualifications to work with Māori. I think that is our biggest step; is if you want to work with Māori people you have a qualification to work with them or forget it and go work over there.' [Female, nu69]

Another theme was the role of younger generations getting good qualifications so that they can take control of their own reality, and can transform settler institutions from the inside. The following participant told us:

'… our next generation with all these nieces and nephews who are going to the universities and finding out about business and commerce and the more we get educated at that level they'll come up from this way up, rather than waiting for someone to come down from above to sort of educate us. ' [Female, nu72]

In summary, education is an important way of reconnecting with culture and there are a number of ways that this connection can be made and a number of resulting benefits that can come from this reconnection, both personal and wider. Furthermore, education with a Māori focus can provide a reciprocating understanding of the wider issues within the sector or field and Māoridom in general.

Reconnection or Strengthening the Connection with Whenua

Reconnecting or strengthening the connection with whenua is key to Māori identity, and creating and sense tūrangawaewae. There are many opportunities for reconnecting or strengthening the connection with the land, from gathering mahinga kai, to changing land title. As we found in the narratives, many whānau have developed a flexible understanding of their relationship with whenua. The important outcome for participants is not necessarily to replicate the pre-contact type connections as for many these are impossible. Rather, for a number of participants the relationship with land has been reframed and reinterpreted for the postcolonial environment. For example, the following participant when asked about returning to the Pā, describes how she uses art as a means of connecting with her tūrangawaewae:

'I don't think so because I'm never far from there. It's never ever far from me - the roads, the hills. I'm painting there these days. I'm painting the outlines. I've got them in my head.' [Female, 62]

Showing a similar malleability, another participant, when asked about their connection to the land simply told us:

'It's events that keep me attached to the whenua… my attachment to different people and their claiming of me and my claiming of them.' [Female, 48]

She goes on to explain the wide variety of personal life events she has experienced that have bonded her with the land, outlining how it is both the places and the people she has connected with during her existence that creates her sense of belonging. In other words, the people and the

land are reciprocally tied through events that she experiences everyday. The same participant has also broadened the frame form belonging only to her turangawaewae, telling us that when she arrived back from the North Island:

'I say, 'my island.' I call it 'my island'.' [Female, 48]

There is, in this dual connectivity, a flexibility that ensures she will be able to feel a bond in a wide variety of situations. Another participant also demonstrated the same flexibility, however, her sense of belonging came from her perception that she was the whenua, so she could not be separated from it. Her connection and sense of belonging to land was not dependent upon physical possession but through a sense of being inseparable from it:

'To me it doesn't make me who I am but to me it's down the track if my moko want to come home and have somewhere to stand on physically or somewhere for them to come to they've got somewhere to come to. Although I know there's the marae and stuff like that. When I think back to upbringing there's a part of me that wished that although it was about wanting you to go away and get this wonderful career I actually wish that I was also taught the value of buying a home at a young age, and I don't mean that in a monetary value, I mean that in a place for my moko to come home to. It's not necessarily about the land because to me I am the whenua anyway.' [Female, nu58]

We saw the same attitude from another participant who, when asked about her whenua connection, explained that:

'Yeah we do, all do actually. That's where we belong... No matter who owns it; that's how I feel anyway…... I go to that area, around that bush area and the sea because to me it's me.' [Female, 70]

The sense of identity, centred in being the land, or a part of the land, common throughout the whānau narratives, demonstrates a capacity to transcend the structural changes of the settler state, in that although many whanau were alienated in terms of ownership from the land, they were not alienated with regard to remaining part of the land. However, many whānau, even though they did not own the land felt a collectively obligation to care for the land. This is based on the logic that given that people are a product of the land, harming the land would be harming oneself. For example, as one participant told us:

'…it's the connection but is also the responsibility. You can have a section and you can mow your lawn and put up your fence and look after your section, but for me it's a collective responsibility for the Māori, for the wellbeing of the whole place. It's no good looking after your quarter acre section or your seven acres or whatever your family block is and then stuff the rest of it because it's all us, it's all who we are.' [Male, 34]

Another participant has even taken her sense of responsibility for the environment one step further. When she was asked about whether she connected to any land she explained that:

'I don't feel deeply connected to it but I still feel responsible; does that make sense?… I still feel responsible. Everything that goes on around here, and you're aware of the environment or risks… I feel hurt that not enough is being done about it and it pains me. I can see where Greenpeace activists... I can see why they do that and how I'd love to just down all tools and go and chain myself to something and go, "Get out. Get out, look what you're doing." And no one's taking any responsibility and everyone's pointing the finger. It's over there. It's their fault. It's their fault. It's their fault. And they know damn well it's their own. That the legislation they've got in place is all wrong. That the policies that they've got is totally inappropriate. I don't understand that way of thinking.' [Female, 49]

In summary, many individuals connect to the land in a variety of flexible ways. However, a common theme is that there is a sense of the land and people being one and the same entity, and, as a consequence, there is a perception that harming the land leads to human harm, while healing the land leads to human health. It appears that this perception of identifying with land is actually a form of identity that can transcend the effects of colonial land alienation - given that ownership of the land is not needed to identify with it. Nonetheless, this perception also results in pain when the land is harmed, or treated without respect or care. Consequently, an environmental attack on land is simultaneously an attack on Māori identity.

Greater Cultural Fluency

Another common theme throughout the narratives was individuals and whānau gaining greater cultural fluency, and, with that knowledge, the development of strong and positive identities that combat the stigmatisation and negative self-concept generated through the colonisation process. The way in which different individuals re-connected with their language, protocols, history, and worldview differed. For some it came from joining a kapa haka group, for others it came from an interest in whānau and whakapapa, and for some it could take on a whenua focus. The best way to learn and engage with the culture seemed to depend on the individual and what was best for

them. However, as one participant explained, while engagement with Māoritanga can be personal and guided by individual choice, it has to have an integrity underlying it to really make an impact:

'With kapa haka it really introduced us to lots. It was kind of an eclectic way of learning, because a lot of the tutors were from up North. So the ones that really influenced me throughout my learning have been Kahungunu, Wairarapa, Ngā Porou, Waikato and Ngā Puhi – were probably the main four... We started to do a lot more kapa haka, I met other Māori kids. To be able to say 'kia ora', and things like that. But that was only because of the teachings outside of school that was going to wānanga with my mother, with all her friends, who were proficient in Te Reo... Kapa haka changed for me 15 years ago. It was a little bit different. When I was in Invercargill, because now I live in Christchurch, things like kapa haka were just things that we did to connect. And I didn't even know the word connection... wasn't until... you know with all that teaching that I had been given all through my young... You didn't realise what it actually meant until you went away and then found people who were really passionate about what they had been doing, even with their kapa haka; these people are passionate... I was in my early twenties I think I as; I was playing pool and this old kuia come up and she goes, "No hea koutou." And I didn't know what she was saying. And she would say, "Ko a koe?" And I didn't know what she was saying. "No hea koutou." No, again, "[Māori]." I didn't know what she was saying and I said to her, "Oh sorry, I don't speak Māori." And she said, "Oh, are you fella's here for the kapa haka?" We said, "Yeah, we're doing kapa." And she said, "You do kapa haka but you don't speak Māori?" I said, "Yeah". And I think, not from that point, but there were these little things like that throughout my life that triggered me to try and learn more... So with the kapa haka stuff, with the junior kapa haka, it was through the motions; just going through the motions of it all... it's only through education that I really understand who I am and who Ngāi Tahu are.' [Male, nu66]

Other participants gained greater cultural fluency because they were focused on their whānau and whakapapa, as one told us:

'Our family does this thing; we used to have reunions every five years and then we got a little bit older into our 30's and 40's we started being more vocal at our whānau meetings and said that we didn't want to just get together and have a big party, that we wanted to learn some stuff and we wanted out kids to learn stuff... So I put my hand up one year and said, "We'll do it, me and dad will do it," and then I got home and told Sis she had to get involved too. So we brought everyone down to Christchurch and we took them around and we explained some of the Ngāi Tahu stuff; it was all based on Ngāi Tahu, that wānanga, so that they could learn a bit more.' [Female, nu51]

While whakapapa was the above participant's path towards greater cultural fluency, for the next participant his journey began by learning te reo, which led to an interest in his traditional rohe, and, in turn, to an interest in his whakapapa and whānau:

'So in 2005 I started at Polytech in their Māori department. I started looking to get to know my Māori side a bit better and being predominantly white I went into those classes on that course with little more than the ability to say kia ora. By the end of that first year I had a basic conversational level of the reo, knew a bit more about where I was from… but it wasn't until the next year, 2006, when I became involved with… our dean at the Māori school 'cause [she] has an affiliation, she has whakapapa to [my traditional rohe]. She knew who I was or who my family as and she asked me one day when the last time was I'd been to my marae. I said I'd never been so she took me down there for a weekend… I started looking at my history, but really for me when it changed was really in 2007, the next year when I met [my cousin] at Polytech. I'd heard about him before, but I'd never met him… We had a shared interest in [our traditional rohe] and for me I think that was sort of the element that was missing, those family connections, 'cause me and [my cousin] pretty much became inseparable from then onwards. We would just spend hours and hours talking wananga; we'd look up manuscripts, whakapapa, books, any little scrap of information about our home we would look up… develop a real strong sense of identity that [our traditional rohe] was our home. That we were [from our traditional rohe] and that there is a legacy left to us by your tupuna, which has been handed down through the family in different ways, some of which is written, some of which is recorded. So there have been numerous messages left for future generations from our tunpuna which we have devoured more or less. I guess we were sort of looking for that reconnection for us, looking back to where we came from.' [Male, 32]

The same approach to developing cultural fluency through connections to land was also apparent in the following narrative, where the participant describes the manner in which her connection back to land brought her to learn the stories/pūrākau of her people:

'I don't think having land defines you but I do think that having land helps you create a better environment for your whānau; a better understanding of who you are as an iwi or hapū because from there that's where the pūrākau's come through and that's where the learning at home comes through, because you learn about what happened on your path because it's yours and your living there. You learn about which iwi was there and who they fought and things like that. As well as learning about which different kai you can grow in your māna [33.00] and things like that; because it's your home you get the pleasure of knowing all these different things about it… nothing beats being on your land and learning about it that way.' [Female, nu47]

Similarly, the focus on land leading to greater cultural fluency is reiterated by the following participant, where the need to set-up a Whānau Trust for land led to a journey into te ao Māori:

'So once I got into te ao Māori there was, I had all of these things I wanted to do and one of them was to identify our land and be part of that and really find out what connected us… mum knew that I was really different and probably of all of the kids would be the one that could attract trouble from Te Ao Māori. Then of course once I got into it and mum saw that I was interested, really interested, first of all with the setting up of the Whānau Trust to put the land in. Mum didn't really understand it so she asked if I would do it. By that time I was married and had two kids. So I was really keen to have a look. I've been over most of the land and found, in the South Island anyway, haven't made it to the North Island yet, the land up there. But yes I know exactly where the land is and I make sure when my whānau come here, my nephews and nieces and that, I make sure that they know where the land is, the two blocks that we've got….I'm sort of on a bit of a crusade. I'm at 46; we're now up to 46 as of this morning… We've hit 46 so I'm on a real crusade to get them all registered with Ngāi Tahu… I want all of these young ones… to know what it means to be Māori' [Female, 56]

While for some whānau, as outlined in previous sections of this report, engagement with Māori culture was seen divisive act, in many others it acted like a catalyst where more and more family members began to seek a greater cultural fluency themselves. This was also apparent in the following narrative:

'One day, when my daughter was doing kapa haka… we went out and I took my dad out to watch, and all the people out there greeted him like someone back from the dead. All the whānau came up to him and made a huge fuss over him and hongied him… I watched my father and I knew he was feeling it… Then after, he started to try and get [my daughter] to sing Māori songs to him and speak Māori to him. I knew that something had awoken inside of him.' [Female, 53]

Another theme identified in whānau narratives was new generations becoming immersed in te ao Māori, and coming to learn the culture and language osmotically, rather than needing to engage in formal education. As one participant told us:

'I think when I was growing up it wasn't a conscious decision to teach me anything, it was just life. So I try and do the same with my children, the difference being we live in Christchurch and not within the rohe.

