

UNDERSTANDING MAORI 'LIVED' CULTURE TO DETERMINE CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS AND WELLBEING



JOHN REID, GOLDA VARONA, MARTIN FISHER & CHERRYL SMITH

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN: Understanding Maori 'lived' culture to determine cultural connectedness and wellbeing. *Journal of Population Research*, 33(1), 31-49.

This is a post-peer-review, pre-copyedit version of an article published in Journal of Population Research. The final authenticated version is available online at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12546-016-9165-0>

1.0 Introduction

Colonisation significantly disrupts Indigenous peoples' ways of life and their long-established relationship with their lands. For Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the loss of traditional lands has resulted in intergenerational material poverty, under-education, unemployment, and dependence on social welfare (Gracey & King, 2009; Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Similar social and economic challenges have also been reported for displaced Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world (Adelson, 2005; Cernea, 2004; Cooke, et al, 2007; Gebre, 2003). However, the effects of colonisation, particularly of land loss and forced displacement, go far beyond material poverty and economic marginalisation.

In recent decades, health researchers and practitioners have come to realise that mass traumatic events, such as displacement and land loss from colonisation, generate chronic, as well as acute, collective psychological suffering for Indigenous peoples (Atkinson, 2002; Brave Heart, 2003; Duran & Duran, 1995; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Walters, et al, 2011). Scholars such as Strathern (1988), Bird-David (1999), Strang (2004), Ingold (1995), and Willerslev (2007) explain that this is partly because Indigenous people view themselves as a part of the natural world, not apart from it; that is, their animist worldview is one of mutualistic relationships with both humans and non-humans. These relationships have been built over time and across generations, and permeate all aspects of Indigenous being and living. Thus, more than merely the loss of a material or economic resource, the loss of land is also an assault on the very essence of Indigenous culture and ways of being. For Maori, culture and identity are fundamentally built on the reciprocal relationships formed with *whanau* [extended family] and *whenua* [land/place]. Thus, the loss of tribal *whenua* during colonisation not only created intergenerational economic problems for Maori, but also compromised their cultural and psychological wellbeing. Such consequences continue to be felt by Maori (Gracey & King, 2009; King, et al, 2009; Waitangi Tribunal, 1991).

Increasingly, Maori tribal authorities have sought to measure the status of wellbeing of their people as a baseline for determining the extent to which their economic, social and cultural goals are being achieved. In recent years, data from government-administered social surveys and/or censuses has become a significant source of information for tribal authorities. However, there has been no consistent method of measuring wellbeing beyond the economic or material, resulting in a variety of reports that present a range of sometimes confusing data, particularly for social and/or cultural aspects of wellbeing. Furthermore, these existing data sources can be marked by systems of logic

and methods of enumeration and categorisation that do not fully capture the sorts of data significant to *imi* [tribal] cultural development in particular, or that are congruent with Maori ways of being in general (Kukutai & Rarere, 2013, 2015; Kukutai & Walter, 2015). This issue has also been noted for Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world (Axelsson & Skold, 2011; Hamilton & Inwood, 2011; Ziker, 2011). Given that dependence on secondary data sources can be limiting, Ngai Tahu have initiated research programmes and projects that aim to gather in-depth, primary source data. Using the tribal authority of *Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu* (TRONT) as a case study example, this paper explores and compares data concerning Ngai Tahu wellbeing contained in two recently completed TRONT reports: the *Ngai Tahu State of the Nation 2015* (State of the Nation) report; and, the preliminary findings from the Ngai Tahu *Whenua Project*.

2.0 The State of the Nation Report and the Whenua Project

The *State of the Nation* report was commissioned by TRONT, the tribal governing body for Ngai Tahu, to assist the tribe in assessing their progress in realising their goals for tribal recovery and further development. It is the first report of its kind for Ngai Tahu. The report draws heavily on available secondary data sources, mainly from the 2013 *New Zealand Census*.

The *Whenua Project* catalogues extended, open-ended narratives that detail the family and life histories, as well as the collective and personal concerns and aspirations, of 80 Ngai Tahu tribal members residing in different locations across the South Island. Using a qualitative phenomenological approach, the main purpose of the *Whenua Project* is to conceptualise and explore the historical trauma of land loss, in order to find culturally relevant solutions to effectively support Maori health and wellbeing. Following the principles of *Kaupapa Maori* research [Maori research philosophy] that specifies the adoption of a critical and participatory approach to research on Maori (Smith, 2013), a *hui* [meeting] involving health and welfare professionals, project team members, Ngai Tahu tribal leaders, and tribal members was first held to discuss the project. Suggestions and ideas that were raised during the *hui* were incorporated into aspects of the project. Interested *whanau* and key tribal members then facilitated the identification and establishment of a network of individuals and extended family willing to help and/or participate in the project either as key informants/storytellers or as field interviewers and community researchers. Next, visits were scheduled between Ngai Tahu project participants and Ngai Tahu community researchers, where unstructured interviews involving open-ended conversations, narratives and storytelling, or *purakau*, were held, enabling the participants to communicate and share their family life histories and lived experiences. This took place over a period of 20 months. After the completion of this

