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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 M!ori through the context of land alienation among Ng!i Tahu wh!nau. 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 Ng!i Tahu whanau. The Takini Network has made a valuable contribution to understanding the compounding *effects* o

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 M!ori political, economic, and social institutions and, in turn, the negative impacts on the M!ori ethno-cultural identity and personal self-concept that generate trauma among whanau. Ultimately these institutions were undermined by M!ori alienation from land, which underpinned M!ori political and economic independence, and offered a platform of M!ori 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 M!ori, 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 Ng!i Tahu wh!nau rose with the decline of M!ori p!-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 generati6 (s) 5

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

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 be tw(i)9 (n) 9(o)26(t)n)10 (i)9 12 (s) 9 (e5 (t)) -10((r) 7s) 9-10 -11 (g0 013 (e)) -3

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-

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 trau -1Tf [(g8.7112 c17 (A22 (o) -10 (a) [is) g8.7117 (u) -[(is) 3 (l)

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.

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

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,

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

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 Ng!i Tahu wh!nau 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 wh!nau'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 M!ori worldview and the *kaupapa M ori* research paradigm used in this project. By using intimate details that only fellow members of the Ng!i Tahu community could know, we were able to place what would otherwise be

We propose that settler colonisation creates, perpetuates and disseminates a 'colonising

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

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 M!ori, were far more geographically dispersed than M!

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

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

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 r"nanga, post-settlement iwi bureaucracies and M!ori 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 M!ori culture and interests, is a significant project requiring the visioning and instituting of new structures, and 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

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 M!ori cultural identity, the cultural identity or the M!ori 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

mirroring the behaviour extended toward Ng!i 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 M!ori (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-

M!ori 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

thresholds for voting that virtually no M!ori could meet due to the property titles were introduced, The evolving institutions of the settler state were being developed to disenfranchise M!ori. O'Malley (2016, 67) explains that while the Constitution Act of 1852 divided the country into settler and M!ori districts, this was never implemented and "although some predominantly M!ori districts were excluded from the electorates subsequently established they were not removed from the jurisdiction of the assemblies that were set up. M!ori were thus increasingly subjected to the arbitrary control of what were, in effect, racially selected bodies, from which they were excluded".

a weapon of assimilation for many decades, not only perpetuating the colonial narrative but also suppressing the M!ori 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, M!ori resistance to the structural changes saw an increasingly negative attitude grow amongst the settlers, Schraeder (2016, 136) discusses the "hardening of P!keh! attitudes toward M!ori: the 'soft' racism of the 1840s 'civilising project gave way to the 'hard' racism of policies demanding M!ori submission to the Crown authority". Therefore, M!ori not only had their identity directly undermined through alienation from land that

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 M!ori were segregated from P!keh! 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 M!ori settlements". Hill (2004, 28) suggests that though some M!ori 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 M!ori, 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 M!ori 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 M!ori in an intensive ongoing manner, resulting in this period – particularly the latter part – as being one where P!keh! often touted New Zealand as having the 'best race relations

surrounded by wh!nau and hap

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. M!ori who shifted to the cities worked in low skilled positions and government policy reinforced this by focusing on trade-oriented training for M!ori rather than on increasing the already low rates of higher educational attainment (Consedine, 2007). M!ori were to be kept subalternate in the settler state, providing manpower not mindpower.

The 1960 Hunn Report, a review of the Department of M!ori Affairs, proposed that the state move from a policy of assimilation to one of integration and provided a "three-tiered M!ori typology that noted the majority were somewhere in between either 'a completely detribalized body of M!ori 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 M!ori were still expected to adopt a pseudo-P!keh! identit] TJ /T0 (N)[() J /TT8 1Q 0.2[() 6] TJ2[() 6] ()(e) 2 () 0 0 0.24 11[(k) 9 6 6

During the inundation and isolation periods we considered that the seclusion of M!ori communities enabled the subalternising and identity degrading effects of land alienation, material poverty, political disenfranchisement and assimilation to be buffered because M!ori still lived

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 M!ori 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 M!ori authorities, and the M!ori Council (Hill, 2009). Each of these bodies represents the interests of M!ori 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 M!ori 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-hap" authorities, representing the original signatories, or pre-1840 tribes. However, this configuration is somewhat problematic, as the traditional unit of power was the hap", rarararohipOotitts -5 (r) 9 (e)

or(l) Int

also the social glue. As outlined in previous sections, the historical home of the hap" was the p! or village, which functioned well up until the integration period, buffering the traumas of colonisation. However, with land alienation, M!ori population growth and agricultural mechanisation offering less employment, the p!-based communities could no longer be sustained in traditional areas. Today only remnants of the M!ori land that once formed the economic foundation for wh!nau and hap" still exist. Furthermore, these blocks are held in M!ori collective tenure subject to bilateral succession, which has resulted in land being owned by significant and

traditional wa

to perpetuate the stereotypes of the narrative, with numerous studies showing that M!ori 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 M!ori still facing societal racism from many P!keh! based on the narrative's negative portrayals.