So I try and normalise that as much as possible; going back to [my traditional rohe] whenever we can, visiting whānau, being involved in activities at the marae, gathering kai… It's just about providing them with that experience and letting them connect themselves. My father and grandfather didn't take me home and say, "Hey this is [your rohe], this is where you're from, you do this and you do that." I just experienced what they did. I witnessed them; I was in the car with them, I was going on walks with them, and they weren't teaching me as such, it was just living life, carrying out activities that we were doing and I just try and include my children in that as much as possible; the only difference being having had the privilege and the opportunity to relearn the language and acquire the language to a level that I'm able to transmit that to my children, and that being our normal mode of communication.' [Male, 34]

However, while in many cases greater cultural fluency can come simply from being immersed in te ao Māori, for many who have been 'removed' and are 'reconnecting', engaging in a more overt and formal manner may also be crucial. The following statement illustrates this point:

'… now we're in a generation that's been removed; a lot of our generation didn't grow up in the village experiencing those practices so now it's about understanding the philosophies and the deeper connections behind them to understand them. So I think yes we label things as tikanga; some of us practice those things day in and day out and we use tikanga as a way of explaining it. But I think for a lot of us it's still just common practice; it's what we do. And because we now have a lot of whānau that are reconnecting and re-engaging and for them it's about learning because they haven't experienced that. We need to explain it like that…' [Male, 34]

Also discussing the connections between the regeneration of culture and greater cultural fluency, another participant outlined that this was an intergenerational mission, with each generation contributing until Māori culture is fully revived:

'Colonialism has changed their whole thought patterns away from our old ways and it's trying to get them to come back. There's a lot of stuff we will never ever retrieve; a lot of our tikanga and kawa have gone and we'll never, ever get it back. However, it doesn't mean to say that we have to continue down this line. So our job is to turn it so we can go back. And it's to get our generation below us. I've always said Mana Māori, the Reo, their tikanga and their customs will never be fully installed in my generation, or the generation below me, or the generation below that. But my great moko will come up totally by it. That's where it's a difference. So we're just patching at present and setting, so the one's below us…, they're picking up a lot of stuff. The one below that we're getting it into the school systems now; where our Māori language

and our customs will be normalised. But the ones below them will have all the benefits from birth to death. So there'll be four generations of change before we get what we want.' [Male, 55]

The prominence and value of whakapapa in rebuilding cultural fluency was also a common premise throughout the whānau narratives. However, it was also noted as an important means of building mana, as outlined in the statement below:

'I think just embrace where you come from, embrace where you are going to and always be proud of where you come from and who you are. I think if there is one little bit of thing that I can pass on to encourage the next generation that would be go back to your whakapapa links and let it grow from there. I think what comes with that is that sense of mana.' [Female, nu58]

Within narratives, the need for an open and responsive Māori culture to new and changing circumstances was also mentioned. In particular, the ability to remove the imposed settler institutions, and create new institutions, drawing on tikanga Māori, that are adapted to context. As one participant explained to us:

'From what I understand… a Rūnanga is something that we adopted and I think it was from Governor Grey; Governor Grey introduced the concept of Rūnanga. I don't even really know what the concept of a Rūnanga is and particularly since doing my studies I would still refer to us as a hapū; although we are ngā hapū because we are not just of one descent line. A version of a Rūnanga for me it's like a thing that has been put together, a western or European thing, and we have put a Māori name to it and we have adopted it and that's we are; we are now a Rūnanga… I know of a person in our Rūnanga who couldn't get much more mana than what she has, major stuff going on with her mokopuna and they kind of point the finger at her and her whānau going, "You're the problem," and it's like, "Um, no, you guys are being completely deceived over here by the mother." But if we had had a hapū response and said, "Listen here, these are our babies, this is what we are going to do, butt your nose right out of it, we'll manage this and we'll make sure…" Then we wouldn't be having the problems that we are having.' [Female, nu69]

Conversely, other participants outlined the need to reinterpret mātauranga Māori to make it more relevant to the contemporary context. Take this participant, who told us that:

'Well in the beginning if someone said, "that's tapu," I would be like "Ooh," scared 'cause I didn't understand it. But I believe now that tapu thing is a mechanism with protection and it's not a scary thing;

like it's a good thing if you look at it as being a protective thing… Yeah like its common sense stuff. It's like your head is tapu because your brain is in there and without your brain and brain function then you can't function as a human being. That's why you don't go banging yourself around the head…' [Female, nu51]

That said, the viewpoint above does not actually have to exclude the more traditional spiritual perspective. As another participant told us:

'… there was an old house that been either demolished or burnt back then. Don't go back there, its haunted and all that sort of carry on. What I believe too is why that was is at the time the chimney was half standing and it was unsafe and so if you went back there there's highly likely the bloody bricks would just fall on you and that's why we did it. A lot of our tapu is like that… Its health and safety. It's not necessarily about sinking into the ground but it's about keeping yourself safe and even in an urupā when they say what can happen in an urupā, well it's about your spiritual safety too because you don't know who's in the urupā. Most of them are our relations but the others aren't so there's all of that sort of carry on too.' [Male, nu66]

In summary, there was a broad range of approaches individuals and whanau used to develop their cultural fluency. Furthermore, tikanga Māori was being used, and interpreted in many different ways, by those applying the cultural knowledge in everyday circumstance. However, there was a universal theme within whānau narratives that the development of cultural fluency led to the development of strong and positive identities that combat the stigmatisation and negative self-concept generated through the colonisation process. Greater cultural fluency can mean many things, but it must be driven by a real desire to connect with Māoritanga. It can take many courses, from an almost unconscious immersion to a specific focus on a particular cultural aspect. If this increased cultural fluency is done in the right way it can also act as a spark for the rest of the whānau, generating interest and driving more and more family members to want to learn more. Furthermore, increased personal cultural fluency generates communal cultural regeneration, the more people who become culturally fluent drives the rebuilding of the various aspects of Māoritanga.

A Nuanced Counter-Narrative and Identity Fusion

One of the most powerful ways of overcoming the negative impacts of the colonial narrative is for the individual to craft their own counter-narrative against the denigrating colonial narratives that stigmatise indigenous people. As outlined in details throughout the results section the physical

colonisation process also involves mind colonisation, whereby Māori can develop an assimilated 'Pakehā' identity which is in conflict with their Māori identity that provides their intuitive and innate way of being. Counter-narratives act to overcome this conflict, and build a coherent and positive 'fused' cultural identity. A good example of this comes from a participant, who talked about 'dark world' he inhabited when he was young and the conflict between his Māori and Pākehā sides. He spoke of intense spiritual experiences he had had and we asked:

'So was that coming from your Christianity side or your Māori? A: Coming from my Māori side that was. Q: From your Māori side? A: Yeah, that definitely was Tangaroa for sure. And you know although I was brought up in the Catholic faith my interpretation of God isn't the big old guy with the staff; I have a different interpretation of what God is. Q2: So you don't see a contradiction between those two? A: No.' [Male, 50]

As this participant explains, he has interpreted God in his own way and has managed to overcome the potential contradiction between faith in a monotheistic religion and his pantheistic Māori experience. His own narrative is one that fuses these two knowledges into a single functional whole. Rather than being conflicted by these two potentially oppositional components within him he has managed to craft them into something that works personally. He went on to explain to us, after being asked whether he owes something to his tūrangawaewae:

'Yeah I believe I do. I believe I do and that's probably why I do service to whoever, you know with our young ones here, whether it's the marae. And even with my Gods or my God it's like I need to make amends; its making amends this is how I see it. 'Cause I said, "Get me out of this one, I'll never do it again," and I've been in that place so many times. My higher power or my God, or my wairua got me out of that.' [Male, 50]

However, counter-narratives that fuse conflicting identities can also have an applied focus. This may be illustrated by a whānau that have developed a tattoo that incorporates both traditional indigenous elements of tā moko, with symbols that encapsulate their Pākehā ancestor. Through this symbol they are fusing together the different threads of their whakapapa into a single whole, combining two ancestries that could be viewed antagonistically in a positive way. In essence, this involves the whānau fusing their Māori and Pākehā cultural identities into a new personalised form, one 'that's us'. It is a flexible and personalised way of overcoming the potential identity conflicts.