process, common themes and patterns, as well as unique features, were then drawn out from the stories. For the first stage of analysis, qualitative thematic content analysis was used. Patterns and trends across the 80 project participants were then examined in conjunction with an analysis of historical and social contexts. Updates and feedback on the status of the analysis, and of the project as a whole, were then regularly circulated between project researchers, community researchers, and interested research participants and tribal members for their input, until complete findings are able to be finalised and presented formally to the tribe for action and feedback.

In sum, the *Whenua Project* gathered stories from 80 Ngai Tahu key informants/storytellers from across five locations in the South Island, specifically: North Canterbury; Banks Peninsula; Christchurch; North Otago; and, Southland. Of the 80 project participants, 51 (63.7%) were female, and 29 (36.3%) were male. All were between the ages of 21 and 85 (see Table 1, below).

Table 1: Research Participants by Age Group, Source: Whenua Project

Age Group	Frequency	Percent
21 to 35	20	25
36 to 49	17	22
50 to 59	22	27
60 and older	21	26
Total	80	100

All of the 80 key informants/storytellers identify with, or belong to, at least one of 8 *whanau* involved in the study; however, many of them have historical connections and/or long-standing kinship ties to several other locations, *whanau*, *hapu* [sub-tribes], and/or *imi* [tribes] not directly included in this study. Many of the key informants/storytellers also have long-standing historical links and/or kinship ties with each other.

3.0 The Case of Ngai Tahu Maori

The Indigenous inhabitants of Aotearoa/New Zealand, collectively referred to as Maori or *tangata whenua* [people of the land], consist of a diverse number of *imi* [tribes] and *hapu* [clans]. One of the largest *imi* both demographically and geographically is Ngai Tahu, located in *Te Waipounamu* [New Zealand's South Island] (see Figure 1, below, for map).



Figure 1: Map of Te Waipounamu, the South Island of NZ

Ngai Tahu trace their *whakapapa* [genealogy] back to Paikea, who came from the Polynesian homeland of Hawaiki, through to his descendant, Tahu Potiki, from whom they take their tribal name. In the 17th century, Ngai Tahu migrated south from the North Island's East Coast, eventually crossing the Cook Strait to the South Island. By the end of the 18th century, through both conflict and inter-marriage, Ngai Tahu eventually established its authority over most of the South Island (Anderson, 1998).

Ngai Tahu's tribal structure was quite loose, with five primary *hapu* ruling with relative independence in their regions. The bonds between these often warring *hapu* were strengthened when Ngati Toa leader Te Rauparaha invaded in the 1830s. The *ivi* who bore the brunt of the incursion along the northern half of the South Island's east coast, Ngati Kuri at Kaikoura and Ngai Tuahuriri at Kaiapoi, sought the aid of their cousins to the south, Ngati Irakehu and Ngati Huirapa, who had grown wealthy through trade and had muskets and ships. Eventually, Ngai Tahu repulsed Te Rauparaha and, by 1839, peace was negotiated (Anderson, 1998).

3.1 Colonisation and Land Loss

A year later, British and Maori representatives, including Ngai Tahu leaders, signed the Treaty of Waitangi. The English version established their sovereignty across New Zealand. The Māori treaty merely gave the British authority to control their own countrymen. By 1864, Ngai Tahu had sold 34.5 million acres of land, believing this would strengthen their burgeoning political and economic relationship with the British. The Crown promised schools and hospitals to justify the low prices paid for the lands and promised substantial reserves in addition to their settlements, including food gathering sites. (O'Malley, 2014). However, the Crown failed to provide the schools and hospitals and offered marginal, miniscule reserves. Within a generation, Ngai Tahu were landless and impoverished while settlers were provided with cheap, wide-ranging estates (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991; Evison, 1997).

When it became clear the Crown would not honour its promises, Ngai Tahu petitioned the government and a Commission of Inquiry investigated and largely upheld Ngai Tahu's claims. Consequently, largely worthless, inaccessible and unusable land in the inhospitable south was returned in the 1900s (Evison, 1997). Ngai Tahu continued to petition the government, receiving limited financial compensation in the 1940s that did not quell the drive for compensation (Tau, 2000).