As well as societal racism, M!ori still face institutional discrimination. While the state has ceased to promote official assimilation and integration policies, the influence of the narrative is still

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

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

It was after integration that M!ori 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 –

Between three and four generations of each family were interviewed in each wh!nau 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:

This research design enabled intra-familial differences ov

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 M!ori 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., M!ori 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 M!ori 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 M!ori, especially in the past, was seen to be distant and detached from the *tikanga* values and understandings which M!ori 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, M!ori 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

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 M!ori and non-M!ori health social science researchers; for example, through the localised transfer of control over research processes from non-M!ori to M!ori, and through the adoption of a specific ethic that places the welfare of M!ori at the centre of such principled research, and which positions M!ori to share leadership of the research process in the identification of key or core problems and solutions. Many Kaupapa M!ori 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 M ori* praxis.

The report will now present the results.

Not only did Ng!i Tahu, and M!ori 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 wh!nau 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 M ori land through P keh law was able*

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

Not only was it very difficult to retain M!ori 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 M!ori land due to communal ownership structures. This led wh!nau to change land ownership title from M!ori 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,

'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 M ori Land Cd C 5 (e) 20 14] T1 T (e) T Ła122 Tm /TT9 (e 14) 1 t 3 d (m) 1 u

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

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

The narratives of M!ori land ownership told by interviewees reinforce and illustrate how the politico-legal institutions of the Crown have been weighed against M!ori land owners. They have been primarily designed to make retaining the ownership of M!ori 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 M!ori learnt how

With M!ori 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 M ori land? A: You have to. Every land gets rated, it's just not as… well this stuff here's been Europeanised, taken from M ori land and put into… and even M ori 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 M!ori land contributed to the development of infrastructure needed for the formation of the settler state, such as roads and water supply. Yet M!ori land owners rarely benefited equally from this infrastructure. As Anderson et al. (2014, 309) explain, the "organs of local government (almost entirely P!keh!-controlled) tended to be hostile to M!ori interest. They believed, usually incorrectly, that M

Furthermore, there were also common wh!nau 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 Ng!i Tahu and wh!nau 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 wh!nau

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 wh!nau partici

While some wh!nau continued to hunt, gather, and garden after integration, this final autonomous sphere of the M!ori economy was under pressure, as M!ori integrated into the broader domestic and international economy. As Walker (1992, 502) has written, "Once committed to this system, the migrants [M!ori] were irrevocably integrated into the economic system of mainstream society. The practice in the rural areas of supplementary subsistence activities sucin3 (n) 10 (t-8 (i) 9(i) 9 () -8 (a) 6 (r) -) 9

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 wh!nau 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 wh!nau 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

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

Through the narratives of Ng!i Tahu wh!nau 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 Ng!i 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

'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 M!ori and wh!nau at the expense of other wh!nau – 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

perpetuating the cycle of subalternisation. In short, the political and legal structures of M!ori 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 Ng!i Tahu among wh!nau, although t

the bureaucratic ‘box ticking’ exercises that M!ori were subje4 (ti)T 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 wh!nau narratives were not directed at the Crown, but at the new iwi governing structure - TRONT. Wh!nau 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 Ng!i Tahu research participants comes from the sense that TRONT has a P!keh!

body TRONT will act in a similar way to the Crown, dividing and centralising political power and

> *'We weren't allowed to talk M ori 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 M ori and that, 'cause we weren't allowed to.' [Female, 85]*

The anger and shame of being physically punished for speaking M!ori was evident in the narratives. Several generations were forced into an antagonistic institutional environment where their use of M!ori 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 M!ori 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

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 M!ori culture as something backward.