The process of developing the tā moko is explained by a member of the whanau, who explained that they:

> "…started talking about tā moko... and we want to come up with, we want to do something [for our whole family that includes our Pākehā whaling ancestor and ancestry] and that's one thing we all said; 'cause a lot of people have got Ngāi Tahu tā moko have got the whale tail, but that's sort of what everyone's got now. So we want to come up with something that we can pass around to the whole whānau so we can see and be like, "Yeah; well, that's us".' [Male, 26]

The fusion can be relatively simple, as can be seen in the following participant's narrative:

> 'We always used to say part-Māori; they'd never say you're Māori, it was always we acknowledge both sides of our whakapapa.' [Male, 34]

This same adaptiveness was also present in the following participant's where a journey from identity conflict between different parts of her identity, through to a resolution where she is a post-settlement indigenous citizen who has reconciled the conflict and has come to understand herself as 'New Zealand Māori':

> 'I think growing up in Christchurch as a Māori and going to a Pākehā school, going to a church which was predominantly dominated by the Pākehā culture, it was all about their etiquette – you dressed a certain way, you spoke a certain way – probably had a huge part to play with why we conformed a certain way, and being Māori didn't always fit on the same… Our religion was quite strict…. It's so different in that the Māori culture, they were heathens and they worshipped idols. And so you couldn't really marry the two together. But I think mum in her wisdom and she knew that there were good things on both sides… [I am] New Zealand Māori…I have a Pākehā side to me that comes from the [Canterbury] region… That whole Māori environment [in Gisborne]...everyone was Māori... I started… thinking, 'I'm not like [them]. I'm different!' And so that's why I sort of owned my Pākehā side because everyone down in the South Island and Christchurch was Pākehā and that was the norm for me. So there was my New Zealand Māori side, there was my Christian side…and then my cultural side…' [Female, nu72]

The journey from conflict to resolution is also evident in the following narrative, where the participant explains that, 'it wasn't about being Māori and it wasn't about being born again' but

rather about crafting her own identity, one that included her Christian faith and an acceptance of who she is and where she comes from:

'I'm looking for something and you still haven't got it either so I'm off… I went to Auckland. That began my life with Te Ao Māori in the north. So I did all of my growing up and Māori life in the north - lock stock and barrel opened up in the north. On the land I lived… it wasn't about being Māori and it wasn't about being born again… it just wasn't because that was the time. It was like the tide was running that way. Hello. The tide was going that way… When we got to Auckland, the kohanga movement is starting to stand up. Māori broadcasting is due to arrive any minute… So I lived amongst Māori and I'm talking about those deep roots that came out of our grandmother of Matakite. I ran into all of that there. I ran into the deep end there and it was those people with that same facility who happened to be advising Jim Bolger. And the Māori queen got hold of me and helped me understand something of what was in the basement of my life that runs through so many of our families and it will put you in a mental asylum unless you can get some support around you to hold still…. In the meantime, I'm working for [a Māori radio station] learning how to produce. Working with every Māori there is around in the hub of Māoridom there; what a gift. I was so frightened to even go and visit the studio one day when somebody had… I thought there are real Māori in there… So she's calling and saying, "You better come home." … She had started a blinking fire. It took five months to get finished in Auckland, to get studies finished, money raised, house closed down, school sorted, and we were home here in the south… The most important thing for me is Christian faith and I knew the minute my feet got on this land down here that there was a hole inside of me and that was the place… whoever Christ was I didn't know but I knew he belonged there… Then I came to work for Ngāi Tahu. I knew inside me I had to come home to Ngāi Tahu… I'm only unwrapping that now and I'm not so sure about that. There's lots of it I'm not so sure about but it's done and I do know that each one of us has to stand in the histories that we've got, in all that we've got, and make our way up to the best place we can for those after us. The thing that I love about Ngāi Tahu being Ngāi Tahu is that they got that thing right. They got this thing right. They got a lot of things right. They got a lot of things great. They got a lot of things great. That's the most important thing for me because we've got a generation after us and I'm pretty urgent for this stuff in here to get ready for them. And I got nine and they cross cultures, they cross oceans. And so I feel a responsibility to do stuff… that's been also my own journey back into Ngāi Tahu, back home. I'm on my way back. I'm on my way. I'm just doing what we all did. We are all on this road coming into the fullness of design, fullness of this tribe, of these incredible people… That is what helps me of other's stories. I listen to them when I am with these painters. We all talk about navigating in the dark; that is where we all are…There are certain things that we don't [know] about, that kind of darkness of not knowing, knowing a tiny bit and knowing that you need the whole picture but you have only got that much…

Here I am nearly thirty, forty years later and the rest of the story is just arriving so it is coming out of the dark and it is also finding the language when we have got a gap in our language. It is finding the gaps in our understanding and going into places.' [Female, 62]

The evidence suggests that certain individuals have demonstrated the capacity to overcome the identity conflicts that they have inherited through the colonisation process. This is achieved by consciously overcoming the conflicts between the identities by fusing them into a functional personalised identity. It was clear from the whānau narratives that there were many possible configurations for fused identities, based on levels of conflict individuals were experiencing and the specific areas of conflict.

An Understanding of the Increased Variation in Māoridom

It is also vital that people develop an understanding of the increased variation of identities in Māoridom. The extent of Pākehā and Western cultural assimilative influences on Māori vary considerably, and, as such, there will correspondingly be a significant spectrum of identities based on level of assimilation. Evidence, presented in previous sections of this report, suggest that conflict emerges within whānau and communities, based on divisions between in-groups that consider themselves authentically Māori and outgroups who are considered non-authentic. Consequently, to overcome this conflict, the research results suggest that there is a requirement to understand the spectrum of identities whilst also striving for cultural regeneration. One participant provides a fair summary of it at its most basic. When asked what makes something was Māori, she explained that:

"It's 'cause we do it. That's what makes it Māori." [Female, 40]

While this may be too loose a definition for some, her attitude is built on a flexible understanding of what culture should be. It is important to approach culture not as a set of rigid historic traditions but rather as a mixture of faithful observance of the past with contemporary intentional adaptation and unintentional mutation. The point is that a living, breathing culture is something that is not just practiced but also created. One very contentious yet important area regarding cultural adaptation we found among the whānau narratives is women being able to whaikōrero. As one participant explained:

'A good example is one of my moko turned five and my daughter kept saying to me, "We've got his powhiri going onto the kura, but we don't have a male speaker 'cause dad had to be at work, and [another male speaker] had to be somewhere else." And I said, "[to my daughter] stand up. I'm giving you permission now to actually take the role and stand up." And she said, "Do you think I can do that, because it needs to be a male speaker?" And I went, "No, no, we have to." And I've been saying to my peers, my Māori peers at the university in Christchurch, "We don't have male speakers and I'm not going to be dialling a kaumātua every five minutes, then we need to take it upon ourselves to actually stand up." So they're starting to take it on board and doing it. They keep looking at me and I'm, "No, you do it. It's okay, you do it".' [Female, 50]

While for some this goes against tradition and is unacceptable, in many cases it is about making a judgement call regarding what is more important, protecting the tradition of women staying off the paepae or protecting the tradition of te reo whaikōrero being given at powhiri. Showing a similar understanding of the need to acceptance of variation through compromise and balancing of different needs and situations, another participant told us:

'I think too; you had all these North Island influences that were moving and living in the South who had the reo, but they kind of moved away from their own homes, that were living… and then we put a lot of onus back on them, on those people who had the reo, because we thought at the time you had to have the reo to be able to do things on the marae. Whereas in [my rohe] that was kind of the opposite, because we were still doing things – fishing, hunting, gathering, whatever; we still had tikanga behind it but we just didn't have the reo. So those sorts of things. You kind of have to put it into perspective, of an understanding how that works.' [Female, nu66]

Another area where this acceptance and balance can be seen in the way the Māori relationship with land has changed, with some participants arguing that land should no longer be held up as the single most important source of identity that it once was because society has changed. This theme is illustrated by one participant who told us when asked if land mattered:

'Not in today's world no. I think years ago it did but the whole of our culture has changed in terms of ownership, mana whenua, mana moana and that the whole of society has changed as well.' [Female, nu57]

Taking this further, another participant, in expressing her concerns regarding the divisions between authentic and inauthentic Māori, argued that as long as you have Māori ancestry, as long as you

whakapapa, you are Māori – which is the most flexible and inclusive way of understanding who Māori are:

'I always thought it's the blood that runs through your veins; no one ever said anything about the dirt, the whenua. It is important but it's not the whole importance of who you are as an identity and as a person. But we disenfranchise people that way.' [Female, nu51]

We could also see the understanding for an inclusive cultural identity, that took into account the spectrum of possible Māori identities, in the following participant's narrative, when she told us about her Dad's wishes for his tangi:

'And so he asked that both Māori and English [were spoken], 'cause we knew he was gonna have a tangi so we knew that Māori was gonna be spoken, but he wanted it translated so that everybody could be part of it. And we tried to push for that and they said, "No, it's tikanga; we can't do this." I said, "We'll take him home." This is up north, 'cause we took dad back home. And I asked my uncles. I said, "You need to translate." Said, "Oh no, we can't, that's not the kawa." I said, "Well, that's fine; we'll bring the car round and I'll take him home." I said, "This is dad's wishes and what dad wanted dad's gonna get whether you like it or not"… So what they did, instead of translating on the floor, my uncle made sure he sat between [my sibling] and I and translated to us. That's all we wanted. We wanted to know what people were saying about dad.' [Female, nu73]

Again the evidence suggests that dealing with identity conflict comes down to determining how inclusive or exclusive Māoritanga is and which aspects of the culture can be compromised to ensure that others are respected. Another aspect of understanding the variation is not being judgemental about other people's level of cultural fluency. As one participant told us:

'We're not shy with all those things; we don't sort of get into the whole this is too tapu to know or you're not knowledgeable enough.' [Female, nu49]

Another participant showed an understanding of the variation across Māoridom and asked for acceptance from the generations who have benefited from learning te reo at school and being exposed to it more frequently:

'Te reo is just one aspect of who we are. I think it's absolutely fantastic that our tamariki and our kids and everything have got it but they've got to also be humble with the fact that our generation weren't given the reo; we have to learn it really, really hard and it doesn't often come easy.' [Female, 75]

This same issue surrounding te reo and acceptance can be seen in the following narrative, where the participant explained that someone she knew:

'… used to go around saying, "Got the reo, ki a tika!" You know, "Don't speak if you can't speak it properly," but how do you learn otherwise; how do you practice.' [Female, nu46]

Generally speaking, these statements reiterate and reinforce the theme of acceptance of variation in cultural practices, versus more rigid delineations between authentic in-groups and inauthentic out-groups. In the case of the above participant the authentic groups speaks fluent Māori, while the inauthentic group does not. Showing another perspective on this, one participant pointed out the need to have standards relating to effort and dedication to learning te reo Māori, and trying to pronounce te reo properly. She told us:

'I feel because I have walked in te ao Māori and everybody has their own beliefs around tikanga and those sorts of things, but if it feels it's okay, if it doesn't feel good it's not okay. In tikanga it was brought around I feel it's a matter of health and safety in modern day terms. Sometimes I see things happening that doesn't make me feel good. Even with te reo, the pronunciation of te reo, things like that actually hurt me when I see our people not even trying to do it. I know how hard it is because I've been there and done that and I learned at a late stage in my life. Just some tikanga around karakia and things like that. I just think we've got a lot to learn.' [Female, nu46]

Another participant also displayed the same understanding about tikanga:

'Some of those people, their tikanga where they work might be different to our tikanga.' [Female, 72]