3.2 The Ngai Tahu Treaty Settlement

By the 1970s, the Crown could no longer ignore pressure from Maori leaders and protestors, Maori MPs, the judiciary, and a supportive section of Pakeha. Before the Labour Government suffered electoral defeat in 1975, Maori Affairs Minister Matiu Rata enacted the *Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975*, which established a permanent Commission of Inquiry, the Waitangi Tribunal, to inquire into Maori claims against the Crown. Initially limited to claims regarding Crown actions from 1975 onward, when Labour was re-elected ten years later, the Tribunal's reach was extended back to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (Orange, 2004). Consequently, there was a rapid increase in the number of claims, and the system soon became overloaded. The Waitangi Tribunal only held powers of recommendation, it was the Crown's responsibility to resolve Maori claims so, as the claims increased, the Crown realised it needed a coordinated policy (Ward, 1999).

The Treaty of Waitangi Policy Unit (ToWPU) was established in 1988 to develop a settlement strategy and lead direct negotiations (Hill, 2010). By 1993, a Minister-in-Charge of Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations was established at the Cabinet level and the ToWPU was renamed as the

Office of Treaty Settlements in 1995 (OTS). Ngai Tahu was among the first to submit their historical claims to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986. The Ngai Tahu claim was heard from 1987-1989; and 1991-1995, with four reports published by the Tribunal. Negotiations between Ngai Tahu and the National Government began in 1991, breaking down from between 1994 and 1996 before concluding with a Deed of Settlement in 1997 and legislation formalising the agreement in 1998 (Fisher, 2015).

Ngai Tahu's Treaty settlement was worth \$170 million but due to a number of enhancing mechanisms, its real value was far greater. In addition to the baseline \$170 million quantum, Ngai Tahu negotiators also obtained (*Ngai Tahu Deed of Settlement*, 1997):

- A relativity mechanism that allowed for 'top ups' if future settlements with other iwi saw the Crown go over its initial total settlement amount;
- Interest on the unpaid sum that was worth approximately \$25 million;
- Right of First Refusal (RFR) which provided Ngai Tahu the first right to purchase Crown lands when they became available for privatisation;
- Deferred Selection Process (DSP) that allowed Ngai Tahu to purchase certain valuable Crown properties that would be leased back at market rates to government departments such as schools and police stations;
- Dedicated seats on Conservation boards;
- The return, in fee simple, of sites of cultural significance such as Tutaepatu Lagoon, Lake Waihora (Ellesmere) and the Crown Titi Islands;
- Legal instruments to provide Ngai Tahu a voice in resource consent and conservation processes;
- Crown Apology and Historical Account; and,
- The establishment of a governing body with a legal personality: Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu – The Ngai Tahu Council.

3.3 Economic Wellbeing

Since 1998, Ngai Tahu have grown the value of their settlement to over NZ\$1 billion. The benefits of the settlement flow to individual members of the tribe through personal and *papatipu runanga* [constituent councils] based distribution schemes. Annual grants are provided to the 18 *papatipu runanga* as well as educational, sports and hardship grants for the young and elderly. Over NZ\$350 million has been distributed for tribal development since the settlement. In addition, retirement schemes such as Whai Rawa have been established; and, successful *whanau*- and *papatipu runanga*-

oriented businesses such as Ngai Tahu Pounamu have blossomed (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2015).

Data from the *State of the Nation* report show that many members of the tribe now appear to have average to high levels of material wellbeing relative to the rest of the New Zealand population. In particular, the report notes the following: First, Ngai Tahu are a young population relative to the total New Zealand population, with over 30% under 15 years of age; and, there has been significant growth in the registered Ngai Tahu population, from 39,180 in 2001, and 49,185 in 2006, to 54,819 in 2013, with over half of the population living outside the tribal area (see Table 2, below).

Table 2: Distribution of Ngai Tahu Population, 1991-2013. Source: State of the Nation

	1991	%	1996	%	2001	%	2006	%	2013	%
In rohe	11,799	58.1	15,609	53.6	19,446	49.6	24,087	49.0	26,832	48.9
Outside rohe	8,502	41.9	13,527	46.4	19,734	50.4	25,098	51.0	27,987	51.1
Total in NZ	20,301		29,136		39,180		49,185		54,819	

Second, more Ngai Tahu are achieving higher levels of education and professional training. While 49% of Ngai Tahu who were unable to obtain secondary school qualifications are over 65 years of age, over 80% of Ngai Tahu under 45 years of age have achieved secondary qualifications or higher (see Figure 2, below).

