MĀORI OVER-REPRESENTED IN PRISONS: IS THIS A RESULT OF INTERGENERATIONAL TRAUMA?

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2021

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Māori Studies at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

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Lucinda Francis Cassin

Signature: …………….………………………………….

Date: ……24 March 2022…………………...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my mentors, Natasha Emery and Damita Schuh you have walked alongside me, right from the very start of my education journey. Some people stay a constant in your life and no matter where we are in the world, we always find a way to connect.

To my Newton, Turner whānau, who keep me in check when it is needed, I thank you for your everlasting love, support, and laughter. Whānau really is forever.

To my Cassin whānau, thank you for having me a part of your lives and for your love and support.

I have been blessed to have two stepfathers and siblings who remain part of my whānau. The late Steve (rest in heaven) and my Clark stepsiblings Simon, Anthony and Tarnz to Nellie and Rhys, who all have shown me that whānau is forever.

To my tamariki Lazarus and Briseis and my husband Wayne, I could not have done this without you, and I thank you for choosing me. Life is so much richer with you all in it. Thank you for keeping me grounded and reminding me I am only one person, one step at a time.

To my stepchildren, I thank you for embracing me into your lives and allowing me to be part of your whānau and share your space. To my mokopuna, the future for you is bright, love one another and be the best you.

To my father, although we are yet to meet. The day is drawing nearer when we will be able to meet in person and I thank you for keeping in touch by phone and I hope this research gives you an insight into who I have become and all that I aspire to be.

To my koro, although you are not here, I feel your presence guiding me in all that I do. I thank you for my life experiences and the teachings you instilled in me that has helped develop into who I am this day. Your guidance and your wairua presence are what still guides me into the different pathways that I have undertaken. I miss you dearly and I love you.

To my kuia (Narns), the matriarch of our whānau, we are blessed to have you with us today and I thank you for always reminding me to be me.

Lastly to my mother, I love you and thank you for bringing me into this world and the unconditional love and support you have given me. I know I drive you mad from time to time, and you worry about me, but please don't, it is my turn to worry about you. I love you.

This research is dedicated to all Māori, our tupuna who suffered great loss and the impacts of colonisation and to all Indigenous peoples who have suffered at the hands of colonisation.

PERSONAL POSITIONING

Ko Tainui te waka

Ko Kahuwera rāua ko Kakepuku oku Maunga

Ko Mokau rāua ko Puniu oku Awa

Ko Napinapi rāua ko Mangatoatoa oku Marae

Ko Parewaeono rāua ko Paretekawa oku Hapū

Ko Maniapoto rāua ko Tainui oku Iwi

Ko Lucinda toku ingoa

My background in Social Work has given me the experience of working for two main Government Departments within New Zealand those being 'The Department of Corrections' and 'Oranga Tamariki'. Both Departments have clients with various forms of social disabilities such as, housing, mental health, child welfare and unfortunately there are also high rates of Māori either imprisoned or in state care.

Working within those environments, I discovered that Māori in prison or in care, endure a strong loss of identity or sense of lack of belonging relating to unknowns such as whakapapa, whānau, hapū and iwi. So that deficit of cultural identity is the focus of my thesis which is titled, '*Māori overrepresentation in Prisons: The overrepresentation of Māori in Prisons, is this a result of intergenerational trauma?*'

My thesis topic of Māori being overrepresented in prisons comes from both a subjective and objective positioning. The subjective positioning developed during my time working in the prison environment and working with Māori who were imprisoned at that time, who expressed a loss of belonging and self-identity. My positioning here is based on personal observations and conversations with prisoners at this time.

The objective positioning comes from the overwhelming facts that although Māori only make up a small percentage of the overall population in New Zealand, they also make up over half the prison population for whatever reason and offences committed. Department of Corrections (2021), statistics show that in June 2021, Māori sat at 53 percent of the prison population, however in June 2020, Stats NZ

(2020), estimated the New Zealand Māori ethnic population at 16.7 percent of the National population.

ABSTRACT

Is there an underpinning reason for higher Māori representation in prisons than any other ethnic group in Aotearoa New Zealand? Can this be linked retrospectively to intergenerational trauma caused by a result of loss of lands, lack of access to Māori culture, identity, and a sense of not belonging. The research in this thesis seeks to examine that relationship i.e., overrepresentation of Māori in prisons and intergenerational trauma. The aim of the research is to provide insight into reducing Māori offending and incarceration rates for future generations.

My experience of working within the prison environment indicated that many Māori that I worked with lacked a sense of belonging, had no whānau connection(s) and limited knowledge of the history of their whakapapa and tūpuna connections. Inherently, the question is asked, if one knows ones' whakapapa can that contribute to a reduction in offending, or how could this contribute to a reduction in offending?

The research is underpinned with Kaupapa Māori methodology using proven research methods such as kanohi ki te kanohi interviews as well as mixed mode of qualitative and quantitative methods e.g., literature and statistics. By utilising takepū (principles) such as ahurutanga (safe space) and te whakakoha rangatiratanga (respectful relationships), this enhances the Kaupapa Māori methodology as this research is sensitive to the participants.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter introduces the thesis and research topic. It will provide some background to the purposes of the research, the aims and research questions, the significance of this research and why it is important, and an overview of the methods and methodologies used to conduct this research. I will also give an overview of my own understanding of the topic and my observations and experience from working for the Department of Corrections.

Each year statistics have shown that the number of Māori in prison within New Zealand continues to grow. Department of Corrections (2021), statistics show that in June 2017 Māori made up 50.4 percent of the prison population and this has increased each year and in June 2021, Māori sat at 53 percent of the prison population. Although this may seem like a small increase, Māori have long been overrepresented in prison.

The research in this thesis focuses on the enduring crisis that I am calling a "waste of humanity" which is the overrepresentation of Māori in New Zealand Prison. To do that the thesis will examine the relationship between "Māori overrepresentation in prisons" and "intergenerational trauma" but before that starts it is important that intergenerational trauma is clearly defined. The revised Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders 5th Edition defines trauma as "exposure to actual or threatened death, serious injury, or sexual violence". This includes being witness to such an event, having a close family member or friend who has suffered from a traumatic event, or experiencing repeated exposure to the event (American Psychiatric Association, n.d., p.271). Thus, intergeneration trauma infers that the state of "trauma" appears and reappears over several generations. Now the question is, does 'Intergenerational Trauma (IT) contribute to cultural identity loss which in turn denies Māori the right to their culture, and associated knowledge and resources which can lead to the loss of liberty'. Researchers within New Zealand and internationally have

discussed that structural discrimination is a causal factor in the world-wide-over-representation of Indigenous peoples within the justice system. Te Puni Kokiri (2011) says that the age-adjusted rate of imprisonment for Māori men is approximately seven times the rate for New Zealand European men and that in December 2010 despite Māori accounting for only fifteen percent of the nation's population, they made up fifty-one percent of the prison population.

Whilst working in the Prison environments, most of my case load i.e., clients were Māori who identified a disconnection to their culture, whakapapa, whānau, hapū and iwi. Many also identified lacking in a sense of belonging and were unwilling to reconnect with the Māori culture and wanted a way to 'break the cycle'. Harawira (2021), reported, "Māori are disproportionately represented in criminal justice statistics to an alarming degree. Despite Māori only making up 15 per cent of the entire NZ population, they account for a staggering 52.7 per cent of the prison population" it is without a doubt human tragedy that persists generation after generation and unless remedial processes are instigated it will continue to occur.

This research seeks to provide the reader with both statistical facts and participants own experiences and opinions of why they think Māori are overrepresented in prisons. It is important to include the views and experiences of the participants as these are based on their worldviews, childhood experiences and any past trauma they may have experienced and the connection these may or may not have in relation to intergenerational trauma.

1.1 Background to the Study

As this research is written using a Kaupapa Māori methodology there will be interface with research participants. The research will include face to face interviews with ex-prisoners who identify as Māori.

The interviews will include the participants personal narratives and experiences. Therefore, it is important to consider the ethical issues regarding holistic health and safety of both myself and any participants emotionally and physically. Therefore, as well as the Ethics application to Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (attached as

Appendix 1) a separate Ethics application to the Department of Corrections (attached as Appendix 2) was completed and both are attached to this thesis. However, the Department of Corrections 'Research and Evaluation Steering Committee' (RESC), met on 27th July 2021 and advised on the 1oth August 2021, the application to undertake research within the Department of Corrections property was declined. Overall, the RESC was of the view that there was insufficient merit in the application for Corrections to support the research. The Department of Corrections identified issues as including,

- The research design was not appropriate to the research question and unlikely to provide insights about whether intergenerational trauma dating back to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, has impacted on Māori being overrepresented in prisons.
- The proposed interview questions were viewed as difficult to engage.
- The amount of resource required for staff to set up and attend interviews was not considered to be justified by the research proposal.

I have attached a copy of the email from the Department of Corrections as an appendix (Appendix 3).

Research will also be gathered through the readily available information held in literature, books, and the internet that I will enter into my literature review, my findings, and discussions chapters.

By using a Kaupapa Māori approach, I will also use authors that support this methodology. I will use Graham Smith to support a kaupapa Māori approach, because he looks at undertaking research through a Māori lens and provides a Kaupapa Māori framework that allows Māori to undertake research within a Te Ao Māori framework. Ranginui Walker as he provides comprehensive literature, and he is a leader in many debates and development for Māori. He also provides an insight into transitional engagement between Māori and the state from historical times and how this has evolved. Mason Durie will also be utilized as he provides clear research and principles underpinning implication of policy and practice. Durie's book 'Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga, The Politics of Māori Self-Determination' will provide a then and now perspective and examines a chronological history of British and State interactions with Māori.

Originally the participants would have been from Waikeria Prison, which was built in 1911 and is one of New Zealand's largest prisons. I worked for Department of Corrections for two years, both inside the prison and within the community, most of my case load was Māori. Waikeria Prison also holds significant meaning to me, as this is my hometown, and the prison is situated on Maniapoto Māori land. Maniapoto is also my iwi.

Waikeria Prison is based on 1200 hectare of land and is sixteen kilometres south of Te Awamutu in the Waikato region of New Zealand and houses male prisoners only. Prior to the top part of the prison being damaged due to a fire caused by rioting prisoners (early 2021), Waikeria prison could house 803 remanded and sentenced male prisoners, with security classifications ranging from minimum to high. The Chief Ombudsman Peter Boshier described in his 'Final report on an unannounced inspection of Waikeria Prison under the Crimes of Torture Act 1989'

> Over 27 percent of tāne *men* are on remand, and 24 percent are serving
>
> sentences in excess of four years. Tāne held at the Prison come from
>
> across the country but predominantly from the Bay of Plenty region. The
>
> prison has a large Māori population (approximately 67 percent) (Boshier,
>
> 2020, p. 1).

Interestingly, although Boshier (2020) as Chief Ombudsman role is to focus on reasons for the riot instead his statement reflects principally on the disproportionate number of Māori in Waikeria Prison. Due to the Department of Corrections RESC declining my application to interview prisoners in Waikeria Prison, ex-prisoners will be interviewed within the community.

The criteria for selecting interviewees will be:
1.) Males who identify as Māori
2.) Aged between 30-60 years old
3.) Been in prison at least once

I have chosen this age group as it is based on experience and observations whilst employed in Waikeria. I believe that prisoners under the age of 30 may lack the maturity to answer the questions and may have less life experiences or be less interested in participating in the research. The Ministry of Youth Affairs (2002) defines young people as between the ages of 12-24 years. Matthews (2019), writes in Men's Health that studies and scientists say that the brain doesn't reach adulthood until the age of 30.

In a conversation with Moana Maniapoto on Māori Television's current affairs show '*Te Ao with Moana*' Chief Justice Sir Joe Williams says, "*If you look at those who are born after 1990, the incarceration rate for that group just falls off a cliff, and no one seems to know that.*" He further points out there is a high number of reoffending in the older generation, and Department of Corrections (2021) statistics show of the nearly 9000 prisoners imprisoned, only 28 percent are under the age of 30. That gave me further reason to go with this age group which is an appropriate start for interview participants.

Therefore, the purposes of this study are:

1.) To explore the intergenerational trauma of Māori, relating to loss of culture and Māori resources and does this contribute towards Māori overrepresentation in Prisons.
2.) To study the literature that is already available and analyse this against the participants views and experiences.
3.) To evaluate the overall findings and effectiveness of this research and determine whether intergenerational trauma is the cause of high numbers of Māori in prisons.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

The overall aim of the research is to identify whether intergenerational trauma dating back to Te Tiriti o Waitangi days, has impacted on Māori through the loss of their

lands, culture, identity, and resources. For example, did the participants whānau/tupuna (ancestors) lose their land due to the land wars, confiscation and/or as a result, of moving to urban areas causing whānau to adjust to Pākehā ways and being cut off from their natural resources such as hunting and kaimoana (seafood) gathering.

To achieve that aim, the research seeks to answer several questions.

1.) How has the loss of Māori resources impacted on Māori and the imprisonment rates?

2.) Does having a sense of belonging and knowledge of one's culture, mean that there is less chance of offending that leads to imprisonment?

3.) Can intergenerational trauma be linked back to the loss of Māori knowledge and resources?

1.3 Significance

This study is significant for several reasons. First, it will seek to explore the relationship between Māori offending and intergenerational trauma. Dr Karina Walters (2012) defines historical intergenerational trauma as 'an event or series of events perpetrated against a group of people and their environment, namely people who share a specific group identity with genocidal or ethnocidal intent to systematically eradicate them as a people or eradicate their way of life'.

Second, it will provide new information about Māori overrepresentation in Prison from a Te Ao Māori perspective. Jackson (1988) says "young Māori are the beneficiary of past racial policies and the victim of present racial attitudes. Young Māori are a people moulded in their perceptions and behaviours by the consequences of those policies and attitudes because the circumstances that destroy a culture are the circumstances that induce crime".

1.4 Overview of Methods

The purpose of the study is to examine the dilemma of Māori being overrepresented within New Zealand Prisons and what is the relationship between this and intergenerational trauma, caused by a loss of identity and the right to Māori culture,

knowledge, and resources, therefore it is important the research follows Kaupapa Māori research methodologies. These have been described by Smith (2000), as "there is more to kaupapa Māori than our history under colonialism or our desires to restore rangatiratanga. We have a different epistemological tradition that frames the way we see the world, the way we organize ourselves in it, the questions we ask, and the solutions we seek". (L. Smith, 2000, p. 230). Also, Pihama (2001), describes that Kaupapa Māori captures Māori desires to affirm Māori cultural philosophies and practices. In short Kaupapa Māori is about being "fully Māori". These desires have only rarely been recognised by the mainstream education system that has at various times sought to "civilise," "assimilate," and "integrate" Māori.

This study uses a mixture of methods to answer the research questions. It uses a qualitative approach, by way of interviews. Interviews are important because the purpose of the research interview is to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on specific matters (e.g., factors that influence their attendance at school).

An excerpt from the British Dental Journal (Gill et al. 2008) states:

> "Qualitative methods, such as interviews, are believed to provide a 'deeper' understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative methods, such as questionnaires. Interviews are, therefore, most appropriate where little is already known about the study phenomenon or where detailed insights are required from individual participants. They are also particularly appropriate for exploring sensitive topics, where participants may not want to talk about such issues in a group environment".

Interviews remain the most common method for capturing data with qualitative research.

A quantitative method will also be used to complete this research. Research and literature will be used as a means of capturing quantitative data, such as Māori population in Prisons. In contrast to qualitative data, quantitative data is all about figures and numbers.

An excerpt from Question Pro (2021) states:

> "Researchers often rely on quantitative data when they intend to quantify attributes, attitudes, behaviours, and other defined variables with a motive to either back or oppose the hypothesis of a specific phenomenon by contextualizing the data obtained".

1.5 Overview of Thesis

Chapter One introduces my research topic and provides initial background to the purpose(s) of the research, the aims and research questions, the significance of this research and why it is important, and an overview of the methods used to conduct this research.

Chapter Two is a review of the literature on the topics of Māori being overrepresented in Prison in New Zealand, youth offending, and offending rates of Māori within the justice system.

Chapter Three discusses the research frameworks and methodologies within which my research is based. These are Kaupapa Māori, qualitative and quantitative methodologies. I will provide a methodology overview, explain the methods I will be using to conduct the research, as well as an introspective and cultural analysis.

The chapter also describes the methods I have used to seek answers to my research questions. In brief these are face to face interviews and literature.

Chapter Four shares the experiences and opinions of the participants. This chapter will also cover and seek to explore the research questions and provide an understanding of intergenerational trauma from the participants worldview. This chapter also captures and discusses the findings and results of the research questions.

Chapter Five provides an overview of thesis and summaries the key findings. To clearly define and breakdown these findings, the research questions will be answered in a review type style of writing. It will also discuss any limitations

within this research and provide any recommendations for further research to be conducted.

1.6 Chapter summary

This chapter introduced the thesis and research topic. It provided some background to the purposes of the research, the aims and research questions, the significance of this research and why it is important, and an overview of the methods used to conduct this research. I have also given an overview of my own understanding of the topic and my observations and experience from working for the Department of Corrections.

The next chapter will review the literature on topics of Māori being overrepresented in Prison in New Zealand, youth offending, and offending rates of Māori within the justice system as a whole. It also has a particular emphasis on Kaupapa Māori theory and intergenerational trauma. I will also employ literature reviews that seek to support a Kaupapa Māori methodology and research that is 'by Māori for Māori'.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Chapter Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the thesis and research topic. It provided some background to the purposes of the research, the aims and research questions, the significance of this research and why it is important, and an overview of the methods used to conduct this research.

The previous chapter also discussed research in relation to the overrepresentation of Māori in prisons. The research will be centred around this and whether there is a link to intergenerational trauma and the imprisonment rates of Māori.

This chapter reviews the literature on topics of Māori being overrepresented in Prison in New Zealand, youth offending, and offending rates of Māori within the justice system. With a particular emphasis on high statistical data of Māori in prisons and intergenerational trauma. It will also provide the reader of the current field of knowledge on this topic and/or identify gaps in the research.

> Research Question 1: How has the loss of Māori resources impacted on Māori and the imprisonment rates?

The loss of Māori resources started with the implementation of colonisation in New Zealand, where Māori were assimilated to Western ways of being.

The research conducted by Action Station (2018) and supported by fourth year medical students from the University of Otago in Wellington, under the supervision of Māori public health researcher Dr Keri Lawson-Te Aho and Director of Action Station Laura O'Connell Rapira, discusses Māori attitudes on justice and imprisonment rates of Māori. This paper was conducted through four methods of data collection: online surveys, expert interviews, a literature review, and attendance of the Safe and Effective Justice Summit.

The interviews were conducted with six Māori stakeholders and one Pākehā and included a former prisoner, a lawyer, a mental health specialist, social justice advocate, a political lobbyist, and researchers on the topic. The survey was used to gain Māori attitudes on justice and imprisonment and was gathered using an online survey. Because the focus of the research is on Māori opinions of imprisonment, all responses that did not categorise their ethnicity as Māori were excluded, it is important to highlight that people were able to select multiple ethnicities and all that identified Māori were included regardless of whether they selected other ethnicities or not. There were 28 survey questions in total, and they were based on a previous survey of the general population done by Action Station in June 2018. 48 participants responded to the online survey.

A weakness would be that only one interview participant was a former prisoner and the three questions asked of the interview participants were given in advance of the interview. The interview was centred around those three questions, with further questions being asked to clarify responses as needed. However, all seven interviewees discussed the direct relationship between the cycle of intergenerational trauma instigated by colonisation.

Interview participant one talked about the number of Māori in New Zealand prisons saying it "goes back to colonisation. So directly wanting to put people into prison, using it as a tool to funnel us through and colonise us in a particular way and break us down". I found this quote interesting as it highlights one person's views of colonisation linking into generational trauma. How many others have this same view? This was linked in the literature review undertaken as part of this research that also identified that colonisation has forced Māori into poverty and needing to use survival tactics that are then criminalised and punished by a Pākehā system.

I also find this quote interesting from interview participant four "The first prison was built in this country seven months after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. The first person in prison, in that prison, was Māori. The first person hanged in this country was Māori". I would have liked to hear more on where this participants information came from, where they read or heard this information and can this be referenced back to historical evidence/events.

A strength is that it highlights the need for services prior to Māori being imprisoned, and stresses that Māori believe "the solutions to harm are healthy communities and preventative help, not handcuffs and prison".

This is also backed up by Tauri (2005) research on imprisonment rates again leading towards colonial jurisdictions. Tauri introduces the reader to one of the defining features of the criminal justice system in colonial jurisdictions, and mostly the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the justice system. It focuses primarily on the overrepresentation of Māori and discusses concerns Māori have about the justice system in New Zealand. This includes the notion of institutional racism and system wide bias against Māori and other ethnic groups. It shows the disproportionate rate of Māori in prison has been increasing since the start of the twentieth century. Tauri, draws on Moana Jackson's report "The Māori and the Criminal Justice System" a research project undertaken over three years, where Māori believed that the criminal justice system and key agents including police and the judiciary had directly contributed to the overrepresentation of Māori in the system. It was said that the institutional racism and bias was based on the substantial number of participants stating they were discriminated against by police and judiciary. It shows that since Moana Jackson's report in 1988 and this report in 2005, Māori continue to express their concerns around inappropriate and ineffective strategies and operational policies employed by New Zealand Police when interacting with Māori and their communities. This relates to the thesis topic as it highlights overtime, Māori numbers in the justice system continue to rise and increase and new information on statistics may show this is still increasing and has anything changed since this report was written.