Consequently, the evidence suggests that there is a danger that as we seek to preserve our traditions we become too rigid and narrow in our delineation of them and that during this process we actually end up alienating and shaming Māori who made need to belong. However, at the same time, there is a need to maintain particular standards to ensure that traditions are not lost. Acceptance of variation in knowledge regarding Māoritanga was clear in the following participant's narrative:

'Mum's always done whakapapa, her granny taught her whakapapa, and we were always brought up that you never use whakapapa as a weapon; that's something that you hold into here… I even remember as kids with some whānau here, "Oh they're not from here," and we knew we were but we also knew don't use that as a weapon. I remember I used to say to Mum, "Why don't you stand up and tell these people our whakapapa?" It actually felt like we were being persecuted. There was a part of me I think that that actually is a generational thing that goes back to the Ngāti Toa connection too and many Ngāi Tahu whānau are connected to Ngāti Toa; whether they like it or not they are - that's just sadly a part of the history.' [Female, nu58]

This state reiterates the theme regarding authenticity and, in particular, not using claims of greater authenticity to demean or alienate others, as the participant above explains 'you never use whakapapa as a weapon'. However, acceptance also means understanding that not everyone wants to engage with their Māori identity or that they may not be ready to yet. One participant told us how, in this regard, she accepts a variation among her own children:

'But I've made it a point that for those that are interested and I'm not, I have one child who is and one child who isn't and I'm not gonna try and get the one who isn't on side because his time will come or it won't. … my own spirituality I only talk about with people after they've opened up and have an interest in it.' [Female, 56]

Essentially, assimilation has permeated Māori reality and changed the structural and psychosocial landscape in such a way that variation is inevitable. Evidence suggests that this means accepting difference in this most essential area of life is important. However, even with differences, mostly in regards to fluency in language and formal protocols, there are nonetheless underpinning Māori values that transcend rigid cultural forms and allow a common ground that all Māori can operate on. One participant explained how the value of whānaungatanga was used to bring her family back together:

'So we sat down, even though my sister wasn't talking to my brother, we come up with a strategy. And the strategy was focused really on, "How do we as a whānau stay together?" And so one of the first things that we said, "Well actually we can agree to disagree." That's one thing. And we thought, "How are we gonna whānaungatanga given that there's this break down. So we said, "Once a week we will have a kai together, a pot luck." And then we thought, "How are we going to; you know what type of communication strategy

are we going to come up with to ensure that there's not this breakdown." And it was about actually being tika, pono, aroha, it's just using the basic principles… And then [my brother] and myself we were sitting there talking and we were thinking about, "Well we don't have parents and so our children don't have grandparents, what are the things that we remember." So we'd reflect back, like as I said, the stories and the different waiata and also the whakapapa. So we thought, "Right once a week because we're having this kai we're going to tell stories and we're going to do waiata and we're gonna do all these different things exactly the same way that our grandparents did it."' [Female, 48]

Installing the Mana of Being Māori

Throughout the results many individuals, and whānau reiterated how they were consistently shamed by colonial society for being Māori . Furthermore, the external hatred directed by the settler society onto Māori also became internalised within whānau and individuals, generating conflict within individuals, whānau and communities. Removing shame involves the rebuilding of mana, which, in turn, assists in building a positive self-concept. Building mana through cultural identity improves the ability of individuals and whānau to cope with the challenges faced in life and the difficulties of living within a settler state. As one participant told us, she did not have the problems with self-esteem as her Māori peers as her mother installed pride in them for being Māori:

'I know the other Māori children, they had a harder time I think. You know what it is, I think it was their attitude; they were on the defensive all the time. I never felt on the defensive about being Māori… I think my mum did a really good job and there's still that sense of pride. So being Māori, to me, was special. Q: So you didn't have an inferiority about being Māori? A: No, I don't believe I ever did…. But pride, my mum's very proud of her parents; she very proud of them. She was very proud of her mum and her dad and her roots and I think she's instilled that in us.' [Female, 54]

We found the same pride in another participant's narrative; however, in this case the whānau avoided the colonial shaming process by not identifying primarily as Māori, but by identifying with their tūrangawaewae – and in particular their connection to their land:

'I always knew that we were Māori…. [we are]A very proud family; while we didn't have the language and we didn't have a lot of money or anything like that that was always drummed into us, you be proud of who

you are, of what you are. We didn't speak about being Māori. I think that's a key thing you know, we talk about being from [our rohe]' [Male, 34]

This statement demonstrates that the source of pride can be flexible, it can simply come from being Māori, from the reo, from the land or from any other source, all that matters is that it provides that fundamental boost to the self-concept. Another participant provided an in-depth explanation of how pride through whakapapa can fortify and enhance a person's self-concept:

'So the priority for me has always been, for my children, that their esteem comes first and everything else comes second. Q: Their esteem? A: Yeah, their self-esteem. Q; Their self-esteem? Their own mana? So what's that link between esteem and identity? A: Well it goes back to exactly what I've been talking about really about mana, appreciating and valuing one's self and I guess if you feel okay about yourself you view the world quite differently. So being who I am in terms of whakapapa and my whakapapa connections actually I guess enhances my esteem. And it's the same thing there, I kind of have instilled in my children and also my mokopuna and because I think we come from a really quite strong social justice stance as a whānau we try to remain tika to who we are and ensure that the situations that we're in are tika as well. And if they aren't we're able to address it.' [Female, 48]

The importance of pride in identity is also clear in the following narrative, where the participant told us how her parents installing pride in her helped create a positive cultural identity, which, in turn, generated a strong individual self-concept:

'… did to the very best of their ability really. But I never grew up with a feeling of inferiority. I grew up with a sense that other people might have thought I was inferior, but I didn't. Q: Why would they think that? A: Because that's how Māori were treated where I was at the time. But it's funny because… Q: Your parents installed pride? A: That's what they installed in me I think… I think it comes back very much to I have turned into someone who believes that the greatest influencer on our destiny is our own self, is our own self-awareness and our own personal accountability and our own willingness to take responsibility for ourselves. Q: So to do that you would need to empower either one's self or others who you're influencing? A: Or be empowered already. Q: Yeah. A: To empower someone implies that they've been disempowered and I can't say that I ever was; I don't know.' [Female, nu62]

The evidence from our individual and whānau narratives suggest that a strong cultural identity translates to pride-in-self and the resulting positive self-concept is a powerful defence against the

shaming and stigmatising efforts of the colonial narratives. It also offers individuals and whānau with improved coping abilities in the face of stressors.

Discussion and Conclusions

The results of the study indicate that the trauma expressed by Ngāi Tahu whānau comes not just from discrete historic events but rather from the multiple and compounding experiences through ongoing exposure to the colonising environment created and perpetuated by the settler state. The first set of traumas we identified are precipitated by structural mechanisms or, more specifically, the immersion of individuals within institutions of the settler state. These institutions include: legal systems economic systems, political systems and education systems. The results illustrate how politico-legal domination of the settler state traumatised whānau by alienating them from their land, removing their autonomy, and by denying access to justice. In the narratives we see clearly that the direct result of this traumatic colonising environment is a number of responses including: anguish over loss of land, heritage, and associated identity; anger at injustice of legal systems geared against Māori; unresolved grief through not gaining amends for injustices; family divisions over fragmented lands and inheritance; shame related to the undeveloped and unkempt state of land; and futility related to the lack of control and ability of landowners to do anything with their land.

Land alienation also traumatised whānau by undermining autonomous economic security and creating dependency on settler economic institutions. Narratives of material hardship and privation described life on the kainga during the isolation period, demanding that whānau subsidise their subsistence existence as wage labourers within the settler economy – primarily in the primary industries of sheep farming, forestry, dairy and fishing. Narratives of the integration period describe movement from the kainga in search of labouring work, due to the declining availability of Māori land caused by draconian regulatory conditions. The theme of employment transiency also emerges again in the 1980s, as families who have settled strike hardship again. A consistent theme is the search for opportunity, with limited means to realise opportunity in regards to education and resource access. This is reiterated into the invigoration period, however, with growing realization that many whānau are not sharing in the benefits of post-settlement iwi business success. While there is pride in the success of the iwi there is also resentment regarding the structures of the organization and access to influence, and opportunity. In sum, the loss of autonomous economic security gave rise to privation, hardship, transiency, and sense of inequity.

In the invigoration period, this changed to include pride mixed with resentment and sense of internal tribal inequity.

The results also clearly illustrate the trauma of not possessing autonomy and becoming subject to settler political institutions. Generally speaking whānau describe experiences of being powerless to change anything, or influence laws, regulations, and policies that effect their lives. There is a view of the colonial state as a monolith characterised by inertia. The colonising environment created by this political disenfranchisement is experienced emotionally by whānau as despondency, subjection, inequity, and cynicism. There is recognition by research participants of the growing political power of iwi through the expansion of economic and political influence in the invigoration period; however, this is tempered by narratives explaining the sense of alienation some whānau experience in relation to their iwi's own political systems. Consequently, the colonising environment shifts to include a sense of pride during invigoration period, but also includes the traumatising experiences of alienation and disenfranchisement from the tribal political system, doubling alienation people from both the Crown and their own iwi political systems.

The final structural mechanism of the settler state identified as precipitating trauma was assimilation pressures applied through educational institutions. A common theme across most whānau was the traumatic experience of being beaten, marginalised or condemned for speaking te reo Māori or exhibiting cultural markers. In the isolation period this institutional racism was overt, however, during the integration period it softened. Nonetheless, Māori culture was consistently portrayed as primitive, inferior and historical. The effects of this racism was, in many cases, to generate a sense of shame and inferiority in being Māori or in exhibiting any Māori markers, albeit with cases of individuals reacting to the racism by asserting their Māori identity more overtly. The long-term impact of this consistent institutional racism across generations was the internalisation of beliefs that Māori culture was backward and of no importance in the modern world, leading to whānau deciding not to pass on language and tradition. Consequently, the education institutions of the settler state traumatised whānau through subjecting members to racism and denigrating caricatures to instil shame and a sense of inferiority.

The wider legal, economic, political and educational institutional structures of the settler state cumulatively combined to create, perpetuate and disseminate a colonising environment that traumatised and continue to traumatise Māori by generating economic insecurity, denying access to justice, removing autonomy, and extending racism and denigrating culture. The resulting

emotional states identified within whānau from this trauma were anguish, grief, division, shame, futility, privation, hardship, transiency, inequity, alienation, subjection, and disenfranchisement. In the invigoration period these emotional states were mixed with a sense of pride, but there is also a degree of resentment and a sense of inequity directed toward post-settlement iwi structures. However, the emotional states generated by the colonising environment really only represent the primary trauma effects. There are fundamental secondary effects, which are more problematic because they go to the core of Māori collective identity and individual wellbeing and they require a far more powerful solution. These effects relate to the undermining of identity and, in turn, the negative impacts on psychological wellbeing. Displacement from land, alienation from culture through assimilation, racism and immersion in Pākehā political, social, and economic institutions together constitute a fundamental attack on Māori culture as a source of identity and personal wellbeing. In the results it is demonstrated that this has created a set of psychosocial identity traumas.