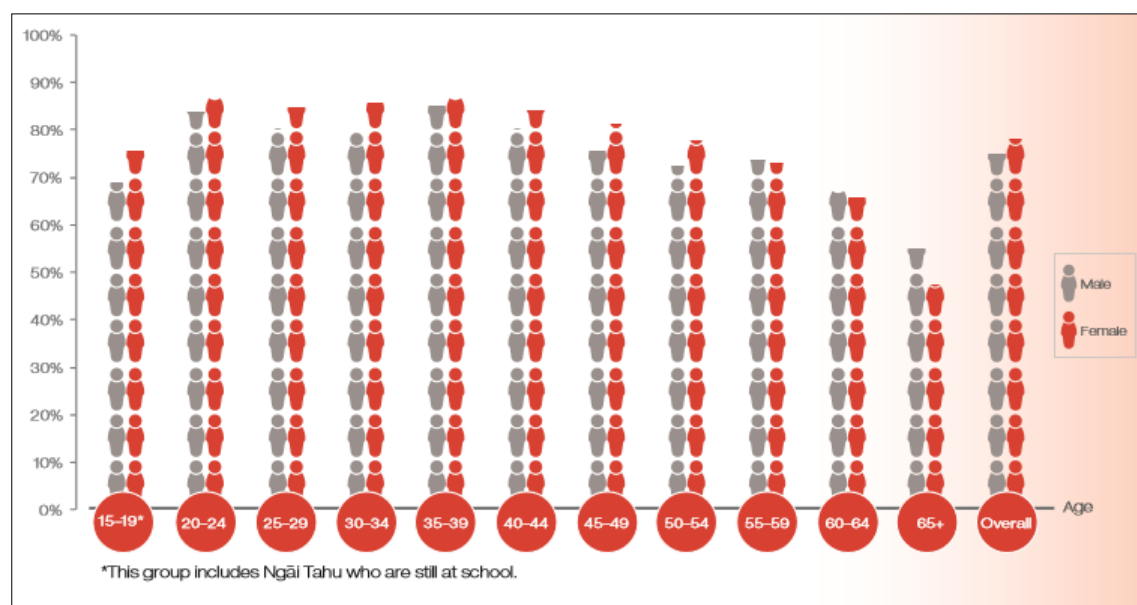


Figure 2: Percentage of Ngai Tahu who have achieved secondary education or better, Source: State of the Nation

Third, the majority of Ngai Tahu are in employment – 73% are engaged in the labour force, and the median actual household income for Ngai Tahu are on the same level as the median actual household income for the rest of New Zealand, at NZ\$81,000. Fourth, around 42% of Ngai Tahu own or partly own the home they live in, compared to 50% of all New Zealanders. In sum, the report shows that Ngai Tahu now experience relatively high levels of material wellbeing and living standards: younger generations of Ngai Tahu are well educated; the majority are in gainful employment; and, household median incomes and levels of home ownership are generally on par with the rest of the New Zealand population.

The *Whenua Project's* qualitative findings on trauma and recovery from material poverty broadly confirm the data on material wellbeing presented in the *State of the Nation* report. The *Whenua Project* participants explained that earlier or past generations of their whanau had experienced prolonged and extreme levels of poverty. These experiences included, but were not limited to, very poor housing and living conditions, joblessness and chronic lack of economic stability, and lack of educational opportunities. They pointed out that these unacceptable conditions are no longer experienced by the current generation to the same extent; although, for a number of older-aged Ngai Tahu, they shared that they still needed to find creative ways to make ends meet.

Summary findings from the *Whenua Project* show that the percentage of narratives about personal or family experiences of material poverty has steadily decreased across age groups: that is, younger-aged participants who shared stories about family or personal poverty were markedly less in number compared with older-aged participants who shared the same. This suggests that, over time, living conditions may have improved among families to the extent that material poverty has become less of a focus of concern for the current generation of Ngai Tahu (see Figure 3, below).

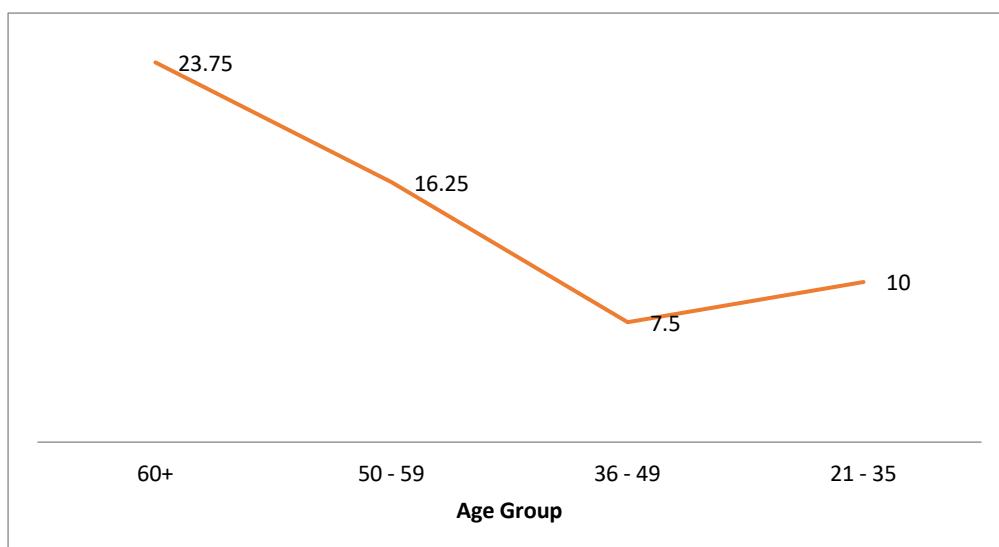


Figure 3: Percentage (%) of narratives of material poverty across age groups, Source: Whenua Project