Tauri highlights that by the beginning of the twenty-first century, Māori although a minority in terms of population size, were very high across a range of negative social statistics including unemployment levels, lower educational attainment, and poorer health outcomes, in comparison to other ethnic groups. Furthermore, it discusses that in common with many other Indigenous people in neo-colonial countries, Māori are significantly overrepresented in the criminal justice statistics.

A strength within this paper is that the paper itself draws upon many other research papers and highlights a lot of sources where further information can be gathered

from. Juan Tauri draws upon many of Moana Jackson's writings and previous research and highlights the fact the over the decades Māori numbers in the criminal justice system continue to increase.

A weakness includes that while a joint research project was completed between New Zealand police and Te Puni Kokiri it was unable to identify one unified set of Māori attitudes towards the police, however, the research project was later published under 'Challenging Perspectives: Police and Māori Attitudes Toward One Another'. This report can be summarised that there are common perceptions and experiences of the police and their operational practices and include the police as an institution is hostile to Māori and their cultural practices, police hold negative perceptions of Māori, a significant number of Māori distrust police and the institutionally racist culture of the New Zealand police force.

An interesting quote from the article is that participants identified that criminal justice agencies contribute to the drivers of re-offending and revictimisation and one of the drivers of the ongoing negative relationship between Māori and the justice system is being the quality of the legal advice to Māori is usually substandard and many Māori find it difficult to access quality legal services.

The primary focus of this paper is to define the features of the criminal justice system in colonial jurisdictions and most importantly the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in offending and imprisonment statistics.

> Research Question 2: Does having a sense of belonging and knowledge of one's culture, mean that there is less of a chance of offending that leads to imprisonment?

Can knowing your whakapapa mean that you are less likely to end up in the criminal justice system? Brittain and Tuffin (2017) wrote an article in the New Zealand Journal of Psychology named 'Discourse analysis of Māori experience in the criminal justice system' and discusses the criminal justice system in Aotearoa (New Zealand) as having a dispiriting history of interactions with Māori and an attempt to understand Māori experiences of institutional racism. It aims to provide analysis and lived experiences of Māori within the justice system. Does one have a connection to

their whakapapa? The methodology used was a kaupapa Māori approach alongside a discursive psychology framework and was undertaken to explore Māori stories, accounts, and experiences of racism. The Kaupapa Māori research occurred with and alongside Māori, to allow a space for Māori voices and stories to be heard. While discursive psychology is in a social construction and challenges traditionally taken for granted. The criteria for participation were to identify as Māori and having had experience within the criminal justice system, which was defined as being arrested, and or charged by police with a criminal offence, convicted and sentenced in a court and having been imprisoned or sentenced to a community-based sentence.

This article goes right back to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi), defining that despite the terms of the Treaty, colonisation has led to exclusion of Māori practices and Māori being suppressed. It was state agencies that imposed Pākehā justice over Māori and highlights that assimilation of policies has resulted in marginalisation and cultural destruction. Through the process of colonisation, Māori have had minimal power within politics, with successive governments privileging their own and denying Māori the rights to uphold traditional systems of law and justice. It refers to the United Nations working group in 2014 reporting that systemic bias was against Māori at every interaction and all levels of the criminal justice system. This includes Māori featuring disproportionately high numbers within the criminal justice system from policing to conviction and to imprisonment and probation.

A strength in this article is that one of the participants was a woman and statistics in 2007 showed that Māori woman accounted for sixty percent of the female prison population. It also showed the level of recidivism for Māori offenders being higher than that of non-Māori and fourty-eight percent of men surveyed were serving their fourth or subsequent prison sentence.

A weakness identified is the authors discuss that Māori children are over twice as likely to have Police contact than Pākehā children with the same history of offending behaviours, but it does not discuss this any further as to any analysis or experiences of why this might be, though it does also state that 'ethnicity alone is not a strong predictor of early offending'.

The study shows that Indigenous peoples of Australia and Canada are also amongst the highest represented numbers within the criminal justice systems in their respected countries and shows a discourse of colonial superiority and domination.

An interesting quote that aligns with the authors points of highlighting blatant racism and Māori and Pākehā identities comes from one of the interview participants stating *"you're treated like shit in jail, by Corrections. Like you can't sit, if you sit around a table and speak Te Reo Māori at a table, then straight away you're instigating something, or planning something, or plotting something".* This same participant spoke further about not being allowed to sing waiata, play the guitar and not allowed to do the haka in the wing or in your own cell. The author discusses that key aspects of Māori culture such as waiata and haka are prohibited, and this is contrasted with non-Māori activities that are permissible such as listing to heavy metal music on a radio and playing a guitar.

To summarise this article from the analysis the author has identified four recurring discursive resources and participants perspectives of the criminal justice system as revealing power relations that facilitate the belittling of Māori identity, diminishing cultural integrity and intruding on Māori rights. Institutional racism is evident throughout this article and there is a need for arguments for an alternative Māori criminal justice system.

Research Question 3: Can intergenerational trauma be linked back to the loss of Māori knowledge and resources?

New Zealand history of policies implemented have not been beneficial towards Māori development and advancement, in fact they have done the opposite and led to the loss of Māori resources for their people. Webb (2009) provides a short peer commentary article that explores some of the practices such as policies that may have influence over the social construction of figures related to crime and in relation to Māori and Pacific peoples and highlights some of the limitations to building critical analyses from crime statistics.

This commentary reflects on the wider social context of which crime figures are generated. The justice system's data provides an official picture of crime and shows that one area of difference is the convictions and imprisonment figures between ethnic groups in New Zealand.

This article showed that in 2006 Māori represented 43% of those convicted and 50% of those imprisoned. While Māori and Pacific offend, it is also examined as how products of government legislation, policies, and practices directly relate to offending behaviours. It is said that understanding the official picture of crime can help to provide a better understanding of social constructions of crime in discourses.

This peer commentary provides insight to taking a critical approach within the wider social and political context, but also reflects on understanding history and how the effects of colonisation, has shaped and contributed towards Māori imprisonment figures.

An interesting quote within this article is "Māori have experienced a history of imposed assimilation policies and colonial forms that have led to marginalisation and cultural destruction, and state agencies have engaged in social control over the Māori population". I find this interesting as it talks about assimilation of one culture over another and refers to 'cultural destruction', which aligns with loss of Māori resources such as land, tikanga (customs/traditions), and te reo (language).

It describes policing is one area where the State has not been neutral and agency such as the New Zealand police have actively pursued and policed Māori throughout New Zealand history, also referring to the 'Dawn Raids' against Pacific peoples. This was one instance being reflected as a discriminatory practice out of proportion.

A study in 2003 showed that Māori cannabis users were arrested at a substantially higher rate than other users of the same drug.

A strength of this article is that it is very short and easy to read, however, I see this as a weakness also in that the paper does not fully deconstruct the social politics and context into the wider construct of Māori statistics within the justice system, including the information being over a decade old.

To summarise, this article does highlight some good points in terms of the wider social construct and looks at Māori culture as being most offending statistics and that the State agencies have engaged in social control over Māori population.

Jackson (1988) paper 'The Māori and the Criminal Justice System' was a first attempt at addressing the criminal offending by Māori youth and the subsequent imprisonment of a high number of those youth when they appear before the courts. There was also consultation with the Māori community to gain and ascertain Māori views and perspective on the justice system. The consultations would take place in a manner that was deemed appropriate by Māori within various tribal areas and within forums. This highlights a Kaupapa Māori methodology and approach to Māori perceptions of the justice system that may be formulated. Moana Jackson was hoping that this research and paper would lead to further research and the development of a criminal justice system that would one day be "equal for all".

What I found interesting is that within the paper it highlights "that Māori research takes place in a Māori cultural framework, this means that there will be Māori values and attitudes which must be considered". While it is represented in this paper it was taken from the 'Māori Research and Development', discussion paper research done by Stokes (1985). For decades it has been recognised by Māori that research pertaining to Māori should take place under a cultural framework and within Māori values.

Jackson focused this paper on male offenders between the ages of 15 and 24, however, this group of men is not the only one with the highest rate of imprisonment; it is also the group most at risk in other ways. All young men are at risk, but Māori young men are at a greater risk.

Another interesting quote is "the assumption underlying this paper is that the wider social setting, of which the justice system is a part, reflects institutional racism in many of its structures'. Institutional racism is highlighted within the justice system frequently throughout this paper and other papers as this literature review has shown.

Strengths throughout this paper is that Jackson quotes from many other papers and research pertaining to the criminal justice and Māori and it makes for easy findings.

He has a strong focus on Māori cultural frameworks and the policies and practices which advantage Pākehā and disadvantage other racial groups. Jackson also reiterates the methodology is specifically Māori, the information gathered in this research will consequently need to be gathered in a way which is also specifically to Māori. It was determined the best way to do this was by conducting unstructured and open-ended interviews and in a way that was culturally appropriate.

A weakness is highlighted in the use of self-identification in terms of Māori; and how Māori identify themselves, however, Police do not solely rely on self-identification. They use observer estimation and regard the race of an offender as one of many identifying characteristics including height and hair colour. It is classification for administrative purposes, and the Police officer may overrule an offender's self-identification.

To summarise this paper's purpose is to highlight the overrepresentation of Māori youth not just in the prison but within the justice system. It was also to capture the views of Māori and Māori perspectives on the justice system, while recognising that the research project would not illuminate all the causes of criminal offending by young Māori men. However, it is hoped that it would give new insight into the behaviour of the Māori offender and to enable the justice system to see itself in the eyes of the community.

'Discretion in the New Zealand Criminal Justice System' by Latu and Lucas (2008), is another article that highlights Māori and Pacific peoples are over-represented in the New Zealand criminal justice system, both as victims and offenders. It shows that while Māori represent about fifteen percent of the New Zealand population, they make up half of both the total prison population and those community-based offenders. Statistics here show that compared to Europeans, Pacific peoples are twice as likely to be apprehended, prosecuted, and convicted of an offence, while Māori are four to five times more likely. These facts are sobering.

An interesting quote and a strength in this paper is that it suggests that despite complicating factors such as, Māori experience with colonialism in New Zealand, low socio-economic status, and the associated increase of being exposed to risk factors such as, unemployment and alcohol and/or drug use, lead to criminal

behaviours that is the driving force behind both Māori and Pacific people's overrepresentation in the criminal justice system.

While this is a strength it is also a weakness in that it discusses the presence of various risk factors, due to low socio-economic status is likely to be the predominate cause of overrepresentation, it is also seen that low socio-economic status is not likely to explain all the difference. Some cabinet papers such as "Effective Intervention" considers that some of the explanation of overrepresentation is likely to be due to bias or other consequences of discretion within the justice system.

This paper focuses on two specific examples of discretion that are; the prosecutorial discretion to divert offenders from the criminal justice system and discretion in the sentencing process. These two discretions will be used to identify any bias or unintended consequences of discretion which may disadvantage Māori or Pacific people. To explain a diversion is used in some situations where an offender is dealt with by an alternative manner that will short cut appearing in formal settings such as court. This process is normally used for non-serious offences and those offenders with no or minimal offending or criminal history. In most cases dishonesty offences like burglary and violent offences are too serious to divert, but the assessment is based on the individual and circumstances.

Discretion in sentencing section highlights that Māori were 2.1 to 2.6 times more likely to be convicted than non-Māori with the same history. The risks of conviction for Māori suggest an ethnic bias in which Māori are more likely to be convicted than non-Māori of the same socio-economic background and self-reported offending. Another weakness of this paper is that the study limitations firstly, its focus is limited to Māori people, making it impossible to ascertain whether the bias is unique to Māori offenders or whether it also extends to other ethnic groups or minority groups in New Zealand. Secondly, this paper focuses on one geographical population in Christchurch. If this paper analysed other cities in New Zealand, it might have different results and stronger evidence of an ethnic bias.

In summary this paper's research focuses on two discretions within the justice system being the diversion process and the sentencing process. The Sentencing Act 2002 governs sentencing within New Zealand and while it articulates the major

purposes and principles of sentencing and the aggravating and mitigating factors to be considered, unfortunately, it provides little or no assistance in determining the sentence length appropriate for the average case of each type going before the court.

To understand and examine any link between intergenerational trauma and the overrepresentation of Māori, we must also explore literature on intergenerational trauma, therefore the following literature seeks to provide the reader with concepts and understanding of trauma.

Stanley and Mihaere (2019) paper on 'The Problems and Promise of International Rights in the Challenge to Māori Imprisonment' also discusses the disproportionate punishment and imprisonment of Māori and that it has entrenched numerous personal, societal, and intergenerational problems. It reflects that despite these realities, the New Zealand authorities have managed concerns of Māori overrepresentation in ways that sustain Māori imprisonment. The contemporary policing and punishment of Māori reflects entrenched colonial practices that have perpetuated exclusion and disadvantage towards Māori. It shows that following the signing of the Treaty, Māori quickly became the minority in their own land and in securing a settler state the Crown transferred the majority of Māori land into Pākehā hands and established a government where voting rights excluded Māori as they owned land collectively rather than individually. A result of this government saw increasing numbers of British forces using violence and incarceration towards Māori.

The subsequent systemic criminalisation and extensive state abuse has deeply harmed generations of Māori and embedded the practice of continually targeting and processing of Māori through the welfare and criminal justice systems. A strength within this paper is that it does highlight overrepresentation rates of Māori linking back to colonization and systemic violence towards Māori. The paper also refers to the impact of a colonial history of involving violence, suppression, and incarceration of Māori by Pākehā remains ignored within social and political realms. An interesting quote is "The 'success' of colonial power is that the overrepresentation of Māori as prisoners is now normalized."

2.1 Chapter Summary

This chapter reviewed the literature on topics that relate to Māori overrepresentation in prison and intergenerational trauma. The literature readings also include readings that inform the reader/examiner of the current state of the field of study. It also critiques strengths and weaknesses of each of the pieces of literature and identifies the gaps in the current field of study.

The next chapter will describe the research frameworks that will be employed in the study of Māori overrepresentation in Prisons. This will include the methods and methodologies used to undertake this research.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

3.0 Chapter Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the literature on topics that relate to Māori overrepresentation in prison and intergenerational trauma. The literature readings also include readings that inform the reader/examiner of the current state of the field of study. It also critiqued strengths and weaknesses of each of the pieces of literature and identifies the gaps in the current field of study.

The next chapter describes the research frameworks that will be employed in the study of Māori overrepresentation in Prisons. This chapter will describe the methodologies and methods used to gather the information that is required to complete this research. It will examine Kaupapa Māori as a transformative research methodology, provide an understanding and exploration of mixed methods of qualitative and quantitative and the benefits of each. It will consider the ethical issues involved in interviewing participants and provide an overview of the participants and the methods employed.

3.1 Methodology Overview

This chapter describes the research frameworks and methodologies within which my research is based. These are Kaupapa Māori, qualitative and quantitative methodologies. I will provide a methodology overview, explain the methods I will be using to conduct the research, as well as an introspective and cultural analysis. The methods were selected according to their compatibility with the methodologies, therefore for this research this includes one on one interviews with pātai, a literature review and a space for interviewees to add further comments.

3.2 Research Framework

The purpose of the study is to examine the dilemma of Māori being overrepresented within New Zealand Prisons and what is the relationship between this and intergenerational trauma, caused by a loss of identity and the right to Māori culture, knowledge, and resources, therefore it is important the research follows Kaupapa Māori research methodologies. Pihama (2002), describes that Kaupapa Māori captures Māori desires to affirm Māori cultural philosophies and practices. In short Kaupapa Māori is about being "fully Māori." These desires have only rarely been recognised by the mainstream education system that has at various times sought to "civilise," "assimilate," and "integrate" Māori. Kaupapa Māori is transformative, and Smith (2000) speaks to transformation as requiring a "confrontation with the coloniser and a confrontation with ourselves". Smith (1999) also reframes research within contemporary indigenous realities with the advancement of Māori methodologies that continue to be developed from Māori cultural practices and values. This is part of transformation and supports Māori wellbeing.

Kaupapa Māori research methodologies are relevant because it encompasses a Te Ao Māori framework and highlights the importance of kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face). It is relevant to my research as I will be conducting interviews with participants that are Māori, and the interviews will be conducted according to Kaupapa Māori beliefs, worldviews, and ideologies. This is especially important when engaging with Māori participants as it is the foundation of forming whanaungatanga, it is keeping in line with what is tika and pono and respects the participants rights as Māori. Approaches such as "involving Māori," and "research by Māori and for Māori", are some examples that build on the work of Linda and Graham Smith in developing Kaupapa Māori research as a valid research methodology. Such approaches by Smith (1993) and Pihama (1994) are based on Māori epistemology and pedagogy, which are concerned with positive social transformation through the application of research methodology.

Kaupapa Māori is a response to traditional Western research paradigms, it acknowledges the historical experience that Māori have had with research. Furthermore, according to Smith (1999) Indigenous communities have long been belittled by research done "on" them rather than with or for the benefit of them.

Paraha (1992) and Pihama (1994) also states and supports that "*too often Māori have been researched by those who view their subjects with the 'colonial glaze"*.

Smith (1999), writes that what is now referred to as Kaupapa Māori research is an attempt to achieve a space to convince Māori people of the value for Māori research, Māori involvement in research and to develop approaches and ways to carry out the research that implement Māori ways of being.

Smith (2000) said Kaupapa Māori is important because "there is more to kaupapa Māori than our history under colonialism or our desires to restore rangatiratanga. We have a different epistemological tradition that frames the way we see the world, the way we organise ourselves in it, the questions we ask, and the solutions we seek." (L. Smith, 2000, p. 230). This allows the researcher to position themselves in line with Te Ao Māori. Smith (1999) also speaks of research as being "about satisfying a need to know and a need to extend the boundaries of existing knowledge through a process of systematic inquiry". She continues to write on the continuing struggle for the validity of Indigenous knowledge because of the colonisation of the indigenous mind and the positioning of Indigenous peoples as subjects to be researched by the dominant group. Furthermore, Smith (2012) explains that Kaupapa Māori research occurs with and alongside Māori, to retrieve a space for Māori voices and stories to be heard.

Pohatu (2013), considers that research is a natural hoa-haere (valued travelling companion or partner) to any Kaupapa (issue) with the pursuit of mauri ora (wellbeing) at its center. Furthermore, he suggests that one way of Kaupapa Māori research is to "frame the research practices within the takepū (value) of kaitiakitanga" (p.26). He exampled this as part of respectfulness, in how we think, how we respond, what we do and how we engage in relationships.

Pohatu (2003) describes his model Āta, as a model of engagement, which encapsulates and articulates a Te Ao Māori worldview. The origin of Āta as described by Pohatu (2003) is drawn from ancient Māori epistemology and can be traced back to whakapapa and tūpuna kōrero (ancestral knowledge). Furthermore, he explains that to achieve Āta one must first understand this themselves. Pohatu (2013) states that Āta is a tool that can purposely be deployed to guide and assist the

understanding and importance of meaningful relationships, not only with others but also with the environment and in any Kaupapa. Āta is a valuable model and framework which promotes how oneself operates from a kaitiakitanga (leadership or guardian) lens in any relationship and displays behaviours that demonstrate tika, pono and aroha. Mead (2003) describes tika, pono and aroha as what is right or correct and with truth and love. The thirteen constituents of Āta and its purpose and application guides' oneself to act in a constant state of reflection. The constituents have been incorporated into many contexts over generations. It is a behavioural and relational way of being, doing and thinking whereby observing, listening, and reflecting before one chooses to engage supports the formation and maintenance of whanaungatanga (relationships). It is also integral to maintaining positive relationships with others. The practices and principles of Āta alongside Kaupapa Māori is reflective of mātauranga Māori worldviews of engaging and with Māori tikanga (customs) embedded through whakapapa (genealogical structures), the link between physical aspects and spiritual awareness is influenced and behaviours are modelled. These two frameworks compliment each other and offer cultural safety through makers and positioning as key drivers.

Bishop (1994) argued that within the context of the Treaty of Waitangi non-Indigenous people have an obligation to support Māori research. Pohatu (2003), speaks about Māori being in charge of 'what is meaningful' in life, in relationships, in knowledge, in thinking and in every context where engagement is a key. Hoani (2011) discussed that the use of indigenous epistemology models helps to explore practices within everyday living, it offers an awakening through reflection, offers respect, and provides a decolonising positioning no matter what the Kaupapa is in a conscious pursuit towards mauri ora (wellbeing). It is with this mindset that this research is undertaken and to conduct one on one interviews.

3.3 Participants

Participants for this research have been selected based on a criterion of eligibility including, being Māori, aged between 30-60 years old and have been in prison at least once. Due to being declined to interview participants already in prisons, the participants will be interviewed in the community after already serving a prison sentence. The first participant is known to the researcher and therefore, was asked if

they knew anyone else that would consider being interviewed and an information sheet (Appendix 4) was given to the other two to determine whether they wanted to participate in this research. Two participants agreed to be interviewed in person while the third participant being quite a distance away agreed to being interviewed via online video conference. All three participants were advised at initial contact that if they wished to, they could have support people present during the interview, however, declined the offer.