As discussed above the structural effects of assimilation was to immerse Māori in educational environments that were openly racist during the isolation phase and implicitly racist during the integration phase. Furthermore, Māori were exposed to racism as they progressively moved into the settler economy and society during the isolation and integration phases. The racism in New Zealand was centred on the colonial narrative, which places races and cultures on a hierarchy of development. Māori were further down this hierarchy and were, therefore, considered in need of development so that they could become more like settler society. According to this narrative Māori culture was inferior and should be abandoned in favour of Pākehā culture. In the results section it is demonstrated that this narrative became internalised within many whānau at the end of the isolation period. Many interviewees described their parents and grandparents making conscious decisions not to pass on culture to subsequent generations, to 'close off' so to speak, as they could see no value in maintaining the culture. Many others reflected that such decisions were driven by the circumstances that older generations faced, and that it was essentially a survival strategy that would enable future generations to operate successively within Pākehā institutions.
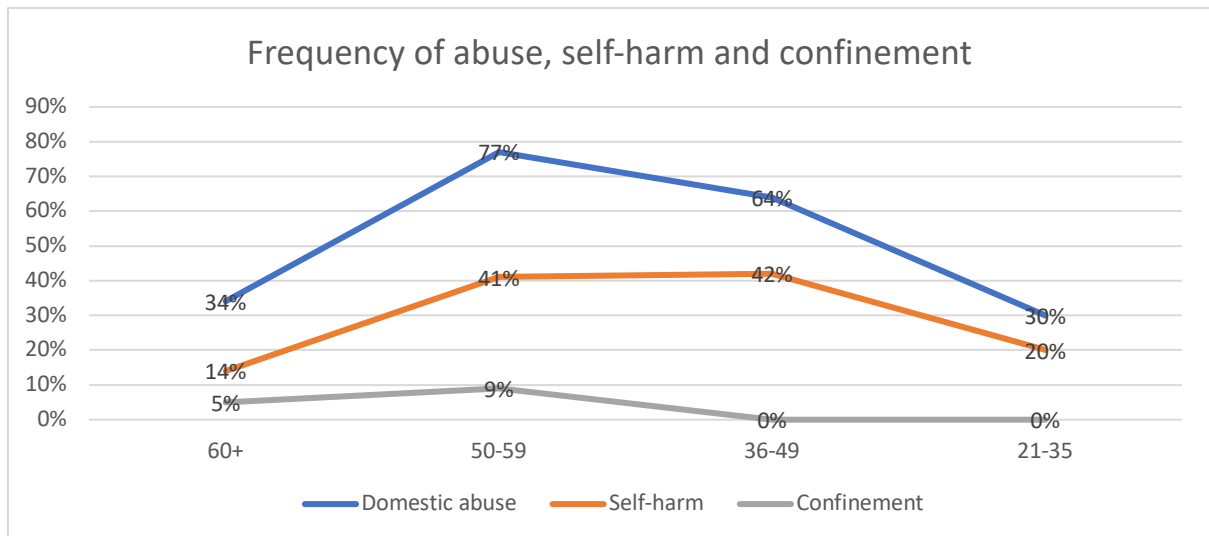
However, the internalisation of the colonial narrative, and the decision to assimilate, generated a number of traumatic effects. The first effect, articulated in the narratives of whānaus, was to associate a sense of shame with the Māori cultural identity. The second traumatic effect was that subsequent generations not exposed to their Māoritanga, with many participants expressing their being disjointed or not belonging to Māori culture because of this severance, whilst simultaneously

not feeling like they belong to Pākehā culture either – becoming doubly alienated. Experiences of being disjointed occurred within whānau (in cases of intermarriage), and also in broader tribal, and general societal settings. There was also evidence of individuals finding themselves in internal psychological dissonance between conflicting overlaid Pākehā and Māori identities, being forced to choose between cultural in-groups and, ultimately, suffering through an internal conflict as the inherent contradictions between the racist Pākehā identity and the subalternised Māori identity manifest as psychological torment.

In sum, removing the economic security of whānau and undermining their political autonomy encouraged assimilation into institutions that were overtly and covertly racist. The effects of internalising these narratives that infused and shaped the settler state was traumatic, generating shame, double alienation, and painful cognitive dissonance that caused internal turmoil. However, these effects were further compounded by alienation from kainga, wahi tapu, nohoanga kaika, as key sources of Māori identity. Firstly, alienation occurred through the integration period where many whānau left the kainga for work and housing reasons. Secondly, alienation occurred through the denigration and loss of wahi tapu and nohoanga kaika through the actions of private landowners, councils, and central government. Narratives expressing this alienation referred to being 'disjointed', 'disconnected' and 'coming from nowhere'. Consequently, the traumatic experiences of being alienated from either, or both, Māori and Pākehā cultures was compounded with the experience of being alienated from their tūrangawaewae.

The Tipping Point

The research results outline that the traumatic effects of the colonising environment were compounding, that as they spread more broadly and perpetuated, the traumas began to cascade. However, the results also suggest that up until the integration period whānau, hapū, and community were able to cope with the traumatic colonising environment they were exposed to. Nonetheless, the integration period overwhelmed the coping abilities of whānau, hapū, and community. It appears that the fortifications of life in the kainga, where Māori culture was maintained whānau were incubated from the brunt of the psychosocial challenges presented by colonisation. Until the integration period whānau were surrounded by their community, hapū, beliefs, values and traditions. This can be seen in the following graph, which shows the rates of domestic abuse, self-harm and confinement present in the narratives for each cohort:

Frequency of abuse, self-harm and confinement

Age	Domestic abuse	Self-harm	Confinement
60+	34%	14%	5%
50-59	77%	41%	9%
36-49	64%	42%	0%
21-35	30%	20%	0%

Although there was material hardships most narratives from whānau suggest that life on the pā was good. For example, one participant told us that both his grandmother and great uncle:

'…. have said that their childhood growing up was hard, that they were poor. As they have both said the exact same phrase, they were hard times but good times.' [Male, 32]

They both use the same phrase to describe the pre-integration era, that 'they were hard times but good times'. This same sentiment was expressed by another participant, who told us:

'We were poor in monetary sense but rich really in the other.' [Female, 50]

These two statements provide a common summation of Māori life before integration expressed by whānau. It was certainly not idyllic but the despite the poverty there was a quality to life that went beyond material wellbeing. This was apparent in the following participant's narrative as well, he told us that:

"It was commonly known in those times where while they had big gardens and they grew a lot of their kai when times were tough a few of them would be sent up to the local orchard; they'd go and help themselves to a bit of fruit and that sort of thing. But you never really heard the sad, the hard stories; 'cause you knew there was those stories, that life was very hard. While my father and different ones spoke about it, the ones that experienced it didn't really talk about it in great detail. They would say, "Yeah it was hard for us, we didn't have a lot," but they didn't go into the gory details. Yeah they spoke a lot about money; the fact that

159

they never had any, but also the strength of the community… So yeah there wasn't a lot of money and there was a very strong community." [Male, 34]

While they 'did not have a lot' there was a 'strong community'. They still lived in a Māori world and remained immersed in a Māori life that sustained them despite the physical struggles of life. As well as providing a psychosocial sustenance, these communities also banded together to ameliorate the physical struggles. This was apparent in this participant's narrative:

'The biggest setback in those days was there was no work and when there's no work you live not below the breadline but very close to it. Whatever you had you… shared around with everybody else. That was the beauty of this wee community; we shared everything we got.' [Male, 80]

Thus, not only did these communities help insulate whānau from the psychosocial challenges of life in the settler state but they also provided a safety net that the settler state did not, sharing what they had. Another participant told us her dad was:

'… born in [the rohe] at the old Māori house. It's now where they take the tūpāpaku; the bottom house. Back in that day when he was a boy, my grandparents lived there, I believe, like many other families… Various families at that time, because it was the depression, had no homes and they shared that place. That place was used in those days for big families who had not necessarily anywhere to live at that time… My father and two of his brothers were born there and then they… were brought up in the bush there. I believe their father worked at the mill and the kids went to the school out there, dad and his brothers and sisters. There's many a good story that I've heard about them growing up in those times.' [Female, 72]

In general the narratives suggest that the pre-integration generations were poor but they lived together and they helped each other. The benefits of life in a Māori community and the distress that the transition from there to a Pākehā-dominated settlement engendered was clear in the following participant's statement:

'In that community we were grown and sheltered and nurtured and all of that… And we were a Māori community. We were a Māori community; we shared the coal, we shared the fish, we shared the wood, we shared the potatoes… we lived as Hapūri [14.23] Māori… We were the first generations about to come into the urban shift…. we were the first generation in the south of urban Māori. And the shock of moving…And we were away from Hapūri Māori. We were away from the community. We were growing up

amongst neighbours who were uncertain about us entirely. They'd never lived so close to a brown man. So that was the loss.' [Female, 62]

This quote illustrates the move from the socio-cultural fortifications of the Māori community to living in antagonistic environment where whānau are no longer surrounded by supportive and caring hapū.

The evidence from both the narratives and from wider sources suggests that there was a tipping point when the full weight of the settler state hit Māori. Across the metrics we see the negative consequences of this impact. For example, Māori as a percentage of the prison population sat at between 2-6% until about 1930, the graph then starts to tilt upwards, slowly at first, climbing to 15% in 1940 and staying between there and 20% until 1955, before steadily rising to just over 50% in 1985, where it has effectively stayed ever since (Clayworth, 2012). Likewise, Māori suicides were about half that of the general populace until about 1950, when the numbers began to increase and from 1996 Māori levels of suicide became higher than non-Māori (Philips, 2016). Zodgekar (1975, 345) also found that "An analysis of Māori fertility shows that a transition from a high to a low level has begun. The crude birth rate has declined by nearly 28% during the period 1961–72; only a small part of this decline can be attributed to changes in the age–sex and marital status composition… The factors which are thought to be responsible for this change in Māori fertility [include] rapid urbanization". While alcohol had been a problem from early on in the colonial period, integration saw the problem increase dramatically. Hutt (2003, 77-78) has gathered a number of quotes from the period that show the impacts and the connection to integration: "James Ritchie's study of 'Rakau' (1963) showed that there was a large consumption of alcohol (average expenditure 12% of wages) in the community, in which a tribal committee was not operational. The increased opportunities for drinking by Māori were noted in the report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Sale of Liquor in New Zealand (1974), which listed submissions received from, for instance, the Māori section of the National Council of Churches which stated that 'we are close to a crisis in Māori drinking because of major breakdowns in Māori community patterns'". Timu-Parata (2009, 43) also lays out the detrimental nature of urbanisation: "Levels of education were also low and this exacerbated the poor social situation of the Māori people, who effectively formed a third-class labour force in the post-war urban industrialised environment. The years between 1964 and 1984 saw a continual decline in Māori health, largely due to poor housing, unemployment and low incomes. A contributing factor was the move to urban areas. The move gave rise to feelings of alienation, powerlessness and subsequent loss of cultural identity. Another

consequence of this drastic lifestyle change was the type of diseases afflicting Māori, such as high rates of heart disease (including rheumatic fever and hypertension). Today, Māori also have high rates of incidence of cancers, mental illness and tobacco use".