3.4 Cultural Wellbeing

While the data and findings from both the *State of the Nation* and the *Whenua Project* show that a considerable number of Ngai Tahu *whanau* have had significant improvements in their material wellbeing, the data and findings for cultural and/or psychological wellbeing are not as clear-cut. For example, cultural data from the *State of the Nation* indicate that only 37.2% of Ngai Tahu believed that it is very important to be engaged in Maori culture, while 26.9% believe it may be somewhat important, and 35.9% believe that it is not at all important (see Table 3, below).

Table 3: Ngai Tahu views on the importance of being engaged in Maori culture, Source: State of the Nation

Views on the Importance of being Engaged in Maori Culture	Ngai Tahu (%)
Very important	37.2
Somewhat important	26.9
A little/Not at all important	35.9
Total	100

This appears to muddle further cultural data from the same report that indicate that 84% of Ngai Tahu claimed either very strong (52%), or moderately strong (32%), connections to their ancestral *marae* [meeting place] as *turangawaemae* [traditional homeplace] (see Table 4, below). On the one hand, reports of such strong connections are not surprising – the findings of Maori researchers

confirm, for example, that for many Maori, the *marae* remains a place of significance (Kukutai & Rarere, 2015). On the other hand, figures showing the level of importance given to engagement with Maori culture do not seem to align with this.

Table 4: Ngai Tahu who specify connection to ancestral marae as turangawaewae, Source: State of the Nation

Strength of Connection to Ancestral Marae	Ngai Tahu (%)
Very strongly/strongly connected	51.8
Somewhat connected	31.5
Weakly/very weakly connected	13.6
Not at all connected	3.1
Total	100

When these are viewed from the perspective of the qualitative findings from the *Whenua Project*, this inconsistency is clarified. Findings from the *Whenua Project* indicate that reciprocal relational links with *whanau* and *whenua* is a core cultural value and is seen by the majority of project participants as key to their cultural and psychological wellbeing. Of the 80 participants involved in the *Whenua Project*, 82.5% mentioned maintaining links with *whanau* as a source of wellbeing, and 76.3% mentioned access to, and continual relational links with, *whenua* as vital to their cultural and psychological health. Essentially, the vast majority valued *whenua* and *turangawaewae*, family connections, and *matauranga* [knowledge] associated with this sense of place (see Figure 4, below).

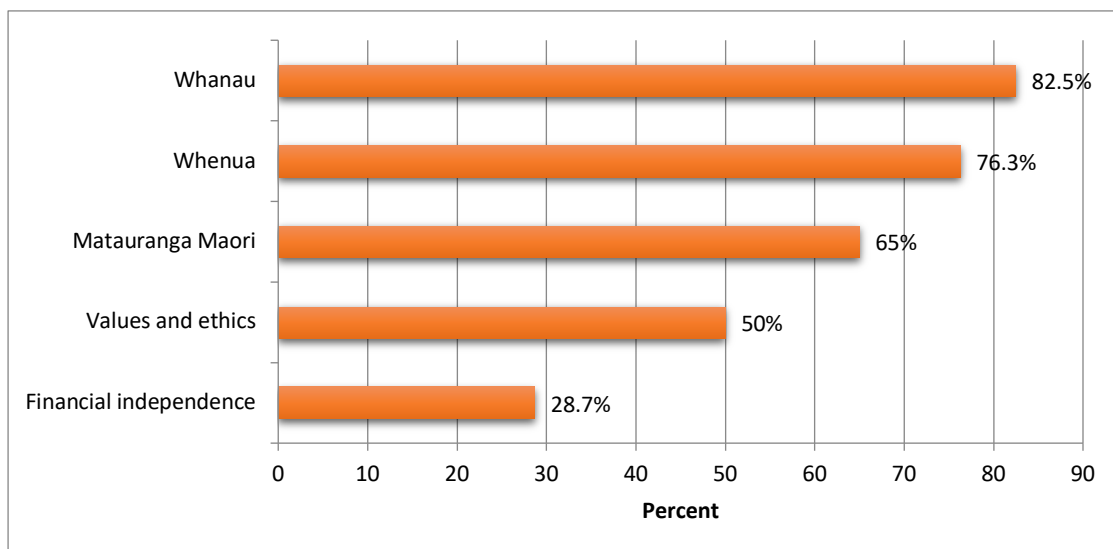


Figure 4: Sources of Cultural and Psychological Wellbeing, Source: Whenua Project