3.4 Ethical Issues and Considerations

When working with participants there are ethical issues to consider such as, safety of both the researcher and the participant. Ensure that the participant is in a safe environment to be able to kōrero (speak) freely. By providing the participant with a safe space to kōrero resembles the notion of āhurtanga (safe places and quality spaces). Pohatu (2008) defines āhurutanga as *"...constant acknowledgment that quality spaces must be claimed and maintained to enable activities to be undertaken in an ethical and meaningful way.* It is important to note that at no time was the researcher in a position of authority or power. I will draw upon ngā takepū (principles) framework to guide my interactions. Pohatu (2008), defines ngā takepū (principles) as a way to inform and guide ethical approaches and this approach will enable this research to be conducted in ways that honour Māori ways of knowing, being and doing.

The application of ngā takepū (principles), in the pursuit of Mauri Ora (well-being) during this research, will support as a way of mitigation or minimalise any potential issues that may arise from this research and to conflict of interest. Other ethical considerations have been given towards, confidentiality, informed consent, participants right to withdraw and how the interview recordings and transcripts will be stored. During initial contact by telephone and at the beginning and end of the interviews all participants were offered the right to withdraw from this research at any time. The researcher is the only person that has access to audio recordings and information regarding all three participants contact details. Ethical approval was gained from Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi Ethics committee (Appendix 1). Irwin (1992) describes Kaupapa Māori research being characterised as; culturally

safe, relevant, and appropriate research, can be guided by kaumatua (elders), and undertaken by Māori.

3.5 Interview Procedure

All three participants chose a time and date to conduct the interviews. Two out of three participants chose the place of the interview being somewhere neutral to them, again representing the notion of āhurutanga (safety). Before each interviews, the researcher offered a further chance to have support people present in the interviews, while they all declined the offer, the participant who was interviewed over video conference had their whānau listening in the background.

Once again prior to the interviews proceeding, the researcher asked if there were any questions, explained the process of how the interview and research procedure would take place and highlighted the right to decline to answer any questions or stop the interview if needed. Each person signed the consent form (blank form attached as Appendix 5), and all three participants chose to remain anonymous throughout the research. The estimated time of the interviews were one hour, though one interview was half the amount of this time. As the interviews were being recorded by audio means, the researcher chose not to take notes and engaged fully in the kōrero of the interview. The interviews ended when the researcher signalled it had finished. Immediately after this, the researcher gave an opportunity for any further questions from the participants or anything further they would like to add. They were thanked for their contribution and valuable time before researcher and participant shared kai and kōrero (conversation) unrelated to this research. The participant who was interviewed via video conference, had kai pre-delivered to their whare (home) on the day of the interview and therefore, kai was shared albeit virtually along with kōrero unrelated to this research. It is especially important within Kaupapa Māori research that a form of koha (gift or donation) be given to the participants as a thank you for their contribution. Koha can be defined as *"...constant acknowledgment that valued contributions are to be given and received responsibly"* (Pohatu, 2008). Moorefield (2005) also defines koha as; a contribution from someone to someone or something else.

The participants were given details of a counsellor prepared to give three free sessions should there be a need to engage due to any trauma related concerns that may have been raised because of the interview and the content of the kōrero. The researcher asked to phone the participants within 48 hours after the interview to see if the participants had any concerns regarding the interview. This was completed and no concerns were raised, with participants confirming there was no need to call the counsellor whose details were provided.

3.6 Methods

This study uses a mixture of methods to answer the research questions. It uses a qualitative approach, by way of interviews and quantitative approach by way of a literature review. Some methods apply directly to the researcher, while others to the participants. The research uses a mixed method research approach drawing from quantitative and qualitative. Reams and Twale (2008, p.133), suggest that mixed methods are "necessary to uncover information and perspective, increase corroboration of the data and render less biased and more accurate conclusions".

Interviews are important because the purpose of the research interview is to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on specific matters (e.g., factors that influence their attendance at school).

An excerpt from the British Dental Journal (Gill et al. 2008 pg.291) states:

> "Qualitative methods, such as interviews, are believed to provide a 'deeper' understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative methods, such as questionnaires. Interviews are, therefore, most appropriate where little is already known about the study phenomenon or where detailed insights are required from individual participants. They are also particularly appropriate for exploring sensitive topics, where participants may not want to talk about such issues in a group environment."

Interviews remain the most common method for capturing data with qualitative research.

The interview method was used to gather information from Māori participants, the process of interviews included a participant information sheet highlighting what the research was to be used for. The participants were not given a list of the interview questions prior to the interview so that their views and answers were not premeditated. There were three questions pertaining to this research, however, during the interviews participants were sometimes prompted or answers were followed by another question to continue the kōrero. Unfortunately, one of the participants tended to shy away from the questions asked, therefore more questions were asked to elicit information pertaining to the research topic. Interviews were recorded either by video or audio methods and later transcribed. Ethical considerations were needed for the interview process such as, consent forms and the right to decline participation at any stage of the interview and whilst writing the research paper. Participants were made aware that any information supplied by them would be anonymous in the research paper and they preferred not to have their names quoted in the paper.

A quantitative method will also be used to complete this research. Through literature, I will analyse information from the current field of study and identify gaps if any in the research. In contrast to qualitative data, quantitative data is about identifying, gaps, trends, attitudes, and behaviours to name a few.

An excerpt from Question Pro (2021 pg.1) states:

> "Researchers often rely on quantitative data when they intend to quantify attributes, attitudes, behaviours, and other defined variables with a motive to either back or oppose the hypothesis of a specific phenomenon by contextualizing the data obtained via surveying or other various means."

There are also disadvantages of capturing only quantitative data as the data is not descriptive and can be difficult for the researcher to make decisions based on the collected data.

3.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter described the research frameworks and methodologies within which my research is based. These are Kaupapa Māori, qualitative and quantitative methodologies. It has examined Kaupapa Māori as a transformative research methodology and provided an understanding and exploration of mixed methods of qualitative and quantitative. It considered the ethical issues involved in interviews and with participants and finally provided an overview of the participants and an explanation of the methods employed.

The next chapter is dedicated to the contribution of the participants through kanohi ki kanohi (face to face) interviews. It will summarise the contents of the research thesis, the research methods that will be adopted and the results. This will be achieved by the collation of the interviewee's narratives and information provided by them, backed with literature research if any, and identify key themes. This will establish clear findings and recommendations.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION CHAPTER

4.0 Chapter Introduction

The previous chapter described the research frameworks and methodologies within which my research is based. These are Kaupapa Māori, qualitative and quantitative methodologies. It has examined Kaupapa Māori as a transformative research methodology and provided an understanding and exploration of mixed methods of qualitative and quantitative. It considered the ethical issues involved in interviews and with participants and finally provided an overview of the participants and an explanation of the methods employed.

This chapter is dedicated to the contribution of the participants through kanohi ki kanohi (face to face) interviews. It will summarise the contents of the research thesis, the research methods that will be adopted and the outcome. This will be achieved by the collation of the interviewee's narratives and information provided by them. This will establish clear findings, statistics, and recommendations. Previous and current literature will also be used to support the personal experiences and narratives of the research participants.

4.1 Overview

This research set out to identify whether intergenerational trauma dating back to Te Tiriti o Waitangi days, has impacted on Māori through the loss of their lands, culture, identity, and resources. For example, did the participants whānau (family) or tūpuna (ancestors) lose their land due to the land wars, confiscation and/or as a result, of moving to urban areas causing whānau (family) to adjust to Pākehā ways and being cut off from their natural resources such as hunting and kaimoana (seafood) gathering.

The researcher set out to establish a relationship or link between intergenerational trauma within Māori people relating to colonisation. It is to the best of the researcher's knowledge that while there has been previous similar study, such as the

research of Moana Jackson (1988) highlighting a disproportionately high number of young māori men in prison and developing a conceptual framework, that the research purpose is to establish such links as mentioned previously around intergenerational trauma and overrepresentation of Māori (men) in prison.

4.2 Hypothesis

The researcher hypothesized that the results of intergenerational trauma would be prevalent in Māori men who had been in prison between the ages of 30-60 years old. The results somewhat supported this hypothesis as it was found that 90% of the interviewed participants that had been previously incarcerated had suffered a loss of tikanga, whenua (lands), language or the means to survive from the land or ocean. While it may not have been their personal experience, it was a vital part of their whakapapa and whānau suffering. This research is an examination and proposal made on limited evidence and should be used as a starting point for further investigations.

4.3   Research Questions and Results

Within this section the research questions outlined earlier in this study will be the starting point leading into the results and findings. This will highlight how the results and findings have been linked to the research questions.

4.3.1   Research Question One

To explore the intergenerational trauma of Māori, relating to loss of culture and Māori resources and does this contribute towards Māori overrepresentation in Prisons.

Barlow (1991) sees Te Tiriti o Waitangi as becoming a declaration that Aotearoa, New Zealand was a British colony, it is the founding document of New Zealand and a symbol of unity between Māori and Pākehā. Pratt (1992) argues that despite the terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, colonisation has led to the suppression and exclusion of Māori legal practices.

So that participants understood what intergenerational trauma is, all interviews were started with a preface interview statement as follows:

> Understanding Intergenerational Trauma. The revised Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders 5th Edition defined trauma as "exposure to actual or threatened death, serious injury, or sexual violence". This includes being witness to such an event, having a close family member or friend who has suffered from a traumatic event, or experiencing repeated exposure to the event. (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, p.271). However, Pihama et al; (2014), describes indigenous understandings of trauma include an historical and intergenerational awareness of systemic assaults perpetrated through colonisation and oppression, including genocide; ethnocide (systematic destruction of life ways); forced removal and relocation; health-related experimentation; and forced removal and placement of Indigenous children. In the context of Indigenous peoples, trauma can be viewed as a contemporary manifestation of the succession of systematic assaults perpetrated through such ways as mentioned.

Duran and Duran (1995) highlight specific periods within which traumatic events occurred for Native peoples, and those that have directly impacted on these peoples in terms of intergenerational trauma PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder). They have included:

(i) First contact – this is the impact of first contact where Indigenous peoples' ways of being were systematically threatened and attached,

(ii) Economic competition – this is the confiscation of and dispossession from lands,

(iii) Invasion wars – the starting of genocide, that has included murder and displacement of Indigenous communities,

(iv) Subjugation and reservation, which included the removal of Native peoples from their lands and forced translocation to reservations,

     (v)   Boarding schools – the removal and institutionalisation of Indigenous children, destruction of family units to destroy culture, language and connections and,

     (vi)   Forced relocation and termination, entailing further relocation to urban areas (pp. 32-34).

Bull (2004) highlights that throughout the process of colonisation Māori have had minimal political power against an increasingly powerful colonial state.

The first question has been broken down into two parts (Part A and Part B). The participants were asked their understanding of intergenerational trauma and whether they or their whānau have experienced this (Part A). Followed by (Part B), what contributed to you being in prison? To support the research question on intergenerational trauma, participants were asked the following question.

Question one – Part A. Now that you have heard definitions of 'intergenerational trauma of Māori' and many Māori have experienced an intergenerational loss of reo (language), whenua (land) and mātauranga (knowledge): Have you and your whānau had any experience of this? If yes, can you tell me a bit about it? If not, can you tell me about your background?

4.3.1a Participant A:

Participant A had a view of intergenerational trauma that he linked to the loss of whenua (land), and not knowing where is their turangawaewae (a place to stand), or that of his whānau. The loss of this has caused the sense of being displaced. Participant A acknowledged the witnessing of Bastion Point where Māori were removed from their tribal lands. The participant believed this to be the cause of a "prejudice government." The New Zealand History (2021) article on Bastion Point Protesters Evicted, explains that in 1978 Police and Army personnel removed 222 people from Bastion Point. The local iwi Ngāti Whātua were protesting the loss of their land in the Orākei block. They occupied the land for 506 days before being removed. This came

about after the government announced a housing development project on what was a former Ngāti Whātua land reserve. It had been significantly reduced in size, leaving Ngāti Whātua with less than one hectare. Similar protests and events happened during 1978, where Māori land in Raglan was taken during World War 2 for an airfield. This airfield was never built. Participant A talked about witnessing these people being beaten, removed from their land, and being arrested for being on their own land. As described by the American Psychiatric Association (2013), participant A was exposed to an event which caused serious injury to others and is defined as suffering from trauma due to such exposure. Participant A also described being in the generational gap, between his father being beaten at school for speaking te reo (the language) to not being taught this by his father due to his fathers' own trauma.

Walters, Beltran, Huh and Evans-Campbell (2011) argue that devasting high rates of health disparities for Native peoples are linked to historical trauma events such as confiscation and dispossession of land and forced relocation, and that such exposures are hazards to indigenous health and can persist for generations. Adding that the relationship between land, place and wellbeing is central to both individual and collective wellness and that displacement is directly linked to loss of spirit and hence identity.

4.3.1b Participant B:

Participant B refers to intergenerational trauma as "intergenerational curses," that has affected four or five generations of their whānau. Curses that have been passed down through generations as a result of colonisation. Participant B states "*Captain Cook did not discover our shores, we discovered him coming to our shores and the whole of the British fleet returning to this new land. I think the intergenerational trauma started around that time*". Wilson (2005), writes that James Cook sighted New Zealand on 6th October 1769 and two days later, landed in Poverty Bay. Furthermore Wilson (2005), described the first encounter between James and Māori was not successful, as a fight broke out and some Māori were killed, however, later had friendly contact with Māori.

During the TVNZ 1 documentary series 'I am' Walsh (2020) speaks out in an attempt to end five generations of abuse and trauma. She describes after years of violence, crime, and several prison sentences, she finally breaks the intergenerational cycle for her whānau and mokopuna (grandchildren). It is important to highlight the difference between regular stressors and traumatic events, Evans-Campbell (2008) explains this as regular life stressors are seen as those things that are an expected part of life whereas traumatic events are outside of those expectations.

4.3.1c Participant C:

Participant C however, struggled to identify any past trauma within their whānau and had little understanding of intergenerational trauma and colonisation. It was the understanding of the participant that due to their age; they may not have had the same exposure as other members of their whānau or less likely to identify the relationship between the two. The participant also acknowledged that his whānau tried to protect him from this and therefore having no knowledge as it wasn't spoken about within his whānau.

4.4.1a. Dr Waretini-Karina on Intergenerational Trauma & Experiences (his story, as per the evidence he provided to the Royal Commission of Inquiry: Abuse in Care Hearings).

Dr Waretini-Karina (2019) discussed intergenerational experiences from his life, he commented that *"I was born into a dysfunctional and abusive home environment and experienced severe child abuse"*. He mentions that he quickly came under the scrutiny of the Department of Social Welfare (now known as Oranga Tamariki) and at the age of five years old the Department of Social Welfare and a Youth Aid Police Officer collected him from primary school and took him to a social welfare home called 'Tower Hill.' He described this as a three-story social welfare home created for State wards and housed up to 30 children. He spent 11-years as a ward of the state who moved between foster homes, boys' homes, and social welfare homes and furthermore spent 10 years and 7 months of a life sentence in prison. Dr Waretini-Karina further states *"I have spent 45 years in this system, I am still a part of it as a person on parole for a life sentence for murder"*.

He believes his story originated with his Great grandfather, Te Nahu Te Kuri Waretini Wetene. His background is one of many Māori who experienced colonialism and the New Zealand Land Wars. Waretini-Karena (2019) explains that at the age of twenty-three his Great grandfather fought against the British Empire and the New Zealand Colonial Settler Government troops who invaded the Waikato region and after nearly a year of war, they exiled into the King Country. Because of the result of this war, Waikato and its people lost resources, assets and over one million acres of land, which left them impoverished and destitute for many years to come.

His grandfather Kapa Te Wharua Waretini-Wetene (Kapa) born in the 1920's was whāngai and brought up by Princess Te Puea. At the time there were many pressing issues for Māori in the Waikato, including an outrage and anger over the confiscated lands. The Waikato people protested the actions of the New Zealand Settler Governments, this resulted in numerous men being jailed. Dr Waretini-Karina (2019) also discussed the education system being damaging to his grandfather, going from an environment where they mainly spoke Māori to continually being on the receiving end of beatings for speaking Māori, as a result he stopped speaking Māori and did not teach his own children.

His father Raymond Bartholomew Waretini Karena was born in the aftermath of World War Two. The Māori Battalion solders were successful in war; however, they came back broken and traumatized. The little land they had left was taken and given to the settler soldiers. This left Dr Waretini-Karena's fathers whānau and generation even more impoverished and as a result were forced to migrate from rural living to urban areas to find work. Due to this move this generation experienced the effects of poverty, drugs, alcohol, child abuse and domestic violence. Furthermore, Dr Waretini-Karena's father was taken by the social welfare agency of that time and put with caregivers who beat and abused him. His upbringing in state care was what he learnt on how to raise his own children and he modelled this from his own upbringing. Dr Waretini-Karena states *"the environment I was born into was toxic and abusive. It had many of the traits seen in the movie, Once were Warriors."*

4.4.1b. The intergenerational trauma cycle continued

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Dr Waretini-Karina described his first of many experiences in State care, as being around a year long before his parents collected him, he was angry and felt abandoned by them. Things slowly slipped back into an abusive lifestyle again. He talked about the beatings from his father towards him, his older brother, and their mother for praying and within the week he would return to 'Tower Hill' after he set fire to his fathers' bed with his father in it. He was angrier and more confused than the last time he was there. Dr Waretini-Karina experienced that he was treated differently as a state ward and being picked on by other kids for having no parents. The abuse from his father left him traumatized and he often struggled to battle the voices in his head and noticed things that would trigger him. In 1979, he was moved to a foster home with Europeans, and it was at this time that he directly experienced racism for the first time, he experienced physical abuse at the hands of his foster parents but the racism towards him by his caregivers was the dominant feature.

His time in a Hamilton Boys home was set out similarly to a prison and the children there automatically formed into their own gangs for protection. The was no experience of any sexual abuse in State care, the abuse experienced was physical and psychological. Dr Waretini-Karena states *"The culture of State Care was to make it so uncomfortable you wouldn't want to come back."* Furthermore, that perhaps it was determined to be a form of discipline; however, he sees this as a culture of abuse and bullying that subjected mainly young Māori boys to violent circumstances.

4.4.1c. Carrying psychological baggage.

Dr Waretini-Karina continues his evidence and discusses carrying psychological baggage and trauma from his past. His own trauma and experiences of abuse led him to killing a young boy's father whom he was led to believe was abusing the boy. He was convicted of murder and during his trial he found out what he had been told by the boy's mother was lies, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. He experienced more physical altercations in the six months he was in the boy's home than he did in his ten years in prison. In his prison environment, there were six men convicted of murder and manslaughter, they had all come from low impoverished circumstances where gangs, drugs, domestic violence, and child abuse were all factors.

4.4.1d. Dr Waretini-Karena today.

Dr Waretini-Karena has built his academic career researching historical contexts to understand the circumstances around his offending, the environment he was born into and the way in which the environment he was born into was created and shaped. A major theme that he highlights and that was prevalent in the course of his research was that Māori, due to colonisation; grew up in the face of their histories and born into environments systemically constructed by others.

4.4.2   Question One – continued

The purpose of this question was to identify the participants understanding of what they believe led them to offending, into prison and to identify any common themes that may have been a result of intergenerational trauma. This links to the understanding of how the loss of Māori resources has impacted on Māori and the imprisonment rates, and whether intergenerational trauma can be linked to loos of Māori knowledge and resources. Research literature identifies some risk factors when Māori are incarcerated and/or in the justice system and these can include but not limited to:

- Low socio-economic
- Poor work skills or low self-esteem
- Unemployment
- Financial stressors
- Lack of education
- Mental health issues related to but not limited to grief and loss, exposure to trauma
- Substandard housing or homelessness
- Substance use

Despite the above findings, previous reports, and past and current literature on Māori overrepresentation in prison or the justice system, Durie (2003) draws on the ideas that trapped lifestyles of risk, marginalization, and poor social outcomes are forerunners to Māori offending and imprisonment; highlighting that for many there is no escape from trapped lifestyles. Māori as trapped in the criminal justice system

links with constructions of Māori as subject to discriminatory targeting whereby Māori are arrested, charged, and imprisoned at young ages (Durie 2003).

Bull (2009) urges a more nuanced analysis of Māori over-representation in the criminal justice system. She refers to known risk factors as youth, gender, unemployment, lack of education, and substandard housing as infrequently used to gain a more accurate picture of Māori offending. Furthermore, Bull summarises the cyclical relationship as *"colonisation generated broad social inequalities leading to deprivation, the deprivation causes the crime, causes the inequality, causes the deprivation."* Bull noted that young Māori men in particular are disproportionately represented in the criminal justice system.

Table 1 Question one continued (Part B) – What contributed to you being in prison?

Following are excerpts from the participants interviews.