The move into the Pākehā world away from the socio-cultural fortifications of the kainga appeared to be a tipping point for Māori where the effects traumatic effect identity and self-concept, disconnection from place, and separation from the protective social fabric of the hapū, compounded with the existing traumas of economic insecurity, denied access to justice, and inhibited self-efficacy, resulting in a steep decline in Māori wellbeing indicators. Ironically, the Pākehā narrative has long portrayed integration as a boon for Māori. Even in the contemporary era this is still being promulgated; take Chapple's (2000, 2) report for the Ministry of Social Policy: "The process of urbanisation of the post-World War Two period was also undoubtedly associated with an improvement in wellbeing for Māori. Urbanisation would have been associated with better schooling, better housing, better jobs, better health services, and generally more consumption choices than were available in rural areas". His perception of 'wellbeing' is almost exclusively limited to structural, and particularly financial, aspects of life, ignoring the massive psychosocial damages that negate the 'positives' and ignoring the fact that many of these very 'benefits' he lists were the avenues through which this psychosocial impacts were channelled. Schooling, housing, work and health were and remain areas where Māori have experienced racism yet Chapple portrays these in a positive manner. His view is shaped by the colonial narrative, it frames Māori history through a progressive developmentalist lens and measuring improvement by shallow material metrics like having access to 'more consumption choices'.

The Literature on PTSD and Historical Trauma

This study's primary contributikon to the discussion on trauma within the PTSD and historical trauma fields is the concept of the 'colonising environment', which provides a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of how colonisation causes trauma, built on insights into the complex and reciprocating connections between psychological trauma's causes and effects. Both PTSD and historical trauma are limited in their capacity to outline the full scope of the traumas of colonisation because they focus on specific, abrupt and isolated causal events rather than the wider, enduring and cascading traumatising environment of the settler state. While events can and do cause trauma during the course of colonisation it is the colonising environment that, we believe, causes indigenous peoples living in settler states to continue to suffer trauma even decades and centuries after colonisation has supposedly 'finished'.

The narratives make it clear that Māori remain immersed in a colonising environment that is in and of itself traumatising, and as a consequence it is not possible to be 'post' the causes of trauma, as PTSD theory would suggest. This is, we believe, because it conflates physical and psychological trauma, erroneously applying the biophysical parameters to the psychological realm. Viewed through PTSD, issues many Māori suffer in the contemporary era would be classified as 'symptoms' of a 'mental disorder', which is not only inaccurate but also unhelpful way of understanding the traumas of colonisation. Rather than providing an understanding of what is causing the trauma, something we believe critical to ever being able to treat it, PTSD is more interested in diagnosing individual problems. Its conception of psychological wellbeing remains rooted in the Cartesian paradigm, viewing health problems as "the malfunction of the biological mechanism" (Eloff and Ebersohn, 2004, 45). As the narratives show, the ongoing pressures of living in the colonising environment, from material poverty to racism, from pressure to assimilate to psychosocial suffering caused by land loss, are such that anyone suffering trauma is not 'malfunctioning' but rather functioning as you would expect. Furthermore, it is clear that the trauma is not only the result of specific discrete events, but rather a cumulative effect of compounding traumas generated by the wider, enduring and cascading environment created by the settler state.

In regards to historical trauma, The Takini Network have developed a more sophisticated understanding of trauma than that generated though the PTSD literature, however analysis is focussed on the truaumatic effects of specific historical events. The results from this study demonstrate that although trauma can be caused by specific events, such as material poverty from land alienation, however it is also generated by a traumatising environment. This environment includes: a feeling that truth and justice is not accessible; that the world is geared against you retaining your resources and possessions; that those in authority are corrupt and unpredictable; that your culture, language, and identity, are irrelevant and something to be ashamed of; and that your own whanau and tribal networks cannot necessarily be trusted. It is this colonizing environment that still traumatizes many individuals, whānau and communities. This understanding of the colonial environments expands the understanding of historical trauma by outling the broader, ongoing and compounding set of traumatising mechanisms. Of course, the dynamics of the colonising environment are different in every settler state meaning that there is room for variation between the experiences of Māori and other indigenous peoples but despite

these differences we believe that the concept of the colonising environment can be applied across these contexts.

Concluding Thoughts

Healing from the trauma is not about treating an individual or even about seeking justice or retribution for a particular event, but rather needs to focus on addressing the structural biases and psychosocial challenges of the settler state. These structural inequalities created economic insecurity, denied access to justice, inhibited self-efficacy, disconnected individuals and whānau from the protective social fabric of the hapū and from their place identity. Thus, the treatment of trauma caused by colonisation needs to be directed across many levels, from the national to the regional to the iwi to the hapū to the whānau to the individual across the political, economic, legal and social spheres. In addition to addressing the structural biases of the settler state, Māori also need to create coherent, strong social identities that balance historical fidelity with inclusiveness and, crucially, are able to create and maintain a positive self-concept for all Māori.

As we have outlined, whānau have already developed a number of different strategies for the counteracting the traumatising mechanisms created by the colonising environment. While there is much that can and should be done at the state, regional and iwi levels, these 'grassroots' whānau-led strategies are vital as the traumatising mechanisms need to be combatted by the families and communities being impacted by them. The colonising environment is not something that can be overcome by external decision-making and policy implementation alone, but rather requires the efforts of all involved and impacted. Arguably, the whānau and community levels are more important than the state, regional and iwi levels as while these higher strata can make laws, instigate policies and implement action-plans, the changes these are all directed at making must be made at the whānau and community levels.

Fortunately, there are many successful strategies outlined by our participants. They detailed a number for specifically dealing with the structural issues, including socio-political engagement; economic resilience; and education with a tikanga Māori focus. The strategy of socio-political engagement with activities of the iwi, hapū and whānau serves as a means of addressing political disengagement and alienation by embedding individuals and whānau in a network of support, learning and development. From simply registering with iwi, rūnanga or marae through to becoming actively involved in their management or operations, this engagement can take many forms.

Developing economic resilience helps overcome the material poverty and provides a buffer from the fluctuations of the international economy, ensuring whānau have the economic security needed to be able to focus on their cultural and psychological wellbeing. This can encompass everything from simply supplementing purchased food through hunting and gathering through to ensuring that your family is well provisioned for in the future. Often efforts toward economic resilience actively engage whānau in mahinga kai – a key practice for maintaining culture.

Māori-centric education is another important strategy as while the settler education system has become more accepting of tikanga it remains largely premised on Pākehā values. The growth of kura kaupapa and bilingual units means that many have been able to learn in more culturally-conducive environments, while others have adapted existing settler educational institutional offerings towards Māori culture. As well as helping with culture and identity, education also supports the drive to economic resilience.

The participants also outlined a number of strategies that helped overcome the psychosocial traumas, including reconnecting with land; gaining a greater cultural fluency; crafting an empowering counternarrative; accepting the variation in Māoridom; and instilling pride in being Māori. Reconnecting with land was a key strategy identified by the participants as it provided a meaningful sense of belonging and offered avenues to connect with other aspects of Māori culture. There are many means by which participants reconnected with the land, from gathering food to researching whakapapa. Critically though, it did not need to be a legal or physical connection. As we found in the narratives, the key was developing a more flexible understanding of connecting with land. Rather than replicating the pre-contact type connections, as for many these are impossible, the relationship with land has been reframed and reinterpreted for the postcolonial environment.

Gaining a greater cultural fluency was another strategy identified, which could come through learning te reo, joining kapa haka group or researching whanau, whakapapa and whenua. As with the other strategies, fluency generally had personalised focus, with people engaging with areas that they were most interested in and often an increase in fluency in one area lead to an increased engagement with Māoritanga in general.

Another strategy noted by our participants involved crafting an empowering counter-narrative that provides a realistic and functional view of Māori culture while allowing them to come to terms

with the settler identity, ensuring that they are able to 'walk in both worlds' with equal ease and confidence. This counter-narrative allowed individuals and whānau to overcome the antagonism of the two identities by confronting them and fusing them into a more nuanced and personalised account that suits their situation and perception of themselves and the world around them.

Accepting the variation in Māoridom was also identified as a key strategy as this helps build unity across whanau, hapū, and iwi, and counters the exclusion generated by divisions between authentic and inauthentic Māori identities. Central to this acceptance was understanding that many Māori did not have the same cultural fluency or display the same markers of identity because of the disruption of colonisation and, particularly, the pressures of assimilation. This acceptance must be balanced, however, with a focus on ensuring cultural integrity.

Finally, the participants also noted that instilling mana in being Māori was essential in overcoming the traumas of colonisation as this is essential for dealing with the shame generated by the colonial narrative. Building mana through imporiving the positivity of the cultural identity helps improve the ability of individuals and whānau to cope with the challenges faced in life and the difficulties of living within a settler state. In particular, along with all the other strategies that focus on the need to personalise the strategies, pride in being Māori can come any source and is not limited to the 'authentic' Māori markers.

Bibliography

Acevedo, G. A., Ordner, J., and Thompson, M. (2010). Narrative inversion as a tactical framing device: The ideological origins of the Nation of Islam. *Narrative Inquiry, 20*(1), 124–152..

Anderson, A., Binney, J., & Harris, A. (2014). *Tangata whenua: An illustrated history*. Wellington, New Zealand : Bridget Williams Books.

Arnold, D. (1984). Gramsci and peasant subalternity in India. *Journal of Peasant Studies, 11*(4), 155-177.

Atkinson, J. (2002). *Trauma trails, recreating song lines: The transgenerational effects of trauma in Indigenous Australia.* Melbourne, Australia: Spinifex Press.

Ausubel, D. P. (1961). The Maori: A study in resistive acculturation. *Social Forces*, *39*(3), 218-227.

Banner, S. (2000). Conquest by contract: Wealth transfer and land market structure in colonial New Zealand. *Law & Society Review*, *34*(1): 47-96.