Again the theme of wh!nau not passing on M!ori 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 M ori 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 M ori 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 M!ori culture

As has been explained throughout this report, settlers bring with them a colonial narrative that

'… the neighbours walked past our place saying, "That poor [woman] and that older girl living with all those M oris." 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 P keh society which we did largely.' [Female, 61]

However, integration into Pakeh! society often was not possible as racial differences were continually highlighted. This was particularly the case for intermarriage where many Pakeh! families rejected M!ori 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 P!keh! family. However, to make matters more problematic, her mother internalised the shame of being M!ori and chose not to pass on Ng!i Tahu culture and tradition to her children. This is illustrated in the following statement made by the mother of the participant above:

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

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 p , probably all the young ones from the p , the taxi drivers used to call it the jungle; and M ori's having a great sense of humour used to think it was funny but actually the P keh '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 M!ori are primitive. This type of racism

'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

that?" 'Cause, actually, I'm a M ori lady and I wanna know what a typical M ori 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 M ori ladies don't have teeth" and I said, "Perhaps but I know plenty of M ori ladies that wouldn't be seen dead without their teeth. Most of my wh nau 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 M!ori by negative categorisation remains common, however, the subtle nature of the settler narrative means that many P!keh! 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, M!ori 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 M ori cheque book now".' [Male, 72]

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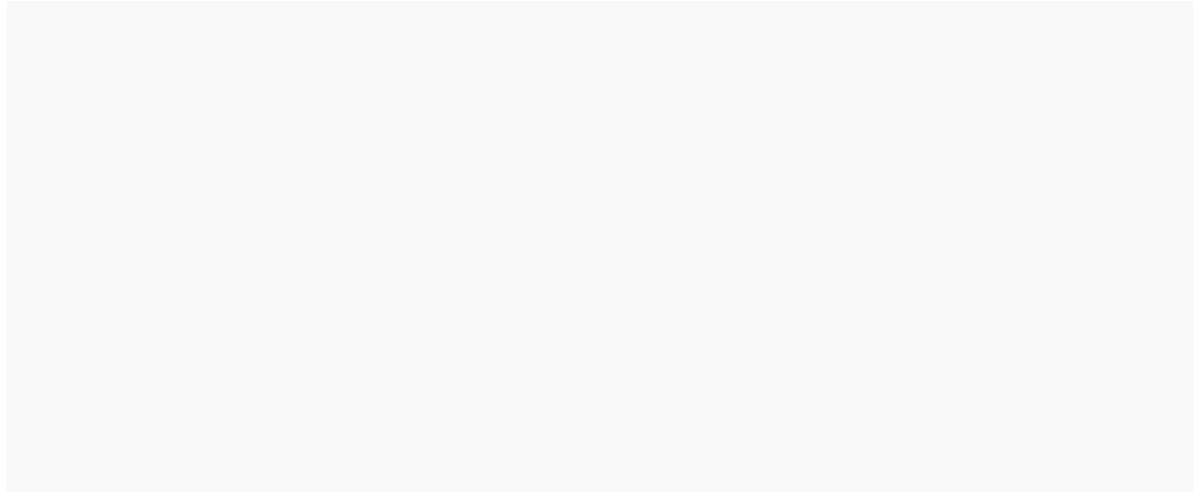
success of M!ori to be associated with M!ori innate skills and abilities, but can only associate their success with special treatment and help from the settler state.

Within the narratives outlined above, it is demonstrated that Ng!i 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



We also mapped the numbers who felt a 'separation from kinship' in each cohort, as can be seen in the graph below:

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 wh!nau land, which can be traced to changes in the laws surrounding M!ori land ownership that enabled certain family members to be excluded from