Participant	Response
A	*I don't know, it's probably being immature, not understanding how life worked. Being brought up pretty strict, appreciate how I was brought up, I was fed and clothed, but around that time there was a lot of alcohol, no drugs. There was violence, there was arguing, fighting. Fighting on the streets, fighting at home, arguments most of that was based around insecurities and alcohol. My dad drank a lot, my mum kept the home fires burning, she kept us together as she still does today at 83 or 84 years old. She is a very strong-willed woman. The violence was more so the parents, we were beaten quite harshly when we were kids, in comparison to what you call a beating like as in a strap on the hand or something, we were booted, kicked, everybody has that story from our era around the sixties, fifties and so on. I remember the kettle cord, the jug cord, I remember the block of wood, I remember booted and hitting the ceiling, I remember being held by the hair off the ground and kicked. As we got older me and my siblings we cried and we laughed about it, but then we looked back we're good people.*

	We've got good hearts and we understand the trauma of that time and try hard to not share those sorts of things with the children of today there's other ways of dealing with things like that. It hurts, it hurts sometimes but it's the facts and you don't want to physically, not because the system say you'll go to jail but because it's not the way. As far as I know from history, from what I've been taught or read about, our children are our taonga, our treasures and you don't treat them like that. If you treat them like that you continue a pattern of them beating their children and so forth, that's part of that trauma. I openly say sometimes, I swear, I use threats like I'll boot your bum that sort of thing, but I don't mean that, those things are reflections of my past which I still hold in my head. It's a figure of speech which I've learnt, and it's still instilled in me. I witnessed all that sort of thing growing up, I said that's not for me. But in fact, as a young adult, I beat a woman and I went to jail for that, and I threatened to kill her and that added more time to my jail sentence. Now that was my own insecurities that I understand, jealousy, but the persecution afterwards went on further than I could have imagined, so that relationship is no longer part of my life which I am glad.
B	*"My tūpuna on my mother's side and my links to Taranaki, he was a passive protester, a spiritual man and he got enslaved. He was enslaved for three years, treated like absolute rubbish, this infuriates me. To know that he didn't want to fight, he was a peaceful man and wanted to love these colonialists that took all of his whenua. Took his people from him, took his land and his whole way of being from him, from their papakainga. Tricking our people with their colonisation, with their treaty, its vicious, the whole taking of the whenua through manipulation and them benefiting from it, thriving through the world, putting dollars in their pockets while our people starve, struggle, and even find it hard to be out on the whenua on their own. I am rebellious and the whole anger inside me is what led me down the path of being in the justice*

	system. Fighting people, little comments that mean nothing to them, but because of the childhood I had, it sparked the rebellion in me and the want to inflict the same pain that their ancestors inflicted on my ancestors. *I think a lot of our Māori people all share the same trauma, a lot of us are in there because of assaults. That's not even our people, we weren't like that, how they perceived us to be these savages, that ate each other, that killed off our native animals.* *The anger inside me has definitely led me down the path of being in the justice system, I am fighting people all the time over racial comments, which might mean nothing to them. A lot of Māori people in my eyes are in the justice system through the infuriation of white people that suppressed our people. The government has mistreated Māori people for years and years, even to the point where you are going at it with other Māori. Like Police officers. You think they should understand the trauma, but instead they give out tickets or use unnecessary force on others. It is almost like they are inflicting pain on others where they can which infuriates Māori even more, because you're fighting your own people when you really don't need to be". The prison cycle, it's a cycle that they entrap you in. It's entrapment, once you're in the system you're never out of it, ever.*
C	*"I used to rob everything, to get money to pay the bills. Mum and dad had separated, dad stopped working to look after me. It was a way to survive, food, to help dad, to bring money home, bring money in to help. I was around nine or ten at the time. I ended up in prison for armed robbery and fighting."*

The year 2018 marked thirty years since Moana Jackson's exploration of Māori experiences of crime and control in Aotearoa New Zealand. His report 'Māori and the Criminal Justice System: He Whaipaanga Hou' was based on research with over 3000 Māori participants and highlighted a number of very significant issues with

Māori and the criminal justice system. This relationship also resonated with that of Indigenous peoples from other countries.

Fergusson, Horwood, & Lynskey (1993) believe that Māori children are over twice as likely to have Police contact than Pākehā children with the same history of offending. While Ferguson, Horwood & Swain-Campbell (2003) agree that young Māori adults are at increased risk of conviction, as opposed to their non-Māori counterparts with identical social backgrounds and self-reported history of offending. Equally Cunneen (2006) agrees that Australian Indigenous youths are over fifteen times more likely to be in juvenile detention centres than non-Indigenous youths, despite their self-reported offending being only two times greater. Likewise, the Canadian Indigenous people have high rates of crime and victimisation according to Wood & Griffiths (2000), which are further explained in terms of cultural conflict between indigenous and non-indigenous societies and the failure of the criminal justice system when dealing with indigenous people (La Prairie 1997). Participant B referred to having anger against anything that is not Māori and wanting to inflict pain, like pain was inflicted on his tupuna many years ago. Department of Corrections (2007) Over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system: An exploratory report discusses the effect of detainees not co-operating with Police. The report suggested that Māori and Police hold negative attitudes towards each other, and Māori perceive Police as biased against them. These attitudes may decrease the detainee willingness to co-operate with Police and therefore may increase the likelihood that the Police officer will proceed with charges. In 2009 the Ministry of Justice published a literature review on bias in the justice system. Morrison (2009) writer of report found that although more research and evaluation is needed, features of successful responses include:

- Including ethnic minority and/or Indigenous peoples as a central role in programme design, implementation and governance,
- Adopting a holistic approach, looking beyond the remit of the criminal justice system to address structural inequalities more broadly,
- Incorporating appropriate cultural components (p.14).

Therefore, the review concluded that a policy framework to address ethnic inequalities in the justice system should include:

- Responses directed towards ethnic minority and/or indigenous offending and re-offending, including a broader focus on addressing the structural inequalities that contribute to differential offending rates,
- Process-orientated responses aimed at enhancing cultural understanding and responsiveness within the justice sector, increasing the positive participation of Indigenous and ethnic-minority people within the system, and increasing government accountability through the monitoring and publication of information related to rates of ethnic over-representation,
- Policy-level responses that identify and seek to correct the disproportionate impact of neutral laws, structures, processes, and decision-making criteria on particular ethnic-minority groups (p.156).

The Commission believes that a comprehensive approach to addressing ethnic disparities in the justice system must address systemic bias and structurally discriminatory practices.

Maxwell (2015) suggests that in areas where there are fewer jobs available or there are limited work skills of a person, crime represents a source of income. Department of Corrections (2001) report describes that children and youth who have experienced a number of deprivations or unmet needs and damaging life experiences are at high risk of adult offending. Long standing issues of poor socioeconomic conditions, disconnection from culture, and diminishing self-respect all contribute to 'trapped lifestyles' of Māori offending and imprisonment (Durie, 2003).

4.4.3   Research Question Two

To explore the intergenerational trauma of Māori, relating to loss of culture and Māori resources and does this contribute towards Māori overrepresentation in Prisons.

To evaluate the overall findings and effectiveness of this research and determine whether intergenerational trauma is the cause of high numbers of Māori in prisons.

The purpose of this question is to identify what the childhood upbringing was like for those who had been incarcerated and that of the research participants. Are there any common themes within each of their whānau upbringing and stories that could be linked to intergenerational trauma? How were their relationships within their whānau and extended whānau, and does having a sense of belonging and knowledge of one's culture lead to a less likelihood of offending that leads to imprisonment? Current literature provides theories that include:

- There is strength within Māori identity and connection to Māori culture.
- Connection to Māori culture and identity was viewed as a preventative to further criminality (Kirkwood et al. 2005).
- Māori rates in offending reflect the vast and profound impact of a history of colonialism (Qunice 2007).

Furthermore. Quince (2007) suggests that the positioning of Māori as culturally inferior and the denigration of Māori identity aligns with the ideas, that the contemporary social, economic, cultural, and political positions of Māori are related to the processes of colonization, such that offending by Māori is connected to Māori identity.

Table 2 Question two – Can you tell me about your relationships with your whānau and extended whānau? Do any memories come to mind that were important turning points for you in your life?

Participant	Response
A	*My dad died at an early age I think it was 49 when he died. He used to give us a hiding and it was me and my brothers not the sisters, the sisters were fine dad never hit the girls, we bore the brunt of his frustrations. When my dad's mum was alive, she's the matriarch of the family and whenever she said everybody to be there, all her children, all their children's children all got together. She commanded everybody's presence and it was*

	something that I've missed as time went by and as she passed away. The family started to drift apart, and the numbers dwindled now there's a new generation and I'm part of the old generation. Which bear witness to the new generation, times have changed so much and yet today's generation don't understand the traumas of yester year, like as in my generation. They have to go get a degree or study to actually realize what went on during our time, and prior to our time. It's ongoing learning to understand what we're made of, where we come from. *Dad was the only bread winner back then and then my parents separated. I was working at eleven or twelve-years old to help financially support the whānau. I did a paper run, a milk run, and I sold food and beverages at concerts for vendors. The income helped to get kai. My brother and I took swans and ducks from Western Springs Lake to feed our family. We came from living rurally and knowing how to catch eels and other wildlife to moving into an urban area. We took these learnings to urban civilization and used them to survive. Then us siblings were separated, some with mum, some with dad. In most of that separation time I went to live with my uncles and aunties and tried to carry on my education. I ended up going to about 15 schools, just bounced around the country. I was all over the place, so I dropped out of school, I have no qualifications, learnt by hand and I managed. Put it this way, I was street wise. I started work at 14-years old and I am still working right up to today. I am 60 and I am still working. When I was a kid walking down the road and a white boy across the street said to me "what are you looking at blackie" or another time a white person called out "get back to your own country, go back to your own country you black nigger" and I think, where do I belong? What does that tell you when I'm an indigenous person to this country and when you're a kid and later you find out that a foreigner was telling you to go back to where you came from, how does that settle with you, that pisses me off.*
B	*I was going through the separation of my parents, which I didn't think really affected me back then but finding out later in life it did. From there learning about the intergenerational curses that have passed down. My uncle is a good manipulator, he did really well at school because he could manipulate a situation just like that and you know take the blame off him and put it on to others. My poppa who seldomly used violence, could see right through him, he started striking him out of anger. I was even blinded by his manipulation, right up until the first ever COVID lockdown and then I started seeing him for his true self. His kōrero to me was ugly, it was really ugly, and it got to the point where that whole colonial mentality kicked in, in my mind again with all the generational curses coming into it. Our people were never like that, never hit our wives, never struck our kids. If we had to kill animals for kai, it was really hard, it was hard because we were*

	taking away from the whenua, something that provided us with life. Even religion was a big thing, forcing their god onto our people. We would have gravitated to that anyway because we are a spiritual people. We already knew about ngā atua. *A real turning point in my life was moving back from Australia back to (location withheld) and living with our grandparents and going to school and meeting Mrs (name withheld). I had the mentality of 'she's just another teacher,' to tell me what to do, when to do it and having her for the first year was really challenging. We butted heads 24/7, dad and my grandfather were getting called down to the school all the time, because I was challenged, and I was always challenging her. I had her for a teacher for four years. She upgraded her role to deputy principal at (school withheld). Get to intermediate and we all ended up with her again. The second year of intermediate when we were classed as seniors was more of a growing up point and learning more, that she was a real loving lady. She always, all those years had our best interests at heart, that was a big turning point in my life, to love a Pākehā person. A Pākehā person who wasn't of my culture, who doesn't know my culture, who only spoke a few Māori words, but showed me the love of our culture, that was a real turning point.*
C	*I never met my dad's mum and dad, but mum's mum and dad were alright, we seen them sometimes. We roamed the country, there was all of us and my cousins from Rotorua. We just really spent time with family, cousins, aunties. We used to rob everything. My parents separated; I was with dad. He stopped working; dad had to look after me. A turning point for me, was I wanted to come home, but I couldn't come home I was on parole all the time. I couldn't stay out long enough. I wanted to be with my whānau, so I got over offending. Eventually I got deported back here (New Zealand) from Australia.*

Newshub (2022) reports that Australia has sent thousands of Kiwis back to New Zealand since 2015 after controversial changes were made to section 501 of its Migration Act. In a statement to Newshub (2022) the Australian Border Force said over ninety-four percent of Kiwis deported since 2019 had done so voluntarily. In the same report Sue Moroney explains that it's not that simple, stating "they are generally in those detention centres until they voluntarily agree to their visa cancellation which ends up in their deportation".

In a paper on Māori-based justice, Marie Dyhrberg reflects on her experience as a barrister in South Auckland. She explains that about ninety percent of her clients were either Māori or Pacific peoples, Dyhrberg comments:

> The New Zealand criminal justice system, as an example of the adversarial system is, by nature, antithetical to the traditional approach as practiced in the marae. It is my opinion that the maintenance of law and order generally may be better achieved by adopting a system based on Māori and Pacific Islander principles of conflict resolution which welcomes and provides for a greater sense of community involvement and responsibility in the justice process. (Dyhrberg 1994 p.2).

This is also evident within the 'Operation Eight' raids. With two Māori being sentenced to prison, while others were given home detention. In October 2007, the Terrorism Suppression Act was used to authorise the Operation Eight raids in Ruātoki. This was in response to an alleged paramilitary training camp in Urewera. The 'Operation Eight' raids in Ruātoki in 2007 is a more recent example of police practices that was damaging to Māori and the community. Residents in this small town were searched by armed police and boarded a bus carrying young children. Yeldos (2021) publication on Criminal Justice discusses violent policing. Operation Eight is part of this paper and describes 300 police, including members of the Armed Offenders Squad and Special Tactics Group setting up two roadblocks near the village, while at the same time they searched homes and detained residents there. Later the viability of the operation failed to convince the Solicitor-General and on 8th November 2007 he declined to press any charges under the Terrorism Suppression Act. In the year 2013 the Independent Police Conduct Authority (IPCA) report found this raid as police actions to be "unlawful, unjustified and unreasonable" (Independent Police Conduct Authority, 2013). The Authority is an independent body who is concerned with receiving complaints against the Police. It also says, that while Police were warranted in taking steps to address risk to public safety, there was no justification for believing there was a general threat to the people of Ruatoki. The searches carried out at five properties and the detaining of residents was also deemed unlawful. The Operation Eight raids resulted in seventeen people facing a total of 291 charges under the Arms Act. However, from that group, only four were sentenced (two Māori and two non-

Māori) and they were for minor firearms charges. It is important to note that the two Māori were sentenced to two and a half years in prison, while the two non-Māori were sentenced to nine months home detention. Morse (2009), one of the Pākehā people arrested in the same raids noted that *"for the non-Indigenous arrestees, the situation was starkly different".* As a result of this the IPCA made a number of recommendations to Police following its investigation including changes to policy and practice relating to the use of roadblocks as well as assessments to be made before searches in communities can be made with consideration to better planning for children and vulnerable people.

4.4.4 Research Question Three

To explore the intergenerational trauma of Māori, relating to loss of culture and Māori resources and does this contribute towards Māori overrepresentation in Prisons.
To evaluate the overall findings and effectiveness of this research and determine whether intergenerational trauma is the cause of high numbers of Māori in prisons.

The purpose of this question was to identify the good times that any of the participants remember from within their whānau and extended whānau. Highlighting any protective factors from childhood to young adults to adulthood. Research shows that protective factors can reduce the likelihood of offending and therefore limited interactions within the justice system. Some protective factors can include but not limited to:

- Safe, secure attachments through childhood
- Employment (fewer financial stressors) or
- Employability
- Education
- Housing
- Positive relationships with others
- Social supports

While there are other protective factors that reduce the likelihood of offending and reoffending, for the purpose of this research the above factors will be used. Looking at attachments that may have been formed earlier in the participants lives such as infants or young children with their adult caregivers (whether this be mum, dad, aunty, uncle, grandparents or the wider whānau as a whole) can support to determine whether interrupted attachments can be linked to offending and incarceration.

Attachment theory, originated by Bowlby (1973) is recognized as children developing beliefs and behavioural patterns. Bretherton (1992) says this is based on the relationship they have with their primary caregiver. Benoit (2004) describes the initial relationship between the caregiver and the infant or child, forms what is called an attachment and *"that makes the child feel safe, secure, and protected"* (p.541). Benoit (2004) furthermore suggests that, depending on how the caregiver responds, the child will learn to anticipate similar responses in the future and organize their behaviours accordingly. Benoit (2004) gives an example as this could be developing strategies to manage own distress if the caregiver ignores the child's needs.

Table 3 Question three – Can you tell me about any good memories you have growing up with your parents and extended whānau?

Participant	Response
A	*Most weekends was kai (food) gathering, going eeling and fishing and hunting with the cousins. We were always looking after each other in that way. Gather the kai and go around to all the whānau and share it out. Distribute it even to 'Jo Public' sometimes if they needed kai. Just going to the beach, we had to work first and then we could go for a swim and play after. I enjoyed that it was a picnic lunch, we didn't have cordials and soft drinks and things like that then, so we made, or mum made oven bread and fry bread and for our cordial she would put sugar in a flagon of water and that was our cordial a sweet water "yuck". We didn't have much but we had everything, we were happy always happy.*
B	*I have so many bad memories it's hard to keep track of the good memories when you're in that space. You ask someone who has been in prison thirty years and his good memories are your bad memories. I did have some really good memories like with aunty; you know that teacher that ended up becoming part of our family.*

	The way she was as a person and my greatest memory, my very first memory of having my first friend was my grandmother. She was my very first friend ever, that's why I call her 'my mate'. I will always treasure that memory of when I was younger, she was my best friend ever. I have good memories of our parents partying, when they were in the nice loving stage before we went to bed. Before they ate each other up afterwards with their generational curses and the ugliness that would come of drinking. I remember these good memories and I try to implement them now, with the whole partying. Like having a couple of drinks is cool, but I don't like the raru (dramas) now that come with drinking, that ugly stuff that comes with drinking and I try and stay away from it. I try not let my sober thoughts become my drunken words these days and to know when I've had enough.
C	*Playing sports, camping, spending time with my family. Being at the marae. We did it with both of my parents when they were still together, after that we carried on these things with dad.*

The following figures and table below show statistics of Māori employment rates compared to that of the general population in New Zealand. Figure 1 shows the work and labour forces.

Figure 1: Work and labour force status, Māori compared with New Zealand Population

Work and labour force status for the Māori and NZ population ethnic groups, 2018 Census
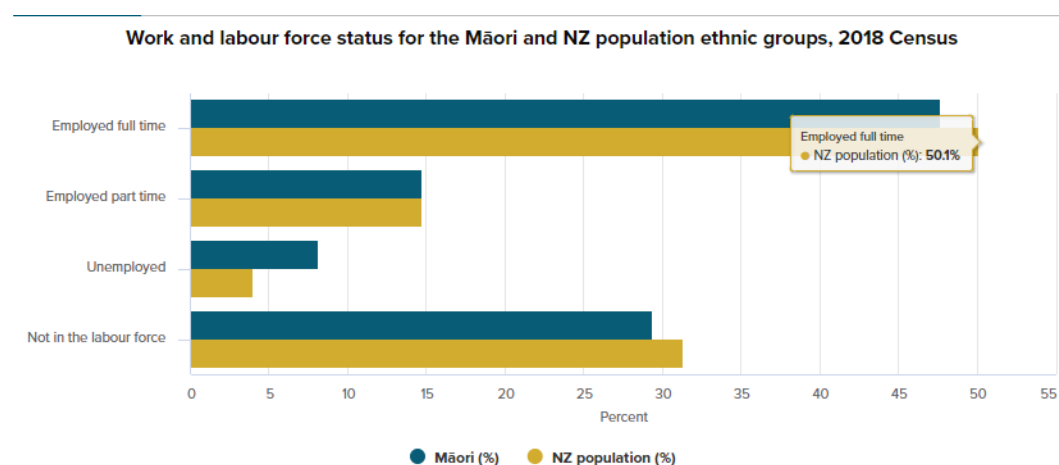
Statistics New Zealand (2018).

Among those Māori who are employed figure 2 represents the areas of employment that Māori work in.

Figure 2: Occupations, Māori compared with New Zealand Population

Occupations for the Māori and NZ population ethnic groups, 2018 Census
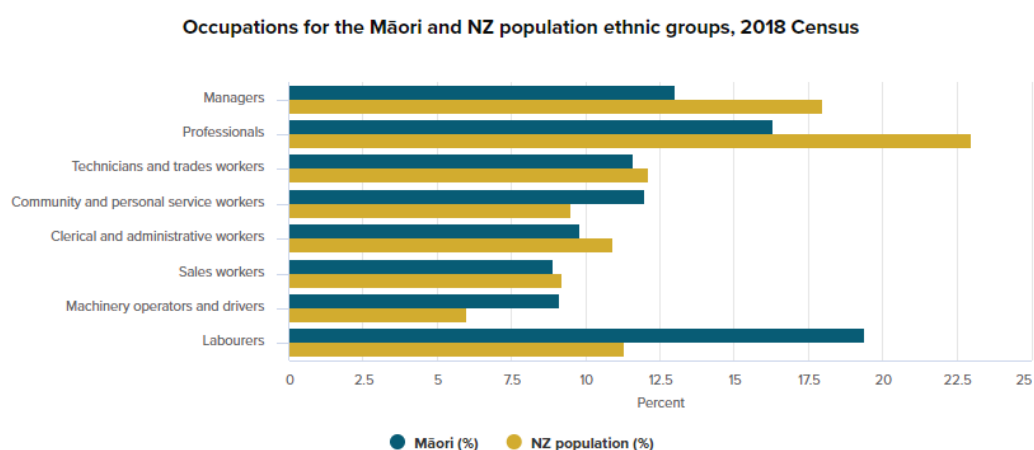
Statistics New Zealand (2018).

Furthermore, table 4 below highlights the personal incomes of Māori compared with the New Zealand Population

Table 4: Personal income, Māori compared with New Zealand Population

Personal income	Māori (%)	NZ population (%)
Loss	0.7	0.5
Zero income	8	6.8
$1–5,000	7	5.6
$5,001–10,000	6.1	4.7
$10,001–15,000	9.6	6.9
$15,001–20,000	11.7	9.9
$20,001–25,000	8.2	8.1
$25,001–30,000	5.9	5.6
$30,001–35,000	5.1	4.9
$35,001–40,000	5.9	5.6
$40,001–50,000	9.3	9.7
$50,001–60,000	7.3	8.2
$60,001–70,000	5	6.2
$70,001–100,000	6.8	9.6
$100,001–150,000	2.4	4.7
$150,001 or more	1.1	2.9

Statistics New Zealand (2018).