Banner, S. (2005). Why terra nullius? Anthropology and property law in early Australia. *Law and History Review, 23*(1), 95-131.

Barker, A. J. (2009). The contemporary reality of Canadian imperialism: Settler colonialism and the hybrid colonial state. *The American Indian Quarterly, 33*(3), 325-351.

Barnes, A. M., Borell, B., Taiapa, K., Rankine, J., Nairn, R., and McCreanor, T. (2012). Anti-Maori themes in New Zealand journalism - toward alternative practice. *Pacific Journalism Review, 18*(1), 195-216.

Barnes, A. M., Taiapa, K., Borell, B., and McCreanor, T. (2013). Māori Experiences and Responses to Racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. *MAI Journal, 2*(2), 63-77.

Belich, J. (1988). *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict.* Auckland. Penguin Books Ltd.

Belich, J. (2001). *Paradise reforged: A history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000.* Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press.

Besser, A., Neria, Y., & Haynes, M. (2009). Adult attachment, perceived stress, and PTSD among civilians exposed to ongoing terrorist attacks in Southern Israel. *Personality and Individual Differences, 47*(8), 851-857.

Bhabha, H. K. (1983). The other question . . . Homi K. Bhabha reconsiders the stereotype and colonial discourse. *Screen. 24*(6), 18-36.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994a). *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994b). Frontlines/borderposts. In Bammer, A. (Ed.). *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question* (pp. 269-272.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bishop, R. (1996). *Collaborative Research Stories: Whakawhānaungatanga.* Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press.

Blackhart, G. C., Knowles, M. L., Nelson, B. C., & Baumeister, R. F. (2009). Rejection elicits emotional reactions but neither causes immediate distress nor lowers self-esteem: A meta-analytic review of 192 studies on social exclusion. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 13*(4), 269-309.

Boast, R. (2008). *Buying the land, selling the land: governments and maori land in the north island 1865-1921.* Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Brave Heart, M.Y.H. (2000). Wakiksuyapi: Carrying the historical trauma of the Lakota. *Tulane Studies in Social Welfare, 266*, 21–22.

Brave Heart, M.Y.H. (2003). The historical trauma response among natives and its relationship with substance abuse: A Lakota illustration. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs, 35*(1), 7–13.

Brave Heart, M.Y.H. & LeBruyn, L.M. (1998). The American Indian holocaust: Healing historical unresolved grief. *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research, 8*(2), 56-78.

Chakrabarty, D. (2000). Subaltern studies and postcolonial historiography. *Nepantla: Views from South, 1*(1), 9-32.

Chapple, S. (2000). Maori socio-economic disparity. Paper for the Ministry of Social Policy: Wellington. Retrieved from http://www.radiodaniel.com/clippings/maori-economic-disparity.pdf

Clayton, A. (1997). Greater France: A history of French overseas expansion. *African Affairs, 96*(384), 457-458.

Clayworth, (2012). Prisons - Māori imprisonment. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/graph/36775/maori-as-a-percentage-of-total-prison-population-1860-2008

Cleave, P. (1983). Tribal and state-like political formations in New Zealand Maori society 1750-1900. *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 92*,51-92.

Consedine, B. (2007). *Historical influences Māori and the economy.* Wellington: Te Puna Kokiri.

Cornell, S. And Kalt, J. P. (1995), Where Does Economic Development Really Come From? Constitutional rule among the contemporary Sioux and Apache. *Economic Inquiry, 33*, 402-426.

Cornell, S., & Kalt, J. P. (2000). Where's the glue? Institutional and cultural foundations of American Indian economic development. *The Journal of Socio-Economics, 29*(5), 443-470.

Cornell, S. (2006). Indigenous peoples, poverty and self-determination in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States. *JOPNA*, 2006-02

Dawson, L. (1985). Free-will talk and sociology. *Sociological Inquiry, 55*(4), 348-362.

Derby, M. (2016). Māori–Pākehā relations - Military conflicts', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori-pakeha-relations/page-3

Durie, M. H. (1994). *Whaiora: Māori health development.* Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. H. (1997). Identity, nationhood and implications for practice in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 26*(2), 32-38.

Durie, M. H. (2003). *Nga kahui pou: Launching Maori futures.* Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Durie, M. H. (2004). Understanding health and illness: research at the interface between science and indigenous knowledge. *International Journal of Epidemiology, 33*(5), 1138-1143.

Ehrenreich, J.H. (2003). Understanding PTSD: Forgetting 'trauma'. *Journal of Social Issues, 3*(1), 15–28.

Ehrich, L. (2005). Revisiting phenomenology: Its potential for management research. In *Proceedings, challenges or organisations in global markets, British Academy of Management Conference* (pp. 1 – 13). Said Business School, Oxford University.

Ellingson, T. (2001). *The myth of the noble savage.* Berkeley: Univ of California Press.

Evans-Campbell, T. (2008). Historical trauma in American Indian / Native Alaska communities: A multilevel framework for exploring impacts on individuals, families, and communities. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence. 23*, 316–338.

Evison, H. (1987). *Ngai Tahu land rights and the crown pastoral lease lands in the South Island of New Zealand.* Christchurch: Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, white masks.* New York: Grove Press.

Flavell, T. U. (2016). Ratings changes to encourage Māori land development. *Beehive,* 11 Feb 2016. Retrieved from https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/ratings-changes-encourage-m%C4%81ori-land-development

Gilling, Bryan D. (1994). Engine of Destruction-An Introduction to the History of the Maori Land Court." *Victoria U. Wellington L. Rev, 24*(2), 115-139.

Good, M. J. D., Hyde, S. T., Pinto, S., Good, B. J. (2008). Postcolonial disorders: Reflections on subjectivity in the contemporary world. In Good, M. J. D., Hyde, S. T., Pinto, S., Good, B. J. (Eds.). *Postcolonial disorders* (pp. 1-42). Berkeley: Univ of California Press.

Gore, C. (2000). The rise and fall of the Washington Consensus as a paradigm for developing countries. *World development*, *28*(5), 789-804.

Greaves, L. M., Houkamau, C., and Sibley, C.G. (2015). Māori identity signatures: A latent profile analysis of the types of Māori identity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 21* (4), 541-549.

Head, L. (2006). *Land, authority and the forgetting of being in early colonial Maori history.* PhD Thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Hefferman, M. (2002). On geography and progress: Turgot's plan d'un ouvrage sur la geogrpahie politique (1751) and the origins of modern progressive thought. *Political Georgraphy, 13*(4): 328-343.

Heijmans, B. T., Tobi, E. W., Stein, A. D., Putter, H., Blauw, G. J., Susser, E. S., Slagboom, P. E. & Lumey, L. H. (2008). Persistent epigenetic differences associated with prenatal exposure to famine in humans. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 105*(44), 17046-17049.

Hill, R. S. (2004). *State authority, indigenous autonomy: Crown-Maori relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950.* Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Hill, R. (2009). *Maori and the State: Crown–Maori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950–2000.* Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Hogan, P. C. (2000). *Colonialism and cultural identity: Crises of tradition in the Anglophone literatures of India, Africa, and the Caribbean.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Hokowhitu, B. (2004). Tackling Maori masculinity: A colonial genealogy of savagery and sport. *The Contemporary Pacific, 16*(2), 259–284.

Hollis, H., K. Deane, J. Moore and N. Harré. (2011). Young Maori Perceptions of a Youth Development Programme. *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online, 6*(1-2), 50- 61.

Houkamau, C. A. (2010). Identity construction and reconstruction: The role of socio-historical contexts in shaping Māori women's identity. *Social Identities, 16*(2), 179-196.

Hutt, M. (2003). *Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori. Maori and Alcohol: A History. Health Services Research Centre for Kaunihera Whakatupato Waipiro o Aotearoa* Wellington: ALAC.

Jacobs, G. (2006). Finding the center: Constructing the subaltern master narrative. *Human Architecture, 4*(3), 79-86.

Jackson, M. (2004). Colonization as myth-making: A case study in Aotearoa. In Greymorning, S. (Ed.). *A will to survive: Indigenous essays on the politics of culture, language, and identity* (pp. 95–108). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Jahnke, H., & Taiapa, J. (2003). Maori research. In C. Davidson & M. Tolich (Eds.), *Social Science Research in New Zealand* (pp. 39 – 50). Auckland, NZ: Pearson Education NZ.

Kawharu, H. (1877). *Maori Land Tenure: Studies of a Changing Institution.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Keane, B. (2010). Te Māori i te ohanga – Māori in the economy - The alienation of Māori land. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/te-maori-i-te-ohanga-maori-in-the-economy

Kersey, H. A. (2002). Opening a discourse on race relations in New Zealand: The fern and the tiki revisited. *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, *1*, 1–18.

Keiha, P. A., & Moon, P. (2008). The emergence and evolution of urban Māori authorities: a response to Māori urbanisation. *Te Kaharoa, 1*(1), 1-17.

Kellermann N. P. (2013). Epigenetic transmission of Holocaust trauma: can nightmares be inherited? *The Israel Journal of Psychiatry and Related Sciences, 50*(1), 33-39.

Kingi, T (2012). Ahuwhenua – Māori land and agriculture - Land ownership and Māori agriculture. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ahuwhenua-maori-land-and-agriculture/page-2

Kramsch, C. J. (1998). *Language and culture.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kukutai, T. H. (2010). *The thin brown line: Re-indigenizing inequality in Aotearoa New Zealand.* PhD Thesis, Stanford University: Stanford, California.

Lange, R. (2011). Te hauora Māori i mua – history of Māori health - Health devastated, 1769 to 1901. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-hauora-maori-i-mua-history-of-maori-health/page-2

Lee, J. (2005). *Maori Cultural Regeneration: Purakau as Pedagogy.* Centre for Research in Lifelong Learning International Conference: Stirling, Scotland.

Lee, J. (2008). *Ako: Purakau of Maori Teachers' Work in Secondary Schools.* Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Mahuika, N. (2011). Closing the gaps: From postcolonialism to kaupapa Māori and beyond. *New Zealand Journal of History, 45* (1), 15-32

Marriott, L., & Sim, D. (2015). Indicators of inequality for Maori and Pacific people. Journal of New Zealand Studies, (20), 24.

McFarlane, A. C. (2010). The long-term costs of traumatic stress: intertwined physical and psychological consequences. *World Psychiatry*, *9*(1), 3-10.

McIntosh, T. (2005). Intersections of race, gender and social policy in New Zealand. In Bangura, Y., & Stavenhagen, R. (Eds.). *Racism and public policy* (pp. 271-294). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

McIntosh, T., and Mulholland, M. (2011).*Māori and social issues.* Wellington, N.Z: Huia.

McLeod, J. D., & Shanahan, M. J. (1993). Poverty, parenting, and children's mental health. *American Sociological Review, 58,* 351-366.