More specifically, the narratives showed that the participants valued the building of reciprocal relationships with extended kin and with their traditional lands and waters, and the place-specific cultural knowledge and practices that form part of these relationships. For example, they repeatedly mentioned *mahinga kai* [traditional hunting and food gathering] and spending time in the bush or shorelines, alongside remarks about family and *kaitiakitanga* [guardianship]. They also described in detail some of the skills taught to them by their elders, and recalled the stories passed on to them about sacred sites and burial grounds and significant family events. Statements such as the following were typical:

The best place for us was out there [on the land]...It was what was close to our heart. We would go up in the forest...[and] you could pretty much go anywhere...We would spend our days roaming around and going swimming or playing in the rivers and not coming back until dark... [My father] he would talk about his life growing up...and what it was like for him, and that's also how you started to know different places...He'd talk about the different urupa [family burial grounds] that were there... So in the harbour you'd have different areas for lookouts, so that whanau would live in that place... [Female, 35]

Statements from a number of younger-aged participants also clearly outlined the relationship between being able to retain access to their *whenua* and being able to maintain and grow their *whanau* ties. One participant, for instance, mentioned that:

You need whanau... and even though every year our family grows, we still like to be tight... So all of our kids and all of my brothers and that, and my sister's kids, are close. That's what I learned from our grandparents because they kept their kids close and that... We all used to live in town, [but] we still used to go out there [to the land] all the time... It helps. That's home... [Male, 33]

This is obviously reflected in part of the data contained in the *State of the Nation* report, which indicate that a majority of Ngai Tahu possess strong connections to place and family gathering points (e.g., *marae*). However, if we accept that *whanau* and connections to place are core elements of Ngai Tahu culture, then the data suggesting that nearly two-thirds of Ngai Tahu see no value in their culture, or are ambivalent about it, does not make a lot of sense and needs further explication. Notably, the measures of cultural practice used in the *State of the Nation* suggest that culture is to be understood as something outside of oneself and, therefore, as something to be engaged in, or participated in for a time, but which is not necessarily an ongoing or complete 'way of life'. This

is evidenced in the survey design where cultural practices are listed as activities a person engages in (see Table 5, below).

Table 5: Ngai Tahu cultural practice in the previous 12 months, Source: State of the Nation

Cultural Practice (Measure)	Ngai Tahu (%)
-Used a Maori greeting	79.9
-Watched a Maori television programme	65.9
-Discussed or explored whakapapa or family history	61.8
-Sang a Maori song, haka, gave a mihi, or took part in Maori performing art and crafts	53.5
-Wore Maori jewellery	53.2
-Taught or shared Maori language with others	45.4
-Had contact with Maori through social media	36.5
-Read a Maori magazine	33.1
-Learnt culture at a library, museum, or Maori website	31.5
-Went to a Maori festival or event	28.1
-Went to a hui (meeting)	26.1
-Did something else that involved learning the Maori language or culture	25.5
-Listened to a Maori radio station	25.3
-Wore Maori branded clothing	24.5
-Acquired a ta moko (Maori design tattoo) at any time	8.8
-Took part in traditional Maori healing or massage	7.3
-Was involved in any other practice	17.6

The conundrum with regard to data on the importance of culture, vis-à-vis data on the strength of connections to land/homeplace, found in the *State of the Nation* report, may therefore have arisen from the design of the census itself. As Hamilton and Inwood (2011) point out, various aspects of census design, such as the construction of questions, the process of enumeration, the tabulation of results, etc., can have an impact on the nature of the data collected; in this case, a design which understands or treats culture simply as a set of practices that one can, or may, engage in, poses a challenge. In addition, given that culture and/or cultural identity for Maori (as well as for other Indigenous societies) is/are embedded within multiple layers of networks and ways of being,

government-led census and/or social surveys that fail to consider this complexity run the real risk of imposing census categories that are too prescriptive and far from congruent with Maori views and experiences (Axelsson et al, 2011; Kukutai & Walter, 2015; Ziker, 2011). One way of resolving this is to consider culture as a ‘way of being’ and a fundamental aspect of identity and self-concept.

4.0 Developing Measures that Capture Culture as Relational and Embodied

Culture, according to Geertz’s (1973, p.89) classical definition is “an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which [people] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and their attitudes toward life”. It is, in short, a ‘way of life’. Yep (2004, p.71) defines cultural identity as “a social construction that gives the individual an ontological status [a sense of ‘being’] and expectations for social behaviour [ways of ‘acting’]”. Culture as an identity, then, gives an individual an understanding of self, a sense of belonging, a system of meaning and a way of acting (Tajfel, 1981). The *State of the Nation* report, in measuring culture as simply ‘activities’ or ‘ways of acting’ with little consideration to congruency with cultural understandings of self, sense of belonging, or systems of meaning, would have missed this significant link between ‘acting’ and ‘being’.