The above table is evident that at the time of this census the highest percentage of Māori income was in the bracket of $15,001-$20,000, being 11.7 percent. This could be an indication of the number of Māori on a New Zealand benefit at the time.

4.4.5   Further comments

To evaluate the overall findings and effectiveness of this research and determine whether intergenerational trauma is the cause of high numbers of Māori in prisons.

The purpose of this section was to allow participants to add any further comments or closing statements, that the structured interview questions did not allow for. This also allows for the participants to feel that their voices have been heard and to add anything of relevance to their interviews along with brining participants back into a space where the interview can end and have closure.

Figure 4 – Further comments from research participants

Participant	Response
A	*My immediate family right now, we hold it together, we talk we have fun together and the kids are happy. We have our ups and downs we're a normal family, but I think we function much better, we don't allow our kids to go out just anywhere. I have got a lot of issues inside me that pertain to being a father of many kids and I deal with that myself; I don't share much about it. You've got to be close to me if I share it with you.*
	I pass on knowledge and skills to my children like hunting, diving and mara kai (vegetable gardens). I've shared it with my older kids, not all of them agree, they rather go to the shop and get theirs out of a packet, but the ones that do, they go out and do the mahi (work) and get the treats as rewards. It's self-rewarding to know that you can provide for your family, whereas the mighty dollar is not going to control your life. For me, is to go and gather kai to feed us, that's just part of life.
	There's a lot of things going through my head and there's a lot of things that need explanations more in depth and it doesn't seem long for an interview like this but if that's what your questions are designed around well a quick-fire answer is what I see, but it is not a solution to the end of intergenerational trauma. My two brothers and I have all been to prison at least once, none of my sisters have. I wonder if they were subjected to the abuse and hiding's that we were would their lives have been different? The Europeans brought guns here and used them against our tūpuna to run them off their lands and well my two brothers used the Europeans weapons (guns) against them to commit their crimes, to get the things they needed for survival, money, and other things. Thinking back about being called a blackie and to go back to where I came from, I feel for those foreigners, I think

	poor people, they are the ones that are alienated, they were brought here to colonise but at the same time to subdue and put a race of people indigenous to this country, put them down and prop themselves up on a pedestal. It's rape, pillage and plunder, same old all around the world, once our resources are done, that's it move on, offshore banking etc. Look at Tama Iti and other Māori people, they are accused of being terrorists and activists when in fact it was the total opposite. You get a white man who does white collar crime, alright he gets three years he's affected one hundred families that are now out of a house, he gets three years. You get a black man who embezzles a card and buys a home he gets ten years. You get a Māori man that goes fishing to feed his family, he goes to prison, you get three white men that commit burglary, they get home detention, what's with that, that makes me angry. I'll never shut up about it, I've done it got heaps more than the quota says, but I tell you what, I've come home with nothing because there's other people to feed. I say to myself we be alright; we go another time and get us some. That's an example of that man, if I was caught, I'd be locked up, whereas they the system don't understand our way of doing things, our way of living, I don't do it for profit I was brought up that way, to manaaki others.
	My mother was the same, when she was in Auckland, she loved fishing so she would go out on her little boat, fish, and take the fish to the North shore hospital and donate it to the hospital fresh daily. How's that for an upbringing, that's the upbringing that I had. Myself and my brother would sell our fish for whatever you wanted to pay for it, twenty cents, fifty cents, one dollar, but that wasn't for profit that was to buy our lunch at work. You can't even buy a fish head for that price, the Pākehā used to throw away the fish head, you could have them for free but now, there's no way they will part with those, every dollar counts to them.
	Just remember you're in charge of your destiny and as a parent and grandparent, know that choose your words wisely, teach your kids, your mokopuna (grandchildren) properly, the right way.
B	*My grandfather was compliant out of fear, I guess. We don't hold our tuturu (true/honest) family name because our grandfather wanted to be compliant out of fear and probably to help his children get through life by giving us a Pākehā last name, it's vicious. To say to his kids, I'm not going to kōrero Māori to you because I don't want you to use Māori at school and get strapped for it. To me, that's taking away our identity, which created that intergenerational curse and in turn our parents didn't teach us Māori for the simple fact that they never learnt it. Our grandparents would speak in Māori so that our parents couldn't understand them.*

	The prison cycle, it's a cycle that they entrap you in. It's entrapment, once you're in the system you're never out of it, ever.
C	*There is a difference now with my own family and children. My kids get a bit more now than we use to get when we were little, that's the only difference they are a bit more spoilt. We do similar things, we go to the river, we go camping. They love being around heaps of kids and others.*

4.4.6. Moana Jackson on incarceration rates of Indigenous Peoples.

This section will be used to highlight the previous work and research by Moana Jackson of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou. As well as being a lawyer, he has researched and written widely on a number of subjects including criminal justice, colonisation, race and constitutional change in Aotearoa, New Zealand. In his interview to the Royal Commission of Inquiry: Abuse in Care, Jackson (2019) highlighted that recent research he was involved in included interviewing over 6000 Māori, of this figure 600 Māori men and women were either former or current prisoners, of that number over half were placed in State or church care as children and over half of them were abused in care. Jackson (2019) states *"their treatment, or mistreatment, in care was part of their almost inevitable progression into prison".* His research at the time included a comparative analysis of the incarceration of other Indigenous peoples in Canada, Australia, and the United States. The high incarceration rates in those countries are similar to that of New Zealand. Jackson argues the disturbingly similarity between all four countries that have followed the same trajectory of colonisation, and therefore in his view the current rate of indigenous incarceration flows from those colonising similarities. Jackson (2019) says *"colonisation is an inherently abusive process".*

Jackson (2019) refers to colonialism and colonisation are often misunderstood, but in simple terms describes it as being "*colonisation has always been the process in which people are dispossessed of their lands, lives, and power. It is an inherently brutal process that has been defined as a crime against humanity."* The historical forces are the whakapapa explaining the colonisation of Māori. Jackson (2019) describes how through centuries of European discourse about the status and humanity of Indigenous peoples, these are the historical forces behind colonisation. Furthermore, Jackson (2019) continues to argue that the taking away of land from Indigenous people is not simply to pass this as a land loss, it is ongoing trauma and is

essential to spiritual and practical ties to identity and belonging. *"A people cannot be tāngata whenua if they have no whenua to be tāngata on"* (Jackson 2019).

Jackson (2019) asks the Royal Commission of Inquiry to find a way to offer solace to those who have been abused and furthermore, *"if it frames that comfort in a willingness to systemically and constitutionally address the overarching injustice of colonisation, that will be a justice which offers hope for the future"*.

4.4.7 Common Theme 1: Anger and Violence

While the participant results above vary and somewhat links to intergenerational trauma, there is a theme of anger and violence. Medical Press (2017) defines anger as an emotion that motivates and energises people to act. Novaco & Chemtob (1998), paper on Anger and Trauma, suggests that the activation of anger has long been recognized as a feature of clinical disorders that result from trauma. The research paper 'Symptoms of Trauma, Perceptions of Discrimination, and Anger by Day et al (2008), emphasized that often, undifferentiated emotions appeared to be experienced as anger. Furthermore, highlighting that there was conceptualization of anger as an emotion that is historically located and intergenerationally compounded by systemic discrimination. It was said, that while some themes appeared to be characterized of violent offenders in general, some also is culturally specific and in particular, those that relate to the effects of colonisation and ongoing trauma. Fergusson and Horwood (1998), examined the effects of childhood exposure to violence between their parents. They found that children exposed to inter-parental violence are at increased risk of mental health problems, substance use and criminal offending.

Taonui (2010) writes that many Māori are convinced that pre-European society was not as violent as some Pākehā suggest. Children were cared for by the whole tribe. There are other commentators that appear to be Eurocentric and against Māori. Samuel Marsden was the first missionary in New Zealand and arrived in 1814. Given that it is said that Māori men commit the most child homicides, Marsden made the following comments that Māori men engaged in little violence against women and children:

I saw no quarrelling while I was there. They are kind to their women and children. I never observed either with a mark of violence upon them, nor did I ever see a child struct. (Elder, 1932, p.128).

The New Zealanders do not correct their children lest they should abate their courage or subdue their violent passions. Hence the children are in no subjection to their parents. (Elder, 1932, p.479).

Polack's (1838) published views support Marsden's comments concerning Māori fathers and the treatment of their children, he contrasts with European views of punishment:

The New Zealand father is devotedly fond of his children, they are his pride, his boast, and peculiar delight; he generally bears the burden of carrying them continually within his mat. The children are seldom or never punished, which consequently, causes them to commit so many annoying tricks, that continually renders them deserving of a sound, wholesome castigation. The father performs the duty of a nurse; and any foul action the embryo warrior may be guilty of, causes a smile rather than a tear from the devoted parent. (p.374).

Belich (2001) refers to the domestic abuse and child violence that we see today began during the period of urbanization of Māori between 1950 and 1980, when sixty percent of Māori were urbanized into poor housing areas as cheap unskilled labour in areas vulnerable to economic change.

Brave Heart (1999) locates several social issues rising from historical trauma within the constructs of oppression and unresolved intergenerational grief, noting that a key element of historical trauma is "historical disenfranchised grief" (p.60). That grief impacts on the wellbeing of native people and has implications for following generations. (Pihama, 2001; Taki, 1996) relates these understandings as resonating with Kaupapa Māori approaches, which identify whakapapa as essential to the transformation of Māori experiences not only in material terms but also in regard to spiritual relationships. Intergenerational impact is therefore an outcome of unresolved trauma, which is evident in a range of behaviours that then inform the

learning environment of, and are passed on to, subsequent generations (Duran and Duran; 1995).

Pihama et al., (2019) notes that the ongoing acts of violence upon Māori are associated with colonial violence of systemic racism; disparities in access to education or health care; denial and marginalization of te reo, tikanga and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge); high rates of incarceration; and increasing removal of Māori children from their whānau.

King, Rua and Hodgetts (2017) state *"We know too many Māori are incarcerated (intergenerationally), over/misdiagnosed, addiction, under-educated, living in poverty and are unlikely to receive the benefits of a pension given our significantly earlier death rate than that of the colonizing population".*

Dr Waretini-Karena (2019) gives evidence to the Royal Commission of Inquiry Contextual Hearing Abuse in Care. He states that "*Māori child rearing changed markedly at the arrival of Europeans and laws and policies which had a widespread detrimental impact on the traditional Māori way of life".* It is his view, that many Māori have been impacted by New Zealand's colonial history, state care and abuse in care.

Figure 3 below shows the common themes between the participants in relation to a loss of te reo (the language), and the whenua (land) within their whakapapa and also whether violence and or alcohol or other substances were present in their home during their childhood. Kruger et al., (2004) say that whakapapa has been identified as the fundamental premise upon which whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori identity are grounded. It shows that two out of three participants can recall a loss of te reo Māori, while one participant does not know whether there was a gap or a loss of the language in their whānau. Two out of three participants also experienced a loss of whenua within their whānau, hapū or iwi, while the third participant did not know whether this has happened to their whānau. Two out of three participants can recall alcohol or other

drugs being used at home during their childhood, while one is unaware whether this happened or further commenting that perhaps the adults in the whānau did this away from the children. While all three participants experienced violence in their childhood. It is important to note that violence in the home was not necessarily toward them as children but was in many ways, for example, violence between parents from arguing to fighting, violence between other adult whānau members or violence between the children themselves, whether this be siblings, cousins, or friends, or their peers. Jackson (2016) continually reminds us, colonisation was and continues to be a system that is extremely violent. The results in this chart will be explored further within this chapter.

Figure 3: Common Themes linked to whakapapa generations and childhood memories.

Figure 5
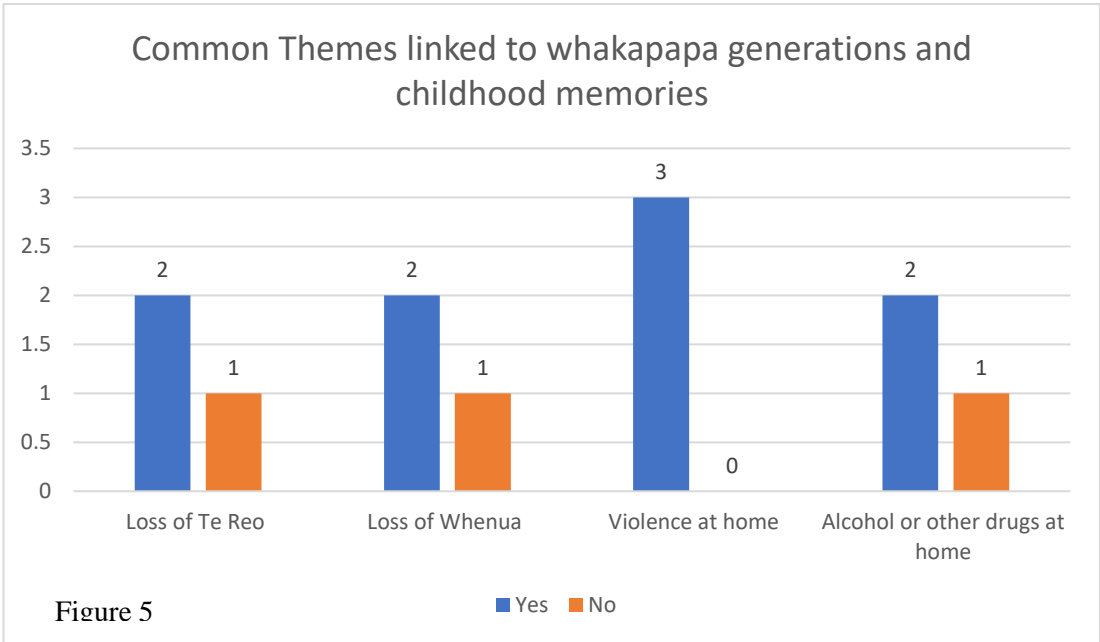
Henare (1988) describes whānau as the basic social unit within Māori society, it can be generally interpreted as being an 'extended whānau' consisting of three of four generations and the whānau was under the guidance of a kaumatua (elders).

Pihama et al., (2015) describe Māori of the time being a strong healthy people who were a well-formed societal structure that was able to meet the needs of its membership and especially the needs of children. Traditionally whānau, hapū and iwi lived collectively on their ancestral lands, this was in contexts where those in the

village knew each other. Pere (1982) and Jenkins (1992) are of the same opinion that Māori children were treasured and their place within the communal setting was one where all adults played a role in the nurturing of the tamariki (children) within their village. Participant A, highlighted in his interview that *"children are our taonga (treasures), we should treat them like that"*. Historically, where whānau were geographically located in the same area it was quite common to find children living for periods of time with other whānau members. Simmonds (2011 p.16) states "whānau is not simply meant to denote the nuclear family – mother, father and children, whānau is much more and it can include extended whānau and wider still to the hapū and iwi".

To this day the contributions that whānau make to each other can include providing physical, spiritual, emotional and cultural support. This can be seen as whanaungatanga, Smith (2017) describes whanaungatanga as a relationship that is reinforcing and provides individuals with a sense of belonging. Literature shows the range of historical trauma responses observed included depression; psychic numbing; difficulty recognizing and expressing emotions; low self-esteem; poor affect tolerance; anger; elevated mortality rates from suicide and cardiovascular diseases; delf-destructive behaviour; and could also include substance abuse and self-medication (Brave Heart, 1999; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998;).

Historical trauma can be seen as a key element to the collective of intergenerational trauma experienced as a result of major events. Duran and Duran (1995) also discuss historical trauma as a process of "wounding", also known as "soul wounding", which sits at the core of generations of indigenous suffering and is an element in understanding historical trauma. Furthermore, Duran (2006) wrote that in Native communities, issues within the communities related to spiritual injury, soul sickness, soul wounding and ancestral hurt (p.15). As Yellow Horse and Brave Heart (2005) state, historical trauma is "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences" (p.58).

While colonisation provides an explanation for historical trauma, Robson, and Harris (2007) provide that current and previous literature on Māori health outcomes

emphasizes that Māori health disparities, including the experience of family violence, are and can be attributed to colonisation, dispossession and ongoing experiences of personal and systemic racism.

Marsden (1986) suggested that continued and persistent deprivation, oppression, manipulation, and exploitation of tāngata whenua (people of the land) through colonisation poses as a serious threat to our cultural, spiritual, physical and emotional wellbeing. Kruger et al., (2004) states that in Aotearoa (New Zealand), colonisation is characterised by extensive acts of violence upon Māori. Māori culture, language, values, matauranga (knowledge), worldviews and their lives were affected in the most hurtful ways as customary practices were prohibited by law. Jackson (1988) reports that cultural values were educated out of Māori children through active policies of assimilation and forced compliance of the colonial government was imposed upon whānau, hapū and iwi through legislation, incarceration, confiscation of lands and other forms of punishment.

According to Walters & Simoni (2002) colonial oppression and historical trauma events create a "destabilization process" in native communities that affects health and wellbeing. They also suggest that furthermore, evidence indicates that multiple forms or experiences of discrimination may culminate in physical and mental health symptoms. The work of Hirsch and Spoonley (1990) underline that the Pākehā-dominated media represents Māori as inferior to Pākehā culture and depicts Māori as negative and promotes that Māori (men) seek and enjoy violence. They show that there is convincing evidence that the media over-emphasise on Māori statistics and negativity towards Māori. On the other hand, Rankine et al. (2008) emphasise that the media portrays Māori as being privileged through treaty settlements, processes and affirmative action policies unfairly denied to Pākehā, while also characterising Māori as a source of problems or conflict, poor, sick and a drain on "the taxpayer". The drivers of these characterisations are racism and prejudice. It is important to note that the UN Special Rapporteur on Indigenous Peoples dismissed the theme of Māori being privileged and Pākehā being unfairly denied action policies.

4.4.8 Common Theme 2: Displacement from land and language

While it is widespread practice in New Zealand to associate Māori to tribal territories and land, we also need to recognize our history as one of displacement. Displacement of culture, knowledge, language, social and economic subordination. Though Walker (1990) also shows that alongside this history of displacement, it is also a history of resistance, resilience, survival, and flourishing. He also says, "*the emptying of rural tribal homelands through the flood of Māori to towns and cities has been a prominent and rapid feature of colonisation.*" The Māori Affairs Act 1953 and its amendment in 1967 allowed the government to take Māori owned land that they deemed 'uneconomic'. Many Māori saw this as a final land grab, they continued to fight for their land and treaty rights through channels such as protesting.

Taonui (2012) writes

> "*Māori did not see land as a commodity to be bought and sold by individuals, but as something over which groups could hold communal rights of guardianship, occupation, and use. These rights were gained by various means including discovery, conquest, and gift. They were maintained by continual occupation over generations. Colonial legislation clashed and overrode that system. New laws declared that the government had the right to take any land that was not needed by Māori, and that Māori could sell or lease land only to the Crown.*"

Durie (2005) discusses after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) that the settler government quickly imposed British concepts of ownership and title of lands. However, Māori resisted the alienation of land and the further confiscation of their land and resources continued. It was at this time that the government backed up its laws with military force and the New Zealand Land Wars began.

While this paper is not about the wars at the time, it is important to give some background of these wars to the reader. The New Zealand Land Wars as described by Keenan (2012), were a series of mid-18th-century to mid-19th-century battles between some Māori tribes and government forces (which included the British and colonial troops). According to Keenan (2012) some of the Land Wars included:

- the tensions between Whanganui Māori and settlers were heightened in 1846-47 by the arrival of the British troops, the wounding of a chief and the hanging of Māori who killed four Europeans,

- Taranaki Māori opposing land sales and fighting began in 1860 over a land purchase at Waitara (Participant B talks about this kōrero),

- In 1865 Major-General Trevor Chute led troops around Mt Taranaki, destroying Māori villages,

- Waikato the home of the Māori King. The government wanted to punish his followers, these are those who fought in Taranaki, they also wanted to make Waikato land available for settlers arriving. Fighting began in 1863 and were still continuing in 1864, until the Kingitanga followers withdrew into what is now known as the King Country.

The Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2015), records show that by the mid 1800's the Crown and the New Zealand company had obtained 99 percent of the South Island and 20 percent of the North Island. Groot, Vandenburg and Hodgetts (2017) say that with colonialism came urbanization, displacement, disease, war, death and knowledge suppression, which resulted in the degradation of Māori kinships systems, economic capacity, culture and spiritual connectedness. Durie (1994) refers to the initial stages of colonisation as a massive depopulation of Māori due to the death toll from introduced diseases, starvation and warfare. Indigenous psychology has always been part of how Māori approach wellbeing and health. Nikora (2007) says Māori psychology is anchored by, and merges from, a worldview that values balance, continuity, unity and connectedness.   Māori are tāngata whenua (people of the land) of New Zealand, they have fought for their land rights since the beginning of the European settlers in the late 1800's and early 1900's.