Meredith, P. (1998). *Hybridity in the third space: Rethinking bi-cultural politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand.* Paper Presented to Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and Development Conference, Massey University. Retrieved from http://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/hybridity.pdf

Meredith, P. (2000). *A half-caste on the half-caste in the cultural politics of New Zealand.* MANA Verlag Paper. Retrieved from http://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/Paul%20Meredith%20Mana%20Verlag%20Paper.pdf

Mikaere, A. (2011). *Colonising myths, Maori realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro*. Wellington: Huia Publishing.

Mills, C. W. (1959). *The Sociological Imagination*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage. (2016). Maori land loss, 1860-2000. Retrieved from http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/interactive/maori-land-1860-2000

Ministry of Justice (1998). *Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act*. Wellington: Ministry of Justice.

Ministry of Justice (1991). *Ngāi Tahu Land Report*. Wellington: Ministry of Justice.

Minto, J. (6 August 2007). Restructuring of 1980s sowed the seeds of child abuse. The Press. Retrieved from http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/columnists/john-minto/25571

Morgensen, S. L. (2011). The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism: Right Here, Right Now, Settler *Colonial Studies, 1*(1), 52-76.

Morrow, D. (2013). Maori And Pakeha–-two peoples or one: Ralph Piddington and 'symbiosis' in mid-twentieth-century New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of History*, 47(2), 185-207.

Morrow, D. (2014). Tradition and modernity in discourses of Maori urbanisation. *Journal of New Zealand Studies, 18*, 85-105.

Motta, S., & Nilsen, A. G. (2011). Introduction. In Motta, S., & Nilsen, A. G. (Eds.). *Social movements in the global south: Dispossession, development and resistance*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillian.

Nayar, P. (2008). *Postcolonial literature: An introduction*. Delhi, India: Pearson Longman.

Nepe, T. M. (1991). *Te toi huarewa: Kaupapa Maori, an educational intervention system*. Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland.

Nikora, L. W. (2007). Māori social identities in New Zealand and Hawai'i. PhD Thesis: The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

O'Malley, V. (2016). *The great war for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

O'Reilly, J. (2014). *A review of Police and iwi/Maori relationships: Working together to reduce offending and victimisation among Maori*. NZ Police: Wellington.

O'Sullivan, D. A. (2007). *Beyond biculturalism: The politics of an indigenous minority*. Wellington, N.Z: Huia.

Pearson, D. (2011). Ethnic inequalities - Ethnicity and income. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ethnic-inequalities/page-5

Petrie, H. (2006). *Chiefs of industry: Māori tribal enterprise in early colonial New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press.

Pihama, L. (1998). Re-positioning Maori representation: Contextualising 'Once Were Warriors' In Bieringa,J & Dennis, J (Eds). *Film in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 191-193). Wellington: Victoria University Press,

Pihama, L. (2005). Asserting indigenous theories of change. In Barker, J. (Ed.). *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination* (pp. 191 – 209). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Pihama, L. (2010a). *He kaupapa korero: Maori health researchers and provider views on the impact of Kaupapa Maori.* Report to the Health Research Council for the Hohua Tutengaehe Postdoctoral Fellowship, Auckland, New Zealand.

Pihama, L. (2010b). Kaupapa Maori Theory: Transforming theory in Aotearoa. *He Pukenga Korero: A Journal of Maori Studies*, *9*(2), 5- 14.

Phillips, J. (2016). Suicide - Suicide rates. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/suicide/page-2 (accessed 10 October 2016)

Poata-Smith, E. T. (2013). Inequality and Māori. In Rashbrooke, M. (Ed.). *Inequality: A New Zealand Crisis* (pp. 153-162). Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Polanyi, K. (1944). *The great transformation.* New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc.

Pool, D. I. (2013). *Te iwi Maori: Population past, present and projected.* Chicago: Auckland University Press.

Pool, D. I. (2011). Death rates and life expectancy - Effects of colonisation on Māori. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/death-rates-and-life-expectancy/page-4

Pool, D. I. and Kukutai, T. (2011). Taupori Māori – Māori population change - Population changes, 1769–1840. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/taupori-maori-maori-population-change/page-1

Ramsden, I. (1993) Borders and frontiers. In Calder, A. (Ed.). *The Writing of New Zealand; Inventions and Identities* (pp. 236-244). Auckland: Reed.

Rangihau, J. (1986). *Puao-te-ata-tu: The Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare.* Wellington: Department of Social Welfare.

Rapadas, J. M. (2007). Transmission of violence: The legacy of colonialism in Guam and the path to peace. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology, 1*(02), 33-40.

Rashbrooke, M. (2015). *Wealth and New Zealand.* Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Reid, J., Taylor-Moore, K., and Varona, G. (2014). Towards a Social-Structural Model for Understanding Current Disparities in Maori Health and Well-Being. *Journal of Loss and Trauma*, *19*(6), 514-536.

Reid, J., and Rout, M. (2016a). Getting to know your food: the insights of indigenous thinking in food provenance. *Agriculture and Human Values*, *33*(2), 427-438.

Reid, J., and Rout, M. (2016b). Māori tribal economy: Rethinking the original economic institutions. In Anderson, T. L. (Ed.). *Unlocking the wealth of Indian nations* (pp. 84-106). Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

Robb, J. (2015). *Going the way of the dodo: Four pigeons, three extinctions, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.* A Communist at Large. Retrieved from https://convincingreasons.wordpress.com/2015/08/05/going-the-way-of-the-dodo-four-pigeons-three-extinctions-and-te-tiriti-o-waitangi/#FeldmanRef

Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Schraeder, B. (2016). *The Big Smoke: New Zealand Cities, 1840–1920.* Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Sinclair, K. (2002). *Maori times, Maori places: prophetic histories.* New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Smith, G. H. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis.* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Smith, L. T. (1992). *Ko taku ko ta te Maori: The dilemma of a Maori academic.* Paper presented to the AARE/NZARE Joint Conference, Deakin University, Geelong Australia.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* London, UK: Zed Books Ltd.

Smith, L. T. (2005). On tricky ground: Researching the native in the age of uncertainty. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 85 – 107). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Smith, M. (1995). Mike Smith. In Melbourne, H. (Ed.). (2013). *Maori sovereignty: the Maori perspective.* Royal New Zealand Foundation of the Blind.

Sissons, J. (2000). The post-assimilationist thought of Sir Apirana Ngata: Towards a genealogy of New Zealand biculturalism. *New Zealand Journal of History, 34*(1), 47-59.

Spivak, G. (2003). Subaltern studies. *Deconstruction: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, *4*, 220.

Statistics New Zealand, (2014). *2013 Census QuickStats about income.* Retrieved from http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-income/personal-income-ethnic.aspx

Stone, D. (2012). Financial and commercial dimensions of settlements. In Wheen, N. R., and Hayward, J. (Eds.). *Treaty of Waitangi settlements* (138-150). Wellington, N.Z: Bridget Williams Books with the New Zealand Law Foundation.

Swingewood, A. (2000). *A Short History of Sociological Thought.* London, UK: Macmillan Press.

Sykes, A. (2010). Bruce Jesson lecture. Retrieved from http://img.scoop.co.nz/media/pdfs/1011/Annette_Sykes_Lecture_2010.pdf

Taonui, R. (2010). Mana tamariki: Cultural alienation. *AlterNative*, *6*(3), 187-202.

Taonui, R. (2011). Ngā tuakiri hōu – new Māori identities - Early Māori identities. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-tuakiri-hou-new-maori-identities/page-1

Taonui, R. (2012). Ngā māngai – Māori representation - Effect of Māori seats. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-mangai-maori-representation/page-2

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J.C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W.G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Taylor-Moore, K. (2009). *Towards a reconceptualisation of psychological suffering.* PhD Thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, NZ.

Teicher, M. H., Dumont, N. L., Ito, Y., Vaituzis, C., Giedd, J. N., & Andersen, S. L. (2004). Childhood neglect is associated with reduced corpus callosum area. *Biological Psychiatry,* 56(2), 80-85.

Thibodeau, R., & Aronson, E. (1992). Taking a closer look: Reasserting the role of the self-concept in dissonance theory. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 18*(5), 591-602.

Timu-Parata, C. (2009). May the dreams of the past be the reality of the future: Reflections on the maori health journey. *Whitireia Nursing Journal,* (16), 38-46.

Trotter, C. (2012, August 7). Return of the 'divide and conquer' rule. *The Press.* Retrievedf rom http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/columnists/chris-trotter/7427134/Return-of-the-divide-and-conquer-rule

Twells, A. (2009). *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1792–1850.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

United Nations, (2014). The health of indigenous peoples. Inter-Agency Support Group On Indigenous Peoples' Issues Thematic Paper, towards the preparation of the 2014 World Conference on Indigenous Peoples. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/ga/president/68/pdf/wcip/IASG%20Thematic%20Paper%20-%20Health%20-%20rev1.pdf

Van Meijl, T. (1999). Settling Maori land claims: Legal and economic implications of political and ideological contests. In Van Meijl, T., & Benda-Beckmann, F. (Eds.). *Property rights and economic development: Land and natural resources in Southeast Asia and Oceania* (259291)- London: K. Paul International.

Veracini, L. (2010). *Settler colonialism: A theoretical overview.* Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Verba, S. (1967). Democratic participation. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 373*(1), 53–78.

Vowles, J. (2000). Introducing proportional representation: The New Zealand experience. *Parliamentary Affairs, 53*(4), 680-696.

Walker, R. J. 1992. Maori people since 1950. In Rice, G. W. (Ed). *Oxford History of New Zealand* (pp. 498-519). Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Walker, S., Eketone, A., and Gibbs, A. (2006). An exploration of kaupapa Maori research, its principles, processes and applications. *Internation Journal of Social Research Methodology, 9*(4), 331–344.

Walters, K.L., Beltran, R.E., Huh, D., & Evans-Campbell, T. (2011). Displacement and disease: Land, place, and health among American Indians and Alaska Natives. In L.M. Burton, S.P. Kemp, M. Leung, S.A. Matthews & D.T. Takeuchi (Eds.). *Communities, neighbourhood, and health: Expanding the boundaries of place* (pp. 163-199). Philadelphia, PA: Springer Science + Business Media LLC.

Williams, D. V. (1999). *'Te Kooti tango whenua': The Native Land Court 1864-1909.* Wellington, N.Z: Huia Publishers.

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native. *Journal of Genocide Research, 8*(4), 387-409.

Woods, M. C. (2002). *Integrating the nation: Gendering Maori urbanisation and integration, 1942-1969.* PhD Thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Zodgekar, A.V. (1975). Maori fertility in a period of transition. *Journal of Biosocial Science, 7*(3), 345–352.