To examine and understand cultural wellbeing, culture should be considered not just as an outward practice or compendium of activities, but must be understood as having an internalised component that connects to how people understand who they are and how they belong (Ingold, 1995). What makes a restricted practice-oriented delineation of ‘culture’ in current reports of cultural health and wellbeing even more concerning is that it is an outcome of what is commonly referred to in the postcolonial literature as ‘othering’, where an Indigenous culture is problematised and trivialised by the coloniser to the point that the Indigenous cultural identity is no longer the intrinsic understanding of self or sense of belonging, but rather, is seen as an atavistic auxiliary of extrinsic practices and symbols (Bhabha, 1984; Said, 1979; Smith, 2013). ‘Othering’ is opposed to an understanding of culture as a ‘way of being’ – or culture as ‘embodied’ (Duran & Duran, 1995). In effect, through the process of ‘othering’, the Indigenous cultural identity becomes a ‘thing’ rather than a ‘way’, something to be ‘engaged with’ rather than ‘lived as’.

For many Ngai Tahu, the metrics framed as ‘cultural activities’ in the *State of the Nation* report have not resonated with their understanding and experience of Ngai Tahu cultural identity, resulting in data which show that almost two-thirds of Ngai Tahu are ambivalent about, or see no importance

in, engaging in Maori culture, despite more than half showing strong connections to *marae* and *turangawaewae*. Findings from the *Whenua Project* indicate that localised food gathering practices of hunting and fishing, being in and from a place (*whenua* and *turangawaewae*), and *whanau* are considered extremely important foundations to Ngai Tahu culture and identity. Consequently, it is suggested that in order to better measure and examine cultural wellbeing, a reframing of culture is necessary, moving culture from merely an activity that is engaged in to a ‘way of life located in place’ that is also a core component of identity (Bird-David, 1999; Ingold, 1995; Willerslev, 2007). The development of measures for assessing the quality of relationships within and between *whanau* and *whenua* or places of belonging are likely to reveal the level and condition of Ngai Tahu ‘lived’ culture. Furthermore, determining the various aspects of connection to *whenua* and *whanau* will also help reveal the strength of cultural identity and, in turn, personal identity, and related levels of cultural and psychological wellbeing. By understanding that culture is a ‘way of life’ and a core component of identity, and examining it through a relational epistemology, Maori can develop measuring tools that are able to provide an interconnecting set of results that can more accurately inform cultural and psychological wellbeing.

5.0 Summary and Conclusion

Colonisation has resulted in significant loss of land for Maori in general, and for Ngai Tahu in particular. Nonetheless, *whenua* or land/place continues to be a core part of Ngai Tahu and Maori culture and identity. Ngai Tahu (and Maori) wellbeing is intimately linked with land/place. While much is known about the impact of the loss of land on economic wellbeing, the long-standing impacts of land loss on cultural wellbeing, and how they may be alleviated and remedied, remains little understood.

Despite significant gaps in organised scholarly knowledge of the impacts of, and solutions to, land loss since the Treaty settlement, Ngai Tahu have determinedly proceeded with efforts to revitalise and develop their culture and economy, and have met with notable levels of success. Data from the *State of the Nation* report show that material wellbeing for Ngai Tahu has improved significantly. Likewise, the narratives from the *Whenua Project* show that the economic impact of land loss on Ngai Tahu through colonisation has been significant; and, that there are ongoing impacts of land loss on cultural and psychological wellbeing. However, from the data and findings of both the *State of the Nation* and the *Whenua Project*, it is clear that there is the need for more nuanced work in the area of cultural and psychological wellbeing. Explicating and developing measures to account

for Ngai Tahu experiences of connections to *whenua* and *whanau* will likely better reveal the vitality and health of 'lived' culture, and, in turn, the strength of cultural identity.

References

Adelson, N. (2005) The embodiment of inequality: Health disparities in Aboriginal Canada. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 96, S45-S61.

Altman, I. (1975). *The Environment and Social Behaviour*. Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole.

Anderson, A. (1998). *The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethnohistory of Southern Maori A.D. 1650-1850*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Atkinson, J. (2002). *Trauma Trails: Recreating Song Lines: The Transgenerational Effects of Trauma in Indigenous Australia*. Melbourne: Spinifex Press.

Axelsson, P., & Skold, P. (2011). Introduction. In P. Axelsson and P. Skold (Eds.), *Indigenous Peoples and Demography: The Complex Relations between Identity and Statistics*, (pp. 1-14). New York: Berghahn Books.

Axelsson, P., Skold, P., Ziker, J.P., and Anderson, D.G. (2011). Epilogue: From Indigenous demographics to an Indigenous demography. In P. Axelsson and P. Skold (Eds.), *Indigenous Peoples and Demography: The Complex Relations between Identity and Statistics*, (pp. 295-308). New York: Berghahn Books.