While colonial violence and trauma has been experienced throughout Aotearoa (among other native lands) by whānau, hapū and iwi, it is also important to highlight that the continued occupation of indigenous lands is not classed as a 'one off' historical trauma event, but rather it is an ongoing act of oppressing indigenous peoples, thus causing cumulative harm while maintaining colonial white supremacy and its systems of institutional racism. Ongoing cumulative harm is referred to by

Participants A and B with both men referring to institutional racism and racism of their 'white peers' growing up. Jackson (2019) speaks after the Christchurch massacre of Muslim people in relation to the connection between white supremacy and colonization. Jackson says, *"ancient grudges still fester. The most desperate longing can still be thwarted by bigotry, and even the most pressing challenges, such as climate change, can still go unheeded in the comfort of self-interest and greed".* Furthermore, Jackson (2019) speaks truth towards colonization, *"It's particularly important to acknowledge the links between the past and present. They are instead a manifestation of the particular history of colonization and its founding presumption that the so-called white people in Europe were inherently superior to everyone else".* He continued to highlight that racism and white supremacy are the foundation of colonization, stating that *"in this country (New Zealand), there has been a deliberate misremembering of history that has obscured the reality of what colonization really was, and is".*

Two out of three participants recognized and acknowledged a loss of reo (language), within their whānau (family). Participant B talked about growing up and the first seven years of life thinking he was 'white'. He referred to this as being the first of a series of stances towards a disconnection to the whenua and his reo. The reason for this was because their parents were disconnected from the reo (language), and their grandparents did not want to teach them the reo (language). Participant B thought this was out of fear of being strapped, or punished for speaking the reo (language), as it was still prevalent at that time, and in fact the participant themselves were also strapped in Australia for speaking the language at the age of six years old, evidence that the strap was still around in more recent modern times. This caused Participant B to want to rebel against anyone and everyone who caused him harm.

Furthermore, Participant B discussed returning to New Zealand and attending his first primary school here. This is what he explains as "*being introduced to what it is like being a Māori and others including the teachers letting me know that I was different to the other kids".* He discussed how this further sparked the anger in him and anger he felt towards other people. While he was being treated different at school, he was also going through a separation of his parents which he believed at the time, didn't affect him, but later in life he realized that it had affected him and

then further learning about the intergenerational curses that were being passed down within his whakapapa. He discussed 'white people' as being different to Pākehā people. The Urban Dictionary (1999) defines a white person as '*a person who has origins relating to or directly from the continent of Europe*'. Whereas the Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand (1966) defines a Pākehā as '*a Māori term for the white inhabitants of New Zealand*'. Participant B defines the difference as being, a 'pākehā person' is someone who has an understanding of our culture and then you have the 'white person/people' that continue to try and suppress others and ignore our culture. Furthermore, he expressed "*It has affected my mentality towards white people as at school you would always hear oh, he is just another one of those Māori, or he's just another nigger*". Participant B further explained that one of his tupuna was a passive protestor, he was a spiritual man and he got enslaved and treated like 'one of those Māori', that he was taken down South and enslaved for three years and treated like rubbish. To this day it is hurtful for Participant B to talk about the wrongdoing toward his tūpuna. He stated, "*I really can't speak for my parents, but this is how intergenerational trauma has affected me, I am rebellious against anything that is not Māori and then still having to live in this colonised society*".

Cram & Belich (2001), highlight that the Native Schools system was established to facilitate the Europeanisation of Māori and the majority of teachers appointed to schools were Pākehā. The testimonies in their book, describe the ways in which the Pākehā teachers engaged with Māori, not only in their attitudes towards Māori but also in the way they interpret their roles in relation to Māori. An example of this was that because the system was set up to facilitate European ways of living, thinking and behaving, while at the same time discouraging Māori cultural practices. Simon (1992) explains how once the early missionary settlers saw a decline in attendance of Māori children in their village day schools, they set up larger boarding schools away from villages meaning that children were taken from their parents. It was hoped at the time that removing Māori children from their parents it would hasten the assimilation policies. Starblanket (2018) provided a significant argument that the intentional removal and displacement of Indigenous children from their parents and communities is an act of genocide. Love (2000) refers to the states systems in New Zealand as "*a white system that has historically contributed to state run programmes of cultural genocide and whānau dismemberment*" (p.29).

The United Nations (2014) Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide also defines that genocide is "*forcibly transferring children of this group to another group*". Duran and Duran (1995) emphasise the colonial attack on families through the boarding school system as being a process of eradicating the family whānau from the thinking and practices of indigenous people and thereby removing a critical process of collective cultural reproduction through the generations. A United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention reported systemic bias against Māori at all levels of the criminal justice system and recommend a review be undertaken (United Nations, 2014).

Durie (2005) shows the long constitutional journey of New Zealand from a British dependency in 1840, a crown colony in 1841, a self-governing colony in 1852, a Dominion in 1903, and since 1986, a constitutionally independent nation, the relationship of Māori to the State has been a matter of celebration, dispute, and political inconsistency. Bedgood (1987) supports this theory by saying "The deconstruction of the Māori occurred at three levels, economic, political and ideological".

While Participant A, discussed how they themselves along with their siblings, cannot speak the reo (language) and that te reo Māori (the Māori language) was displaced within their whānau when their matriarch (grandmother) and father passed away as they were the speakers of Māori. Furthermore, Participant A adds "*I do understand the language, but I can't talk it back, I am still learning*". They see themselves in the generational gap "*my father at home would speak Māori, but apparently when he went to school, he wasn't allowed to do that and was being beaten at school*". There is extensive research into the loss of Māori culture and te reo Māori (the Māori language), and the impacts of colonisation. Calman (2012) describes how following the New Zealand Land Wars the Native Schools Act 1867 came into effect and required the teachings of English in schools and supported colonisation and oppression of te reo Māori (the Māori language) and Māori ways of being and living. It also meant that Māori were required to donate their land to build schools upon for learning and to contribute towards the building and teachers' salaries. Wirihana and Smith (2014) note that historical trauma began for Māori with the loss of entire

communities and villages due to the impact of colonial contact and wars and this continues to be maintained through social, cultural, economic and spiritual domination that is still influenced by legislation to this day.

Participant A shared kōrero (talk) about himself identifying the gap between Māori and Pākehā and he believes that the intergenerational trauma comes from the Pākehā, bringing Christianity to Aotearoa. Participant A states "*they beat children and alienated them and told them not to speak a language that was foreign to the Pākehā. Is that a 'just god', to bring that Christianity through and beat children, I still question that in my mind today".* Churchill (1993) defines a series of Papal Bulls which begun by Pope Innocent IV in the late 13th Century. It was to define the proper (lawful) relationship between Christians and 'Infidels', in worldly matters such as property (p.35). Papal Bulls were used as official decrees by the Pope and was the letter format of the Vatican in the 14th Century.

Furthermore, Churchill (1993) focuses on two Papal Bulls from the Vatican, the first being the Romanus Pontifex in 1455, which called for non-Christian peoples to be invaded, captured, vanquished, subdued and reduced to perpetual slavery and to have their possessions and properties seized by Christian monarchs. This was followed by the Terra Nullus in the year 1493, which declares 'if there are no Christian natives in the land you have discovered, I declare those lands to be empty, further; if there are people there and they are not Christians, they do not have a right of title to the land, they only have the right of occupancy.

Walker (1996) highlights there are multiple layers of historical colonial disruption that have been experienced by Māori people which include but not limited to, acts of dispossession of lands and resources; the marginalisation and denial of their language, culture and matauranga (knowledge), wide spread impacts of diseases, alcohol, Christianity, the establishment of Western education systems that were grounded upon policies of assimilation and integration; and of course the making of a colonial governmental system which subsumed Māori sovereignty and their self-determination.

If we look at assimilation policies throughout the world as a whole, we find that Armitage (1995) described that, in Australia the policies were introduced through the protection of 'Aborigines' statutes which were passed in the period between 1869 and 1909, Armitage conveyed that one of their roles was to impose European civilization, Christianity and assimilation upon the Aborigines; in Canada they were introduced within the framework of the Indian Act 1876, and its successors; and in New Zealand they were introduced in legislation establishing the Native Department (1861) and Native Schools Act, (1867). Armitage (1995) also explains the racial discrimination using three principle phases characterized by three different meanings. The first phase is race lineage and genealogical connections, the second phase talks about race as a subspecies, this infers that some species of race are higher value than others and the third phase discuss "the role of race in establishing social divisions used for the purpose of one race benefitting at the expense of another" (Armitage 1995).

This also brings out explanations as to why Indigenous cultures in three different countries (Canada, Australia and New Zealand) have very similar historical experiences and in particular with the colonising governments that occupy their lands. It explains the genesis of assimilation policies applied to Māori children in Aotearoa, New Zealand. Armitage also argued that *"the 1837 House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines believed that children offered the best means of ensuring that aboriginal peoples would be prepared for the responsibilities of Christianity, civilization and British citizenship"* (Armitage 1995 p.189)*.* It is from this thinking that New Zealand's first child welfare policies were born from. The initial child welfare legislation piece in New Zealand was called the Neglected and Criminal Children's Act 1867, Armitage (1995) states that:

> In 1910, the Department of Education was made responsible for the supervision of orphanages, and in a further gradual extension of this role, it developed a range of child welfare services which had some mandate to interfere in family matters such as truancy officers, school nurses, protections officers and probation officers.

More significantly it is important to highlight that the Native Schools Act 1867, made English the only language that could be spoken in schools and was enforced through corporal punishment. Simon (1993), says that the Native Schools Act 1867 signaled a change of policy as a system of native schools was instituted, with Māori providing land, half the cost of buildings, a quarter of the teacher's salary and other various resources. Furthermore, Selby (1999) writes that instruction in te reo Māori (the Māori language) continued in the native schools until around 1871, where there was a policy change in line with the assimilation agenda of the state that made English the only acceptable language in schools.

> For Māori, loss of language and therefore identity through the Native Schools Act, alongside the physical trauma of having had the language beaten out of us, is something that applies to many Māori. If you are Māori, the chances are very high that the hurt of that experience was carried by your tupuna and it is carried by you (whether you appreciate it or not), it is part of the story of your whakapapa. (Waretini-Karena 2019).

Barrington and Beaglehole (1974), discuss that prior to the Treaty of Waitangi, the Church Missionary Society set up the first formal schools in Aotearoa (New Zealand) 'with one purpose'; to further the spread of Christianity and show the natives the way to salvation (p.2).

Selby (1999), in her book 'Still Being Punished', talks about the claims made to the Waitangi Tribunal in which submissions were made about te reo Māori (the Māori language) and the recommendations made to government ministers for action. One recommendation Selby (1999) talks about, is made to the Minister of Education that children who wish to learn Māori should be able to do so. The report detailed evidence from kaumātua (elders) who said that they had been punished at school for speaking Māori. Māori faced systemic economic, political, social and cultural marginalisation, cultural alienation, forced assimilation, demonization, racism, and intergenerational impoverishment. The Waitangi Tribunal (1986) reported that Māori language was banned, and the number of Māori language speakers declined from 95 percent in the 1900's to just 5 percent in 1980. Furthermore, it highlights

that after the massive land loss Māori were urbanized moving from 83 percent living in rural areas in 1936 to 83 percent living in urban areas in 1986. Housing was advertised for as "Europeans only," hotels refused reservations from Māori, Māori were discriminated against in movie theatres, swimming pools and barber shops in Pukekohe. There was also a separate school established when Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) parents protested about Māori children mixing with their own (Belich, 2001). Walker (1990) described how following the Second World War, in the context of consecutive governments having implemented economic and land use policies to the detriment of Māori, urbanization saw a huge proportion of the Māori population shift from rural to urban centres. This is also highlighted and evidenced in Dr Waretini-Karena (2019) interview and submissions to The Royal Commission of Inquiry – Abuse in Care, where he discussed his father and father's whānau having to move into town away from marae and rural settings where they had more resources to support whānau living.

While Jackson (1988) agreed that urbanization entailed the disintegration of Māori social and cultural underpinnings that had a disruptive psychological ripple effect.

There is work already done in other jurisdictions such as the Australian Inquiry into the "Stolen Generations" and the Canadian Inquiry into Residential Schools. The Executive Summary of the Canadian Inquiry's report provides the transnational colonising context and illustrates the harsh complexity of this issue:

> Canada's residential school system for Aboriginal children was an education system in name only for much of its existence. These residential schools were created for the purpose of separating Aboriginal children from their families, to minimize and weaken family ties and cultural linkages, and to indoctrinate children into a new culture – the culture of the legally dominant Euro-Christian Canadian society, led by Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald. (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. 2015).

Walker (1990) says that initially led by radical Māori youth protest in the 1970's, Māori language became an official language in 1986. Statistics New Zealand (2006)

numbers show that in 2006 twenty-four percent of Māori now speak their language. While Statistics New Zealand (2020) numbers showed an increased to one in five Māori now speaking te reo. There has been a movement to establish Māori-led education under the precedence that "Māori do not fail in education; education fails Māori" (Ministry of Education 2009). Also, the Ministry of Education (2008) released figures that represented over 150 kura Kaupapa, kura teina and whare kura (primary and secondary immersion schools for children up to seventeen years old existed, but there was also over ninety-one tikanga rua reo (bilingual units in mainstream primary and intermediate schools for children up to twelve years old), ninety schools with immersion classes (Maxim Institute 2006), and three whare wānanga (Māori Universities).

Participant B discussed seeing the education system as something to 'set you up to fail', "*it sets us up to live in prisons*". He says that "*teachers are like your prison guards, you are governed by timeframes of when you can eat, when you can go to the toilet, you have to ask for permission from the teachers. Most of the teachers who are white. Some of the teachers can be difficult and say no you can't go to the toilet*". Furthermore, highlighting that some kids in his class wet themselves or soiled themselves as a result of not being able to go to the toilet, they are then further picked on and laughed at by their peers. "*That belittles them more*" says Participant B. This in turn creates more trauma, especially with Māori kids. Participant B says a lot of the white children in his class were allowed to go to the toilet, but the Māori boy who puts his hand up, can be sitting there waiting to be acknowledged. "*Waving his hand around in the air saying miss, miss and then he gets told, be quiet, put your hand down, what do you want? Can I go to the toilet please, no you can't is the answer he gets*"? Department of Corrections (2001) report provides research that when schools respond punitively, the children will truant, become vulnerable to substance abuse, and link with others like themselves in gangs, in order to support each other's anti-social behaviour.

Participant B met other Māori inside prisons who also think the school system is like a prison and in prison you get treated like little kids, "*yes sir, no sir, when you want the attention of a prison officer in prison you have to call out sir, miss or boss*". Participant B asks how they got a title of being a 'sir. Te Ao Māori (2022) news

reporter Jessica Tyson (2022) reported that Durie, of Rangitane, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa, became the pride of his people when he was knighted in 2009 for services to Māori health and public service. How can a prison guard be called Sir, what did they do to get this title, is what Participant B ponders? Participant B asks, "*why can't I just say hey Andrew or hey John can I go out to the yard today*"? He is even more infuriated by the fact that these prison officers now can be as young as 20 years old, what can a 20-year-old know about life and looking after people in a prison setting, they don't know how to get people through their trauma in prisons. He also describes working in the times of his tūpuna, and how this wasn't working to earn money to make a living like now, you worked in the gardens so that you had kai (food) to feed your whānau, or you worked on the sea, fishing or the land hunting and looking after the tamariki (children). Participant B believes that the way the Pākehā system was set up was to continue to suppress people, from slavery to the education system, to prison system and the justice system saying "*even when you get out of prison you are still in the system, the justice system. You do your time, then you have release conditions, or parole conditions, even before you go into prison you are on bail conditions".* A report by Department of Corrections (2007) on over-representation of Māori in the Criminal Justice System, shows a higher likelihood for Māori offenders to have police contact, be charged, lack legal representation, not be granted bail, plead guilty, be convicted, be sentenced to non-monetary penalties and be denied release to Home Detention. It also showed that mainstream attitudes contribute to an increase in both formal and informal profiling by Police, therefore increasing Māori arrest rates and entry into the justice system as offenders.

Serin, Mailoux & Wilson (2012) validate the Structured Dynamic Assessment Case-Management-21 items (also known as SDAC-21), which is a body of works that includes empirically derived and theoretically informed dynamic risk factors, responsivity factors and protective factors. It is an institutional assessment tool that is utilized in prison settings to ensure that offenders do not engage in offending behaviour while incarcerated and to remain crime free once they are released from prison. For the purposes of this tool, stable risk factors are considered as being linked to risks of reoffending, such as antisocial associates (gang affiliations), antisocial cognition (impulse control, attachment with others or ability to problem solve), and antisocial personality (negative attitudes towards authority, sense of

entitlement or substance abuse). Protective factors are factors that may mitigate the probability of engaging in further offending. These can consist of internal assets as well as external strengths that can help an individual reducing their risk of reoffending. These factors are not the inverse of risk factors but are positive attributes that shield the individual from the risks they are experiencing. These could include being responsive to advice, good social supports, costs/benefits and understanding of this, a prosocial identity and employability. While responsivity factors are important to assess in order to identify any issues that would prevent the individual from effectively engaging in addressing risk and creating protective factors. These could include personal distress, unwilling or unresponsive towards rehabilitation, health problems, learning difficulties or interpersonal aggression.

Department of Corrections (2020) Volumes Report shows the number of remand offenders by ethnicity over a twenty-year period. Table 4 below shows the overwhelmingly high numbers of Māori remanded in prisons. It is important to note that the population held in prison are made up of persons either remanded in custody awaiting a trial or sentencing, or prisoners who have been convicted of offences and received a prison sentence. Remand prisoners can make up both those who are remand accused and those who are remand convicted. Remand accused are those who are held in custody awaiting trial and could still be innocent, as opposed to a remand convicted prisoner who has pleaded guilty or been found guilty and awaiting a sentencing outcome. The below table is reflective of those persons remanded in custody to remain in prison usually until the conclusion of their criminal case and (if convicted) their sentencing.

Table 4: Remand offenders by ethnicity.

Ethnicity	European	Maori	Pacific	Other	Not rec	Total
2001	253	445	74	27	24	823
2002	299	517	113	33	12	974
2003	323	577	108	68	7	1,083
2004	392	639	150	73	8	1,262
2005	346	600	131	75	33	1,185
2006	444	760	169	114	9	1,496
2007	469	866	187	86	9	1,617
2008	497	956	208	78	6	1,745
2009	550	969	222	71	10	1,822
2010	544	937	222	83	15	1,801
2011	513	954	200	97	17	1,781
2012	538	943	229	77	13	1,800
2013	489	864	194	59	14	1,620
2014	544	946	198	95	21	1,804
2015	586	1,118	254	102	39	2,099
2016	720	1,389	280	114	24	2,527
2017	831	1,619	289	123	98	2,960
2018	826	1,794	328	80	133	3,161
2019	938	1,933	388	136	41	3,436
2020	934	1,917	407	138	13	3,409

Department of Corrections (2020)

Māori are disproportionately represented in high numbers throughout the criminal justice system. It starts from policing, to conviction, to imprisonment and then probation. Garland (1990) says that the way prisons are run and the values that underlie their management communicate meaning about the nation's attitude to power, authority, legitimacy, morality and society. This is part of growing policies that appear to benefit the 'undeserving poor'. Workman (2011) argues that in New Zealand it is evident that punishment increasingly extends beyond prisons and that communities that most offenders come from have experienced a reduction in health care services, increased evictions from and ineligibility for social housing, increased levels of unemployment, and a decline in the level of welfare support.

Participant B also discussed reoffending and meeting a lot of our older population in prison who get out of prison and continue to reoffend, not because they are bad people but because life is easier in prison. It is easier for them to live in a prison, you get three meals a day, get told when to eat, when to sleep and when to shower, free power, free food, warmth and a roof over your head, they prefer this rather than to come out to the prison that society has built. Workman and McIntosh (2013) argue that while the media focus on crime and violence, New Zealand's crime rate has fallen in the past twenty years. However, the number of people in prisons has more

than doubled in the same time period. They argue that it is not because New Zealand society is becoming more criminal but because we have an increasingly divided society. They say that in societies where there are large income gaps, trust and empathy between diverse groups tend to diminish while those in power become increasingly concerned with punishing rather than helping those who offend. They add that in such a society people in ethnic minorities are more likely to be stigmatized, blamed and punished. Too many prisoners have experienced considerable social harm and have gone on to perpetuate and perpetrate social harm on others. Research suggests that there is strong links between crime and poverty. Crime rates are more elevated in poorer communities. Workman and McIntosh (2013) also state that social statistics in New Zealand strongly suggest that poverty is racialized: Māori and Pacific peoples experience ongoing, disproportionate levels of poverty.

There are a range of drivers that lead to crime. Maxwell (2015) says for young people who have grown up in violent communities, where constant physical self-defense is the only means of survival, acts of violence are an ingrained and apparent logical response to threats and challenges. Workman (2011) discusses that Māori aged 10-13 are almost six times more likely to be apprehended than their New Zealand European counterparts.

For others, particularly those with low self-esteem or those who have limited work skills and in regions where there are fewer jobs available, crime represents a source of income and status.   A Dunedin life-course study of over 1000 New Zealander's (and other research) shows, people from low socio-economic backgrounds are three times more likely to commit crime than those from wealthy families.

Morrison (2009) observed the following
- Māori were four to five times more likely to be apprehended, prosecuted and convicted than their non-Māori counterparts
- Māori were also seven-and-a-half times more likely to be given a custodial sentence
- Māori were eleven times more likely to be remanded in custody awaiting trial

- Māori women were five-and-a-half times more likely to be apprehended and ten times more likely to receive a custodial sentence than New Zealand European women

- Māori men were four times more likely to be apprehended and seven times more likely to receive a custodial sentence than their New Zealand European equivalents.