inheritance. The land was a place where he was raised, an

'… 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

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]*

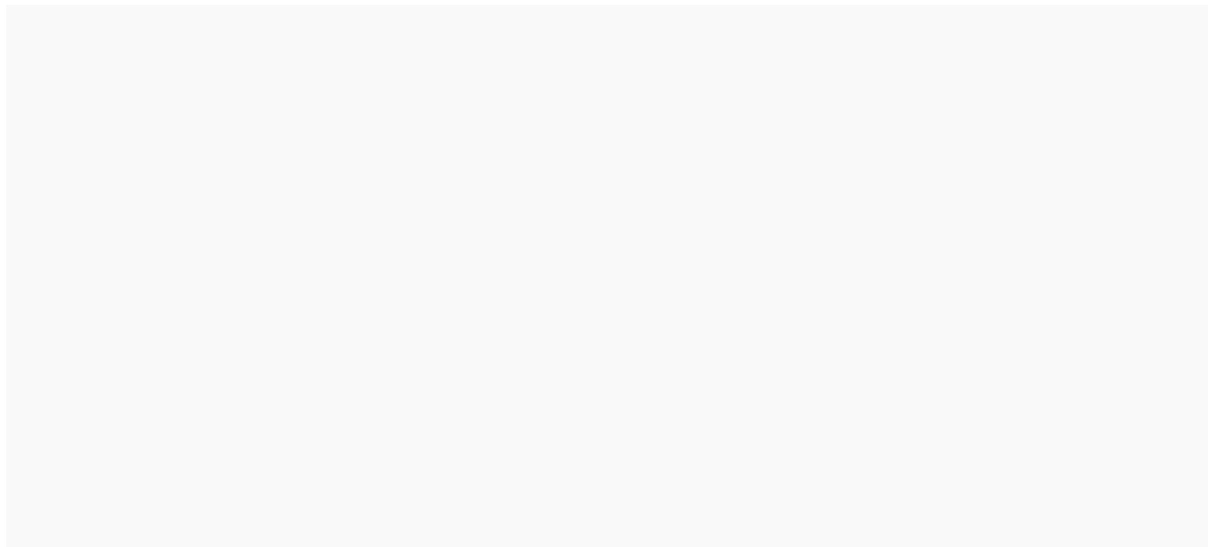
In this sense the emotional trauma removing the forest is connected with physical trauma. This theme is supported by the research of Mark and Lyon (2010, 1760) which found that M!ori understood that "committing an offence to the land and showing a lack of respect for the land" could result in illness. 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 wh!nau 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*

As outlined previous, a primary vector for psychosocial trauma is the internalisation of colonial narratives that portray M!ori 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 wh!nau. Clearly, the education system, as outlined, was a primary mechanism for indoctrinating wh!nau into this narrative, however, so too was the poverty in the kainga that demanded wh!nau integrate into Pakeh!-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 'separted 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 M!ori 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 M!ori culture because of his belief that there would be 'nothing for' the children as 'M!oris':

> *'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 M oris or P keh s?" And he said, "Before you say anything there's nothing for them as M oris," he said, "There never will be".' [Female, 85]*

This theme was echoed across many wh!nau narratives, with another participant, telling us how his father, with clear influence from the colonial narrative, called the Pakeh! road the 'high road' and the M!ori 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 P keh way. His silly old saying was, "There's two roads; ones the P keh side and one's the M ori side." And I always used to take the P keh 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 P keh s because that was the trail we were told to take in our early years.' [Male, 80]*

Another

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 wh!nau narratives there is also evidence that although there was an attempt to raise children as P!keh! they did not become P!keh!. As one of our participant's told us his grandparents:

The statements from these wh!nau clearly demonstrate that a transition occurred across generations. Older generations, in the isolation period, were raised and immersed within M!ori culture, including formal rituals, te reo M!ori and M!ori 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 P!keh!

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

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 M!ori identity within the early integration generation, we find later generations, like the participant above, seeking to address, as the participant above describes it,

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

> *'… mum quite often talks about M ori in the… third person, "Oh those buggers on TV look at them." "But mum, you're M ori." "I'm not like them." So she has a real negative perception of M ori and then M ori 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 P keh way. All my siblings do exactly that, they very rarely come into te ao M ori 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 M!ori identity, reconnecting with the formal customs and language of M!ori 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 M!oritanga 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 M!oritanga is connected with explicit markers of M!ori identity. However, there is also an opposite reaction within some wh!nau, 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 M!ori culture is placed in conflict with their assimilated identity, resulting in a negative response to M!ori identity markers. This alienation can, as illustrated by the above quotes, occur within wh!nau, creating a rift between those engaged and fluent in te ao M!ori and those whose views of M!ori are negative based on an assimilated identity. The negative response to M!oritanga and the rifts this creates within wh!nau can be seen in the same participant's following statement:

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

It is also clear throughout wh!nau narratives that there is a specific intergenerational issue – the integration generations tend to see less value in M!oritanga than younger generations, which is likely due to a combination of M!ori-led initiatives that have enhanced mana and changes in the settler state and society, that have seen greater respect for M!oritanga 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 M!ori culture.

The need to knit together new identities that address the internal conflicts, sense of inadequacy, and feelings of disempowerment, are also expressed through wh!nau 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 M!oritanga as a foundation stone:

Consequently, the indifference or disinterest of P!keh!