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

Bird-David, N. (1999). Animism Revisited: Personhood, environment and relational epistemology. *Current Anthropology*, 40S, S67-S91.

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.

Cernea, M. (2004). *Impoverishment Risks, Risk Management, and Reconstruction: A Model of Population Displacement and Resettlement*. Paper presented at the UN Symposium on hydropower and sustainable development, Beijing, China.

Cooke, M., Mitrou, F., Lawrence, D., Guimond, E., & Beavon, D. (2007). Indigenous wellbeing in four countries: An application of the UNDP's Human Development Index to Indigenous Peoples in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States. *BMC International Health and Human Rights*, 7(9).

Duran E., & Duran, B. (1995). *Native American Postcolonial Psychology*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

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

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. (1997). *The Long Dispute: Maori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern NZ*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press.

Fisher, M. (2015). *Balancing Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga: Waikato-Tainui and Ngai Tahu's Treaty Settlement Negotiations with the Crown*. PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington.

Gebre, Y. (2003). Resettlement and the unnoticed losers: Impoverishment disasters among the Gumz in Ethiopia. *Human Organization*, 62(1), 50-61.

Gracey, M., & King, M. (2009). Indigenous health part 1: Determinants and disease patterns. *Lancet*, 374, 65-75.

Geertz, C. (1979). Religion as a Cultural System. In C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*. (pp. 87-125). New York: Basic Books.

Hamilton, M.A., & Inwood, K. (2011). The Aboriginal population and the 1891 Census of Canada. In P. Axelsson & P. Skold (Eds.), *Indigenous Peoples and Demography: The Complex Relations between Identity and Statistics*, (pp. 95-116). New York: Berghahn Books.

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

Ingold, T. (1995). *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge.

King, M., Smith, A., & Gracey, M. (2009). Indigenous health part 2: The underlying causes of the health gap. *Lancet*, 374, 76-85.

Kukutai, T., & Rarere, M. (2013). Tracking patterns of tribal identification in the New Zealand Census, 1991 to 1996. *New Zealand Population Review*, 39, 1-24.

Kukutai, T., & Rarere, M. (2015). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Iwi Identification in the Census* (NIDEA Brief, No. 5). University of Waikato: National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis.

Kukutai, T., & Walter, M. (2015). Recognition and indigenizing official statistics: Reflections from Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia. *Statistical Journal of the LAOS*, 31(2), 317-326.

Ngai Tahu Deed of Settlement (1997).

Ngai Tahu State of the Nation (2015).

O'Malley, V. (2014). *Beyond the Imperial Frontier: The Contest for Colonial New Zealand*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Orange, C. (2014). *An Illustrated History of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Proshansky, H. M. (1978). The city and self-identity. *Environment and Behavior*, 10, 147-169.

Relph, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.

Roberts, M., Norman, W., Minhinnick, N., Wihongi, D., & Kirkwood, C. (1995). Kaitiakitanga: Maori perspectives on conservation. *Pacific Conservation Biology*, 2(1), 7-20.

Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage.

Smith, L. T. (2013). *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2nd ed.). New York: Zed Books

Strang, V. (2004). Close encounters of the Third World kind: Indigenous knowledge and relations to land. In A. Bicker, P. Sillitoe & J. Potter (Eds.), *Development and Local Knowledge* (pp. 93-117). New York: Routledge.

Strathern, M. (1988). *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tau, T. (2000). Ngai Tahu – From ‘Better be dead and out of the way’ to ‘Be seen and to belong’. In J. Cookson and G. Dunstall (Eds.), *Southern Capital, Christchurch: Towards a City Biography* (pp. 222-247). Christchurch: Canterbury University Press.

Te Runanga o Ngai Tabu Annual Report (2015).

Tuan, Y-F. (1974). *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Waitangi Tribunal (1991). *The Ngai Tabu Report*. Wellington: Government Publications.

Walters, K. L., Beltran, R. E., Huh, D., & Evans-Campbell, T. (2011). Displacement and Dis-ease: 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*. Philadelphia: Springer Science + Business Media LLC.

Ward, A. (1999). *An Unsettled History: Treaty Claims in New Zealand Today*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Willerslev, R. (2007). *Soul Hunters: Hunting, Animism and Personhood among the Siberian Yukaghirs*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Yep, G. A. (2004). Approaches to cultural identity: Personal notes from an autoethnographical journey. In Fong, M. and Chuang, R. (Eds.). *Communicating Ethnic and Cultural Identity* (pp. 69 – 81). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Ziker, J. P. (2011). Microdemographics and Indigenous identity in the Central Taimyr lowlands. In P. Axelsson & P. Skold (Eds.), *Indigenous Peoples and Demography: The Complex Relations between Identity and Statistics*, (pp. 219-238). New York: Berghahn Books.