In general Māori are being imprisoned at a rate six times that of non-Māori. Pratt (1992) suggested that traditionally, within tikanga Māori (Māori custom) there existed a Māori system of law, order and justice that was fully integrated into everyday life. Pere (1997) also says that tikanga Māori was inseparable from spirituality, which facilitated an elevated level of social control and discipline within Māori society. The New Zealand Human Rights Commission report (2016) highlighted that Māori are over-represented in this way not just because they come from marginalized communities but also because they are specifically discriminated against. The Human Rights Commission research shows that, for the same behaviour, Māori are more likely to be arrested, prosecuted, and convicted than Pākehā. As the Māori leader Pita Sharples said in an interview with New Zealand Herald (2011) "*There are societal attitudes and prejudices about Māori and crime. This leads to an increase in profiling by police, which in turn frames the application of discretion used and ultimately increases the arrest rates for Māori*".

Figure 4 below shows that, when sentenced, Māori were more likely to receive a prison sentence. Between 11% and 13% of convicted Māori receive sentences of imprisonment, as opposed to 7-9% of Europeans, a statically significant difference.

Figure 4: Custodial sentences 1996-2004 by ethnicity (%)
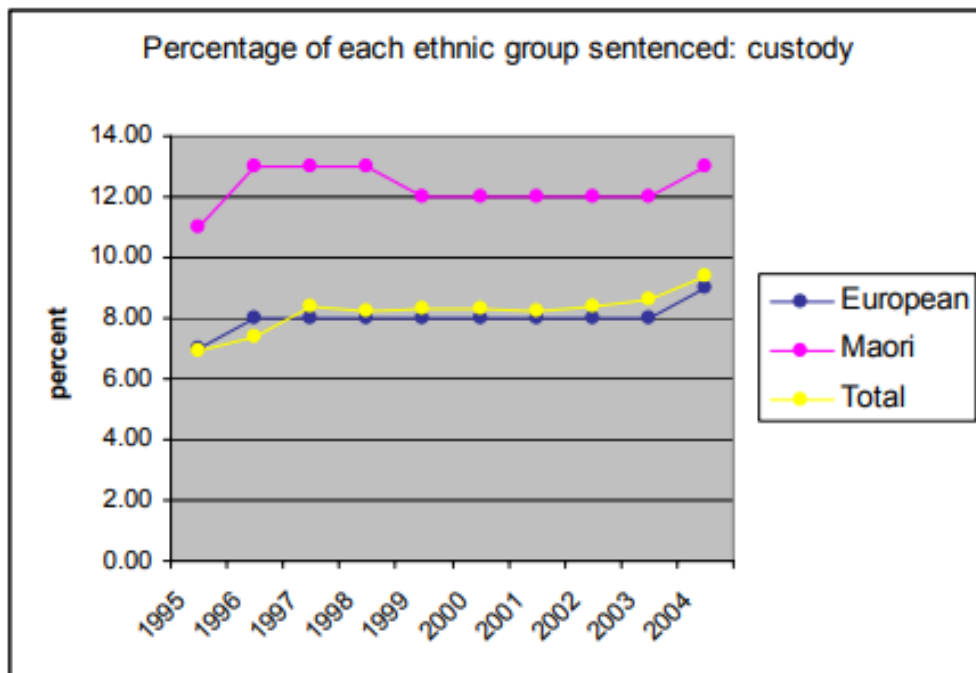
Ministry of Justice (2006) Conviction and Sentencing of Offenders in New Zealand: 1995-2004

Participant A described seeing on the news and in newspaper articles where two Māori men were caught poaching trout and the sentencing they received (prison sentences), opposed to four Pākehā teenagers in the same month who received a sentence of home detention. Newshub (2016) reflected in their article titled 'Convicted trout poacher': NZ justice system 'racist', that *"Leef and Mr Tawha were caught taking spawning trout from a highly-valued spawning stream near Lake Rotoiti"*. The article followed on from a post that received a lot of attention on the social media platform Facebook, pointing out the difference in sentencing between a group of white men, and Leef. It read

> Both parties broke the law, and both parties were sorry. One party committed burglaries to the tune of $80k for fun while the other stole 10 fish to feed his family. Both crimes in the eyes of the law and I'm not disputing that. One gets to "serve time" at home with their family while the other has to serve jail time and leave his family. Take a wild guess who has to go to jail for stealing 10 fish. Not 80,000 fish or $80,000 worth of fish. 10 fish vs $80k of private property. (Newshub 2016).

Furthermore, Newshub (2016) advised that the post received 23,000 likes and more than 8000 shares. They mentioned that Leef who was aged 37 at the time was sentenced to four months in prison for poaching as many as 60 trout and Tawha sentenced to 12 months in prison for poaching 39 trout on two occasions from the lake. Newshub (2016) described Leef as being a solo parent of eight children, while his whānau said *"he was a motivated and experienced provider of kai which he sources from the sea, rivers and bush".* Fish and Game told The Hui (as reported by Newshub 2016), that *"the sentence imposed on the offenders reflects the seriousness of the crime and their previous convictions".* Meanwhile the New Zealand Herald (2016) in the same month run an article titled 'Outrage over teenagers' sentence'. This article described the sentence of home detention to four Northland teenagers (Pākehā) for a burglary spree totaling nearly $80,000 in stolen property, and that these sentences were met with outrage. The four teenagers were aged nineteen and eighteen. The four stole boats, fishing gear, outboard motors and tools from coastal properties and the longest home detention given was 10 months, they were also ordered to complete 300 hours of community work and pay reparation between $12,800-$20,950. At the time the Māori Affairs Minister Dover Samuels told the media the penalty was "inadequate" and thousands of social media posts claimed the teens escaped a custody sentence because they were white. A Northland Regional councilor also commented to the media saying, there was widespread perception that the sentences were too lenient.

More recent statistics from Department of Corrections (2021), show no improvement with figure 5 below highlighting the 2021 prison population by ethnicity, while figure 6 further below shows statistics of number and percentage of people convicted by ethnicity for the year 2021. Statistics were retrieved from Ministry of Justice (2022): Research and Data – Data tables.

Figure 5: Prison population by ethnicity 2021
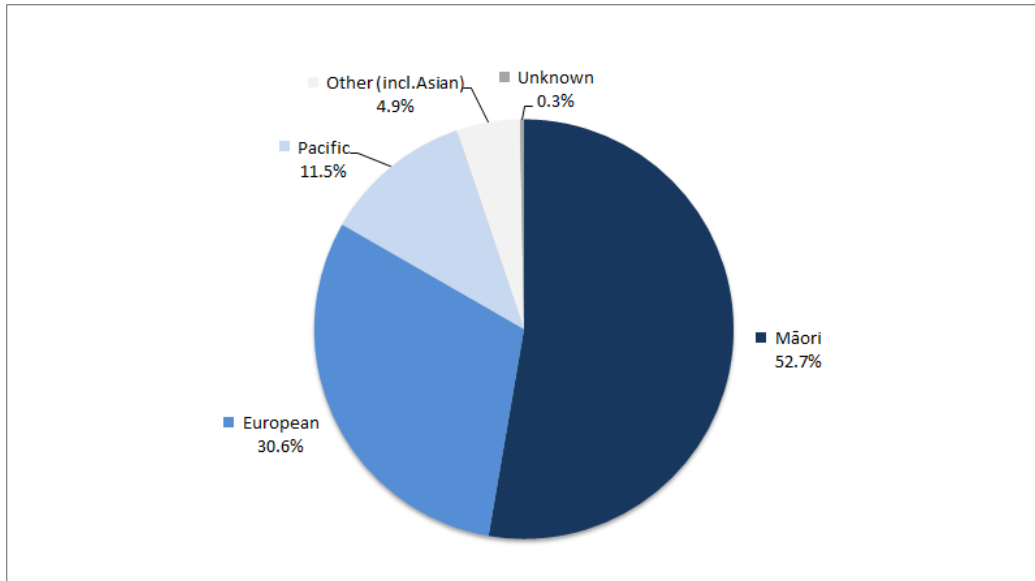
Department of Corrections: Prison Facts and Statistics March 2021

Figure 6: Number & Percentage of Convictions by Ethnicity 2021
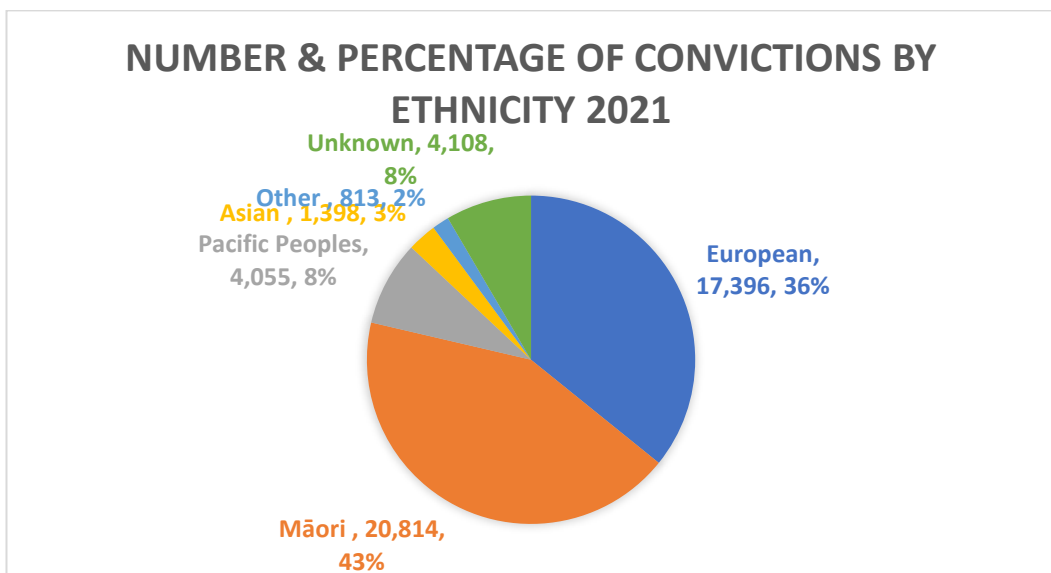
Ministry of Justice (2022): Research and Data – Data tables

While the above figure doesn't show the numbers of custodial sentences, there is a 7% difference in convictions between Māori and European. Further investigation into the Ministry of Justice website on Research and Data shows that from the total of 45,840 convictions in 2021, 11 percent were sentenced to a term of imprisonment. This being the third highest percent of sentencing, after 31 percent received a monetary sentence (this includes reparation, fines and orders for restitution of property) and 16 percent receiving sentences of community work.

4.4.9 Displacement of Māori children

Participant A, also describes how history shows that most Indigenous peoples have been displaced, even to today's times where there is CYFS (Child Youth and Family Services) or now known as Oranga Tamariki, which Māori are fighting for the repatriation of whānau that have been displaced years ago and for what reasons? Why were they displaced and what did they do wrong, are still questions today that Participant A ponders? Moyle (2013) argued that the removal of large numbers of Māori children from whānau and placement into the State system is an indication of the genocidal intent of the Crown. All these colonial acts of oppression have contributed to the undermining of Māori understandings, ways of living and being and practices that are fundamental towards the practice of whanaungatanga, which Māori hold as the ability to uphold and maintain healthy relationships. Historical trauma responses within families have been examined in the parenting area and Evans-Campbell (2008) noted that the impact on communities included the breakdown of traditional culture, values, rites of passage and knowledge about how to raise and parent children. Pre-colonisation Māori lived within whānau, hapū and iwi, hence the phrase "it takes a village to raise a child".

Māori are not only overrepresented in the prison population in New Zealand but also within the Child Welfare System. Ministry for Children (2019) national data for the year ending in June 2017 indicated that 57 percent of all referrals before the age of five years old were Māori children and before the age of ten, six out of every ten children in care placements were Māori, this made Māori the largest group in state welfare care. The same report in 2019 also revealed that since July 2008, 4,300 babies under the age of one were taken into care and of this number a disturbing 62 percent were Māori. Child, Youth and Family rates of substantiated notifications of child abuse or neglect are considerably higher for Māori than non-Māori as shown in figure 7 below.

Figure 7: Substantiated cases of child abuse or neglect, by ethnicity

Substantiated cases of child abuse or neglect, non-Maori and Maori
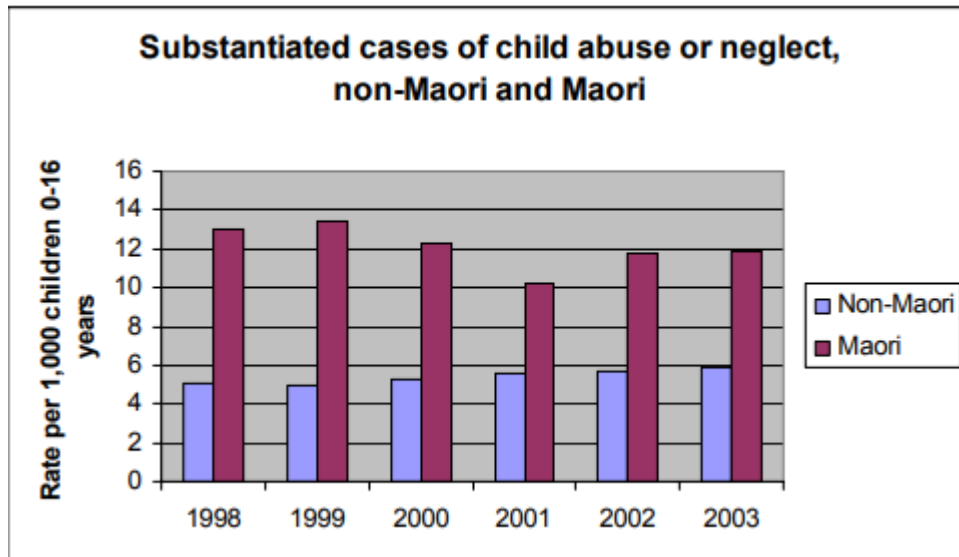
Ministry of Social Development. The Social Report 2004

Rangihau (1988) highlights the 'Puao-Te-Ata-Tu' report identified a number of concerns within the child welfare system that have compounded many of the challenges facing whānau Māori, including institutionalised racism, changes to statutes that were not in the best interests of Māori, or they worked directly against Māori. The committee concluded:

> *"At the heart of the issue is a profound misunderstanding or ignorance of the place of the child in Māori society and its relationship with whānau, hapū, and iwi structures".* (Rangihau, 1989, p.7).

Atwool (2006), suggests that historically, whānau, hapū and iwi were denied opportunities to have their tamariki or mokopuna placed in whānau care; instead, many of the placements were with Pākehā families. Can this be seen as yet another attempt to further colonise and alienate Māori children from their culture? In a Māori and Youth Justice paper Olsen, Maxwell & Morris (1995), give praise to the family group conferencing process as an example of blending indigenous justice processes and the Western justice system. While others, however, view this as an inadequate solution to systemic issues of structural discrimination. Jackson, lawyer argues in Tauri (1999) paper on 'Family Group Conferencing: The Myth of Indigenous Empowerment in New

Zealand' that justice for Māori doesn't mean the attempt to gratify Māori processes upon a system that retains authority to determine the extent and validity of the processes.

While Māori have been unrelenting in their push to change legislation in the child welfare system to integrate Māori ideologies and cultural practices, Rangihau (1988) describes the example of Mātua Whāngai, with Māori aspirations to nurture and care for tamariki and mokopuna, through whānau, hapū and iwi placements, thus ensuring the bond and connectedness to whakapapa and whānau remain intact. Jackson (2008) has strong opinions that the government health and child agencies have a responsibility to repair the damage caused by Acts that were deliberately established to work against Māori and therefore led to the systemic breakdown of whānau connection and functioning. Smith (2012) backs this statement with adding, no other ethnic groups in Aotearoa New Zealand has had Acts of Parliament established to deliberately deprive, remove and sever cultural links to whenua (land), whānau and kin.

As the researcher completes this chapter the Royal Commission of Inquiry is investigating the abuse in state care, with the Māori Public Hearing taking place between 7-18 March 2022 (among other dates, dating back to 2019). These are Māori survivors and their whānau from throughout the motu (country), that share their lived experiences of being abused in care, and the ongoing impacts the abuse has on them and their whanau. The hearing explored the systemic abuse of Māori by State and faith-based care institutions. Furthermore, it also investigates why tamariki and vulnerable adult Māori were and continue to be over-represented in care and the ongoing impacts that Māori experience as a result of being abused. The hearing focuses on three main themes; racism in care, intergenerational trauma and contemporary experiences of abuse in care.

In an interview for the Royal Commission of Inquiry (Abuse in Care), Emery (2022) discusses how intergenerational trauma from her time in State care in Aotearoa New Zealand, not only affected her, but believes that due to being

in care and being placed in a home with gang members, it has contributed to the death of her son.

> *I believe that my son's death is a direct result of my time in state care. I believe that if I wasn't placed in the care of my uncle, I would never have gotten into a relationship with a fellow gang member, hence I would not have had a child to a gang member and then my son be raised in that environment. It is a direct result of my time in state care and the environments that I was placed in.* (Emery, 2022).

4.4.10 Closing Statement

To summarise in Aotearoa colonisation can be seen as historical trauma events collectively for Māori that impacted on past generations and continues to impact on present and future generations, due to the ongoing system that continues to produce oppression. In order to understand this historical trauma for Māori, we as individuals need to understand the origins of colonial trauma as it has been embedded within colonisation. This involves knowing the history of whānau, hapū and iwi, the violence perpetrated through the colonial invasion and occupation.

It is not possible in this research to canvass all of the history of New Zealand which may fit in the definition of genocide by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, however I would like to highlight some examples as referenced to within this research. Land was seized, and populations were forced from rural to urban areas, and their movements are restricted. This includes the New Zealand Land Wars – Rangiaowhia in the Waikato, Gate Pā in Tauranga, Parihaka in Taranaki, the Native Lands Act 1862 and the many other land acquisition statutes (several dozen). The Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei Bastion Point 1978 evictions of Ngāti Whātua from Bastion Point. Ihumātao the ongoing land battle. This land was granted to the Wallace family in the 1860's after it was confiscated from Māori in the Waikato invasions. This has included Fletcher Building seeking $40 million for the property which was more than double what they paid for it in 2014 at $19 million.

Furthermore, the government in 2020 agreed to purchase the land from Fletcher Building for just under $30 million. This came after a memorandum of understanding between, the Crown, the Kingitanga and the Auckland Council. Languages are banned through the Native Schools Act 1867, spiritual leaders such as Rua Kenana, Te Kooti Arikirangi are prosecuted. Spiritual practices were forbidden through the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, the Foreshore and Seabed Act confiscation of the foreshore in 2005 and the freeholding of Waitara lands in 2019.

Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart provides a model for understanding the potential impact of the collective historical trauma of Indigenous peoples, this is alongside contemporary or present-day traumatic life experiences. Brave Heart (2000) highlights that historical trauma responses must be viewed through an indigenous cultural understanding. Pihama et al (2014) also raise the point of historical trauma for Māori as being deeply embedded in colonisation as an ongoing process that continues to affect Māori, responses are therefore amplified by the impact of systemic issues and furthermore institutional racism.

Indigenous and Kaupapa Māori approaches to healing trauma has been the wider denial of the impact of colonisation and historical trauma. Understanding the role of intergenerational trauma in historical trauma theory is critical and Smith (2019), notes that the dominance of Western thinking creates a context of binaries that does not align with mātauranga Māori. Jackson (1988) says cultural connectedness is linked to healing and wellbeing and therefore Māori healing must be based on the restoration of the Māori cultural and healing paradigms that colonisation sought to destroy. Durie (1998) suggests that Māori health and healing are linked to self-determination, which places 'tino rangatiratanga' as a critical principle for healing for Māori.

Māori still feels the ongoing impact of colonisation today and is recognized by the current government. In 2019, Minister for Justice and Treaty Settlements, the Right Honourable Andrew Little, reported to the UN in

Geneva that *"the Treaty has been breached leaving Māori strangers in their own land. The impact of colonisation continues to be felt today through entrenched structural racism and poorer outcomes for Māori"* (New Zealand Herald 2019). These mechanisms continue to devastate Māori, land, resources, cultural identity, language, heritage and mātauranga. This suggests that Māori are already born into a position of disadvantage perpetuated by entrenched systemic racism, that is determined by the power and dynamics and societal constructs of hegemony or power of the state.

4.4.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the findings and results of this thesis. It also discussed colonisation from the view of the participants and also the view of current literature and that this is prevalent in the overrepresentation of Māori in prisons with a direct link to intergenerational trauma. This has derived from the stories and interviews of the research participants and the research literature shared within this chapter. This chapter also discussed the research questions and provided participants views and personal experiences within prisons.

The next chapter will give an overview of the research paper, provide a summary of the chapters and key findings of the research. It will discuss the research limitations and recommendations for future research and a final closing paragraph.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Chapter Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the findings and results of this research. It investigated colonisation and identified whether this is prevalent in the overrepresentation of Māori in prisons and a direct link to intergenerational trauma based on participants interviews and current literature. It also discussed the research questions and provided participants' personal experiences.

This chapter will provide an overview of the research, including a summary of the previous chapters and key results or findings from conducting this research. To clearly define and breakdown these findings, the research questions will be answered in a review type style of writing. It will also discuss any limitations within this research and provide any recommendations for further research to be conducted. It will also be used to highlight the research limitations and make recommendations for future research and provide a final word.