'I know that since the tribe and the settlement our family is really proud to be Ng i Tahu; like ones who haven't actually been brought up like all this. They're very proud to be Ng i Tahu because we seem to be successful in a P keh 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]

prejudge others on their ethnicity rather than as individuals, and alienating people from one

A major reason for this is the influence of the colonial narrative, which delineates a very narrow 'purist' version of who M!ori are and what M!oritanga 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' M!ori and the ostracism is often compounded if they look P!keh!; that is, if their ancestors chose to assimilate through marriage. This 'authentic' version of M!oritanga is promoted by many M!ori as they see the de

under intense pressure for decades, as such, many identifying as M!ori 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 M ori and I want to learn. Can you help me?" Otherwise I feel that other people who know M ori, they've kind of got this little clique and I'm a bit of an outsider. I'm

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

As a result, for participants who have retained their cultural identity, the effects of assimilated individuals looking to rediscover their M!ori identity by working in Te Ao M!ori, but inevitably using P!keh! 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 M!ori.

In summary, alienation from M!ori culture and identity generated a number of traumas. First, the internalisation of beliefs that M!ori culture is inferior generates self-hatred and shame. Second, the policies of settler institutions placed strong pressure for wh!nau 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 wh!nau. Fourth, the development of authentic and inauthentic M!ori identities has created divisions within wh!nau, 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 M!ori culture and identity has led to intense psychosocial suffering.

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. –

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 Ng!i 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 M!ori 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 M!ori 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 M!ori 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 M!ori and P!keh! 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 M ori families have got that. That stigma is on a lot of M ori 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 o

rediscovering the M!ori 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 M!ori 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 M ori, you .wMydlw-0-13 -0-13 -/TT1432 ((l) -7 (w) 18 (t) 5 ((l) e) -1 (-16 an) 10.24 0 TT1-43Qq) 25 ( )*

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

It is clear from the discussion above that both wh!nau, and individuals within wh!nau, 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 wh!nau psychological, social and economic needs. However, it would be incorrect to portray wh!nau as passive victims to the actions of the Crown. Instead, most wh!nau demonstrated resilience and established a

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 Ng i 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 P keha way in a non-racist form and then come to our 60's and 80's where its effectively too late to learn

'… 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 r nanga 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 r nanga 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 r"nanga, 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:

'… Dad is old-school M or

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:

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

Education is also important and while many M!ori have struggled in the P!keh!-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 M!ori-oriented topics their chosen field. One participant told us:

> *'I went into the bilingual unit, to the M ori; so I've been to M ori 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 M ori school and [my*

'…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 M ori, 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 th-70-70 (.71s) -4 1

them. However, as one participant explained, while engagement with M!oritanga 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, Ng Porou, Waikato and Ng Puhi – were probably the main four… We started to do a lot more kapa haka, I met other M ori 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 w nanga with my mother, with all*

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 wh!nau:

'So in 2005 I started at Polytech in their M ori department. I started looking to get to know my M ori 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

Similarly, the focus on land leading to greater cultural fluency is reiterated by the following participant, where the need to set-

So I try and normalise that as much as possible; going back t

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]

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

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 M

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 wh!nau narratives that there were many possible configurations for fused identities, based on levels of conflict individuals were experiencing and the specific areas of conflict.

It is also vital that people dev

you are, of what you are. We didn't speak about being M ori. 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 M!ori, 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

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

The results of the study indicate that the trauma expressed by Ng!i Tahu wh!nau 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 syste (#) 3 (m BT 50 54 10 (i) 2cm BT 50.10 (n) -10 (s) 5 ( ) 3010 (s) 7 (r) - (u)10 (n)) -8 (h) -3 (t) - (t) -8 (e) -3 (

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 M!ori world and remained immersed in a M!ori 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:

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 fortificat(c) -2035 (i9 (n) -27 (s)-8 ( ) -66 (o) -27 (f)-6 ( ) -68

The narratives make it clear that M!ori 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 M!ori suffer in the contemporary era would be classified as

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 wh!nau from the protective social fabric of the hap" 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 hap" to the wh!nau to the individual across the political, economic, legal and social spheres. In addition to addressing the structural biases of the settler state, M!ori 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 M!ori.

As we have outlined, wh!nau 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' wh!nau-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 wh!nau 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 wh!nau 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 engd 0.01 Tm /TT1 1 -130

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 wh!nau 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 M!oridom was also identified as a key strategy as this helps build unity across whanau, hap", and iwi, and counters the exclusion generated by divisions between authentic and inauthentic M!ori identities. Central to this acceptance was understanding that many M!ori 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 M!ori was essential in overcoming the traumas of colonisation as this is essential for dealing with the shame generated linlis( ) 102 (r) -30 (a) 6 (M) -3

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