5.1 Thesis Review

I have identified and discussed the impact caused by a loss of Māori resources. The loss of resources over generations of whakapapa is evident throughout this research and through the personal narratives of the participants. The grief and emotions shared by the participants throughout this research shows the impact this has had on whānau, hapū and iwi.

The research described in this thesis focused on a loss of Māori resources including, land, language, culture, tikanga and Māori ways of living and being. It has described individual journeys through the participants lens and from a Te Ao Māori lens. Each journey and experience throughout this thesis have been explained in a mana enhancing way to give back mana to those who participated in interviews. All facets have been documented so that the reader fully understands the true nature, grief and intergenerational trauma caused to Māori as a direct result of colonisation. The stories shared are painful to both the participants and the researcher, however,

highlight the impacts of colonisation from past to present and the ongoing impacts this will have on our future generations.

5.2 Key Findings

There were a number of key findings regarding this research. To clearly define and breakdown these findings, the research questions will be answered here in a review type style of writing.

1. How has the loss of Māori resources impacted on Māori and the imprisonment rates?

This thesis has been extremely highlighting of the impact of loss of Māori resources and how this has impacted on Māori imprisonment rates. As the researcher hypothesized, the results show a relationship between Māori imprisonment rates caused by a loss of Māori resources. As explained by the research participants in Chapter Four and examined within literature a loss of Māori resources can be recognized as; whenua (land), māori tikanga (customs), language, whānau displacement, loss of hapū, and culture. It is also recognized as being driven out of their villages and off their lands and forced to relocate into urban areas. The impact of these effects has caused Māori a significant loss in their way of being, living and raising their whānau. Having to move into urban areas caused further harm to Māori in that they were unable to use their land or regular hunting and fishing grounds to provide kai for their families. The move to towns and cities saw many Māori without employment and financially struggling, which research has shown that finances and employment and protective factor to reduce one's chances of offending and therefore leading to a prison sentence.

2. Does having a sense of belonging and knowledge of one's culture, mean that there is less chance of offending that leads to imprisonment?

While the results are varied in terms of cultural belonging and knowledge, there is a relationship between alienation of knowledge and offending rates. Due to the lack of a sense of belonging, the participants adopted a new sense of belonging albeit in prison or within the community in different environments and navigated towards others who had experienced a loss of belonging along with those who mirrored their own

behaviours. Behaviours such as negative attitudes towards authority or authoritative figures, substance abuse, attachment with others and those with anti-social identities. Children can see an authoritative figure as a caregiver, police officer or even a teacher. Literature supports the attachment theory and being recognized as children developing particular beliefs and behavioural patterns. All the research participants were moved between homes and frequently travelled across the country, evidence that any attachment of safety or security was interrupted from an early age and therefore the participants were left with developing their own coping strategies to manage their own distress. Participant C discussed offending from a young age as a way of having things in life that he wouldn't otherwise have including necessities such as stealing to get money to buy food. The loss of sense of belonging doesn't just happen in one person's upbringing, but rather that research provided evidence based on historical trauma over generations and included one person's upbringing being reflected on another's' and so on and thus the cycle continues.

3. Can intergenerational trauma be linked back to the loss of Māori knowledge and resources?

The research results were very dominant and showed significant amounts of intergenerational trauma relating to the loss of Māori knowledge and resources. While one participant was unable to discuss or link any trauma to himself, there was the urbanisation of his whānau that caused harm towards employability and a result of this was that the participant themselves suffered from substance use, violence and offending at a young age. While the other participants had strong opinions and experiences from their own lifetimes and that of their tupuna. There is a lot of anger and resistance towards non-Māori for the treatment of Māori people and that of other Indigenous peoples who have been colonised at the hands of Europeans. This thesis and the results are clearly evident of a system that is set up to work against Māori beliefs and culture, a system that is biased and a system that continues to oppress Māori, support colonisation and therefore the continued trauma for present and future generations.

The following are some of the legislations and Acts that have supported colonisation in New Zealand causing intergenerational trauma:

- The Native Lands Act 1862, the Native Reserves Act 1864 and the New Zealand Settlement Acts were created for the purpose of confiscating Māori land.

- The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 is a piece of legislation that had detrimental impact on Māori. This made it illegal to practice traditional ways of healing and for those healers to train their people in their customary practices, tikanga, protocols and mātauranga/traditional knowledge. This impacted and effected Māori as they grew up without the traditional ways of knowing or being because of not being grounded in their culture.

- The Native Schools Act 1867 is a piece of colonial legislation that had a devasting impact on Māori as prevalent throughout the results chapter of this research.

These legislations stand out and are relevant to this research and that which has been discussed by the participants. Examples can be seen in the Native Lands Act 1862 as the loss of customary land titles and further eroded Māori social structures and led to "rapid Māori land loss and consequential impoverishment" (Boast, 2012, p.7). The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 "restricted the use of traditional Māori rongoā (medicine) and healers in favour of western-trained doctors" (Came, 2012, p.70). The Native Schools Act 1867 had a detrimental effect on Māori language as Māori children were emotionally and physically abused for speaking Māori in schools.

5.3 Research limitations

The primary limitations are the small number of participants. Despite the difficulty of being unable to interview participants within a prison environment, there were also limitations to finding participants within the community willing to participate in the research. Also, the subject matter of this thesis can be deemed highly sensitive and traumatising, therefore participants may not be as willing to come forward and partake in the research. All care has been taken to share the participants narratives

with the utmost respect and sensitivity. The researcher will provide different approaches that may be more suited for future study in this area. If a similar research paper is replicated, then improvements may be considered or adapted.

In retrospect, the study would have been strengthened if the participant eligibility was expanded to include males over the age of 60 years old and woman participants as research conducted during this research shows that woman in prison is also increasingly high. Walker (1990) describes that research participants are often part of larger collectives or whānau groupings, but are not only based on blood connections, but they can also be conceptualised as whānau based on history, experience, or the Kaupapa (topic) of the research.

It is also important to note that the qualitative methodologies used in this study allowed the exploration of participants experiences, understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and trauma, however, employing the use of focus groups may have elicited new information that was not gained within this research. Tuckett and Stewart (2004) describe focus groups as facilitating interaction between participants. This approach may have been a better form of collecting data as focus groups are also a way of facilitating peer conversations (with those in similar situations) that would otherwise not arise in a one-on-one interview.

A final limitation found was that of a structured interview and structured interview questions, rather than that of a semi-structured or unstructured interview process. The structured interview process meant that the researcher had planned questions in advance of interviews and all participants were asked the same questions in the same order. While this process is simpler to collate the answers and responses it can also feel like a one-size-fits-all approach, impersonalised, and make it harder to hear the true stories of the participants. An unstructured interview is a more personalised approach and is useful where the experiences of participants can vary dramatically. Additionally, since unstructured interviews allow for free-flowing kōrero, participants can feel more causal, which puts them at ease and can result in a more natural and honest engagement. While a semi-structured interview is a combination of both structured and non-structured approach, it also has advantages of offering both. This allows for objective comparison of participants while providing and opportunity to spontaneously explore other Kaupapa relevant to each participant. A

semi-structured approach was needed to be employed with one participant to enable them to be able to open up with their kōrero and not feel so whakamā (embarrassed) to share their kōrero or when they didn't quite understand what was being asked of them at the time of the interview.

It is important that while these limitations have been highlighted, that regardless of them the research was still research needed and the participants stories still to be told, which has been accomplished through the writing of this thesis. The intention of this thesis was to enable the reader an understanding of intergenerational trauma experienced by the participants, including the impacts and their emotions that resulted from intergenerational trauma. This has been shown throughout this thesis; therefore, the intention is confirmed.

5.4 Recommendations

There are a number of recommendations authoring this thesis has brought to the forefront. As per the findings chapter, taking a less structured approach to this Kaupapa and research questions would support participants willingness to engage and speak open and honestly. Giving the participants the opportunity to lead the kōrero and discuss what they feel necessary and how they think this Kaupapa has impacted on them and their whānau.

Another recommendation is around whānau groups. While this research was based on individual participant interviews, it is interesting to investigate the affects and impacts of other siblings or whānau members from each participant. As one participant described being in the middle of their parents' separation and siblings being separated, does this influence whether the other siblings have offender or male versus female siblings in the same whānau group.

The final recommendation would be to interview participants who have tūpuna or older whānau members that had represented Aotearoa New Zealand in the overseas wars, such as the Māori Battalion and how life was on their return, how were they treated on their return and how did that treatment impact on their future wellbeing.

5.5 Final Word

Waretini-Karena (2017) says *"the ensuing colonial legislation of the 19ᵗʰ Century, created intergenerational ripples that continue to affect Māori".* He describes these intergenerational ripple effects stemming from previous New Zealand Governments and that their focus was on systemically breaking down traditional Māori societies. Bedgood (1978) argues that "penetration of the capitalist mode of production and the destruction of the Māori occurred at three levels, economic, political and ideological".

There is also the impact of not being grounded in our culture and traditional knowledge and history that has left urban Māori from an early age slipping through the education gaps, put into a social welfare system and therefore potentially leads them to prison.

In conclusion, Chapter One the research topic was introduced, and information was provided on the initial background to the purpose(s) of this research. The aims of and the research questions were explained and explored, the significance of this research and why it is important was highlighted, along with an overview of the methods that were used to conduct this research.

Chapter Two discussed the literature that was reviewed on the topics of Māori being overrepresented in Prison in New Zealand and within the justice system, youth offending, and offending rates of Māori within the justice system as opposed to non-Māori. It provided an overview of the literature in which the researcher used as seminal pieces to support themes of overrepresentation of Māori firstly, in the justice system as a whole and then within the New Zealand prison structures. These seminal pieces also refer to statistics of other nations Indigenous peoples being overrepresented in the justice and child welfare systems. The literature reviewed also makes references to intergenerational trauma experienced by Māori people and other Indigenous nations.

Chapter Three highlighted an in-depth understanding of the research frameworks and methodologies within which this research was based. These were Kaupapa Māori, qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The research framework included references and ideologies from Māori authors to support the framework and its relevance to this Kaupapa and research. An overview of the methodologies was

examined, and the methods employed to undertake this research were also highlighted. The methods were used to highlight and understand a cultural analysis. The chapter also described the methods used to seek answers to my research questions and the reasons why. In brief these were face to face interviews and literature. This chapter also provided information around how the participants were selected, the ethical issues and considerations, including that of safety of both the participants and the researcher. It also touched on how the interviews would be conducted and the koha provided to the participants as a gesture and thank you for their time, kōrero and sharing of their information.

Chapter Four shared the experiences and opinions of the research participants. This chapter was also used to seek and explore the research questions and provide an understanding of intergenerational trauma from the participants worldview. This chapter was used to capture and discuss the findings and results of the research questions.

Chapter Five concluded this thesis, provided the reader an overview of the thesis research, a summary, and the key findings. Along with limitations to this study, recommendations for future research and closing.

There is the hope that this thesis will become the foundations for my doctorate thesis in due course. The hope there is that intergenerational trauma will be addressed so that the future of Māori will a bright and happy future with equal rights and quality of life.

E hara taku toa, I te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini. My success is not mine alone, it is the success of the collective.

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APPENDICES

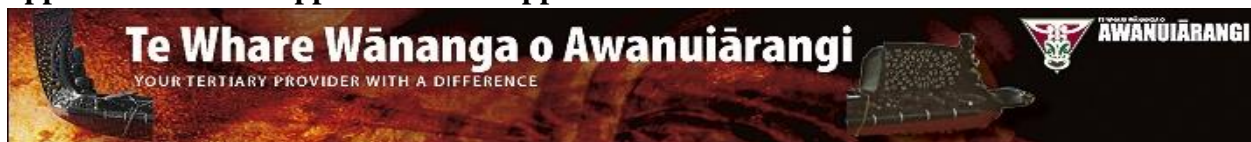Appendix 1: Ethics Application and approval letter

Appendix 2: Department of Corrections Application to Interview

Appendix 3: Department of Corrections email declining application

Appendix 4: Information Sheet

Appendix 5: Consent Form

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

This form is to be completed by staff and tauira doing research <u>prior</u> to the collection of any data.

Applicants will need to complete all components of this application and submit for approval. Please ensure that all supporting documents are submitted at the same time (i.e. Participant Information Sheet, Participant Consent Form, Interview questions). This application should be read with the accompanying document *Ngā Uara (values) and Ethical Guidelines*.

Before applying for approval applicants must familiarise themselves with the Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi CODE OF ETHICAL CONDUCT FOR RESEARCH, TEACHING AND EVALUATIONS

CHECKLIST FOR APPLICANTS

Please complete this checklist, tick where appropriate, sign and attach to the signed top copy of your Ethics Application form.

I ………………Lucinda Francis Cassin……………. confirm the following:
<div align="center">Name of Applicant</div>

- [✓] I have signed my Ethics Application Form
- [✓] ALL of my supervisors have signed my Ethics Application Form
- [✓] I have completed all sections of this ethics application relevant to my research
- [✓] I have attached the Information Sheet(s) and Consent Form(s)
- [✓] I have attached all supporting documentation (e.g., research instruments such as questionnaires etc. and any letters of support)
- [✓] I have completed the declarations section of this application.

OFFICE USE ONLY

Date Received:	
Application # (ECA #)	
Date First Reviewed:	
Outcome/Recommendation:	
Date Final Outcome:	
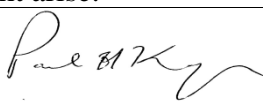
SECTION A: RESEARCHER INFORMATION

1. **Please indicate what type of research this ethics application is for.**

✓	Masters Research
	PhD/Professional Doctorate Research
	Research by a Staff Member
	Other (please specify) ………………………………………………………….

2. **Researcher Details**

Full name of lead researcher:	Lucinda Francis Cassin
Postal address:	
Phone number:	
Email address:	
Signature:	Date: 13/7/2021
List any other researchers and their role.	N/A

Full name of Supervisor (if applicable)	Paul Kayes		
School/Discipline:	Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi		
Phone number:	027 457 2395		
Email address:	Paul.kayes@wananga.ac.nz		
Declaration for Supervisor:	I have assisted the student complete this form and believe it covers off any potential ethical situations that might arise.		
Signature:		Date:	13TH July 2021

SECTION B: PROJECT INFORMATION

In this section, please provide brief details of the nature of the research, the research aims and purpose, theoretical approach and chosen methods.

3. **Proposed Start Date:** August 2021
4. **Proposed Finish Date:** February 2022
5. **Title of Research:** Māori overrepresented in Prisons
6. **Research Aims and Objectives**

The overall aim of the study is to identify whether intergenerational trauma dating back to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, has impacted on Māori being overrepresented in Prisons because of the loss of their lands, culture, identity and resources. For example, did the participants whānau/tupuna (ancestors) lose their land due to the land wars or colonisation and as a result, move into urban areas causing whānau to adjust to Pākehā ways and being cut off from their natural resources such as their gardens, hunting and kaimoana (seafood) gathering. As a past employee of Department of Corrections as a Case Manager, some of these concerns by Māori were highlighted and in my current role as a Social Worker for Oranga Tamariki, I hear effects of intergenerational trauma from those whom I am working with.

To achieve the aim as described above, the research seeks to first answer a number of questions.

1.) How has the loss of Māori resources impacted on Māori and the imprisonment rates?

2.) Does having a sense of belonging and knowledge of one's culture, mean that there is less of a chance of offending that leads to imprisonment?

3.) Can intergenerational trauma be linked back to the loss of Māori knowledge and resources?

7. **Rationale and Significance**

This study is significant for several reasons. First, it will attempt to explore the reasons why Māori are overrepresented in prisons and whether there is a link to intergenerational trauma. Because there are participants this will include the views of those who have been in prison and the reasons why they think Māori are overrepresented in prison and will provide a background to their whakapapa, childhood and upbringing.

Second, it will provide new information based on the perspective of the participants and the research link between their views, intergenerational trauma and current literature that is available.

Lastly, it will comment on any recommendations and pave a foundation for further research on the topic and how this can be beneficial to reducing the number of Māori in prisons.

8. **Brief overview of methodology.**

A Kaupapa Māori methodology is relevant to my research as it encompasses a Te Ao Māori framework and highlights the importance of kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face).

Kaupapa Māori theory is by Māori, for Māori, with Māori. Pihama (2000), describes Kaupapa Māori as capturing Māori desires to affirm Māori cultural philosophies and practices. In short Kaupapa Māori is about being "fully Māori". These desires have only rarely been recognised by the mainstream education system that has at various times sought to "civilize," "assimilate," and "integrate" Māori. Also, Smith (2000), says "there is more to kaupapa Māori than our history under colonialism or our desires to restore rangatiratanga. We have a different epistemological tradition that frames the way we see the world, the way we organize ourselves in it, the questions we ask, and the solutions we seek". Therefore, it is relevant for this research to be conducted under a Kaupapa Māori framework.

9. Chosen methods of information gathering.

I will use a qualitative method to achieve the outcomes of this research. Qualitative methods include interviews, as they are important because the purpose of the research interview is to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on specific matters (e.g., factors that influence their attendance at school). **Please specify any sources of funding for this research.**
There is no funding as part of this research.

Do you require ethical approval from any other organisation such as another tertiary institution in New Zealand or overseas, or a District Health Board?

Yes. The Department of Corrections have their own ethics application and committee. A copy of this ethics application has been attached to this application. This application will go before the Department of Corrections Ethics Committee in July when they meet again, therefore is still awaiting approval.

SECTION C: PARTICIPATION IN THE RESEARCH

In this section the Ethics Committee want to know who will be involved in the research and how. Consideration of the different groups involved limitations on participation and the processes for engaging with participants and expectations on their participation should be explained in detail.

10. Where will the research take place?

Research will be conducted on Prison property at Waikeria Prison in the Waikato area. The interviews will be conducted on prison property in a room provided by Department of Corrections onsite at the above prison.

11. Who will participate in this research?

The participants are male Prisoners aged between 30-60 years old. They will be Māori, remain anonymous (unless they wish for their identity to be known) and have been in prison one or more times. There will be 6 participants.

12. How many people do you expect to participate?

There will be 6 participants interviewed for the purpose of this research. They will be interviewed individually.

13. How will participants be recruited for the research?

The interviewee participants will be recruited with the support of the Department of Corrections Case management staff, who can identify these participants based on the criteria above. Any participants identified by case management staff, will be seen and given a copy of the information sheet to decide whether they would like to participate in the research. To avoid any power roles, or coercion into participating, if the individual wishes to participate this person can then speak with their case officer (separate to case manager) and inform them they which to participate in the research. The case officer will then inform the case manager. I do not have access to case managers to coerce recruitment of prisoners to participate in the research.

14. What involvement will participants have in the research?

Interview participants will participate through face-to-face audio recording. The time frame given for each interview will be no more than 2 hours per participant, however, consideration will be given to each individual and the interview will continue past this allocated time if it is necessary, or the researcher and the participant agree to this for the welfare of the participant. There will be no material provided to the participant during the interview, and should they wish to have a copy of transcripts from the interview this will be provided to them once it has been transcribed.

15. How will participants give consent?

The participants will be given a written consent form to participate in interviews. On the day, the interview is to be conducted the participant will be given the opportunity to continue to participate or decline. During the interview, the participant is also able to decline to further participate and the information that has been gathered through the interview will no longer be used. The information audio recording will be deleted. The participant will be free to decline at any time should they wish to no longer participate.

16. Will participants be identified in the research publications/thesis or not? Please detail.

Participants will remain anonymous throughout the thesis. This will be stated on the consent form, if the participant wishes to be identified for the purposes of this research, written consent on the consent form will be required. Participants that wish to remain anonymous will be named throughout the research as 'Participant A, Participant B'.

> *If participants are to be identified in the research this must be made explicit in the information sheet and consent forms. If not advise if you will use pseudonyms and ensure anonymity.*

17. How will participant information be stored and used, and who will have access to it?

> *The Privacy Act 1993 imposes specific requirements concerning the collection, use and disclosure of personal information. These questions allow the Committee to assess compliance. (Note that personal information is information concerning an identifiable individual)*

Participant information will be stored on a laptop that is password protected. The voice recordings will be stored on the laptop and will have a separate password to open and any word documents that identify participants e.g., transcripts will also be stored on the laptop with a separate password. All three passwords will be different. The voice recordings will then be deleted from the device originally used to record on e.g., Dictaphone.

SECTION D: ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this section we ask you to explain any ethical issues your research raises for participants, yourself as the researcher or wider communities and institutions, and how you will address or manage these.

20. Identify any ethical issues against the values/ngā uara of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and explain any plans to mitigate and/or manage these. Please provide a sufficient level of detail in this section.

Manaakitanga	**Manaakitanga acknowledges our responsibility to behave with generosity and respect, and in a manner that is consistent with enhancing the wairua and mana of past, present and future.**
Please detail your protocols and processes to ensure Manaakitanga is enacted in your research. *This could include considerations of participant comfort, cultural safety, koha etc.*	During the interview, participants will be offered juice and biscuits or cake. Given that this is in a prison setting I will need to have confirmation from the prison that this is ok to take in. Cultural safety will be offered in terms of karakia to open and close if this is the wish of the participant, they may wish to provide a karakia themselves otherwise I can provide this for them. Thank you cards and a copy of the thesis will be sent to the participants of interviews once thesis is completed as a koha and thank you.
Whanaungatanga	**Whanaungatanga empowers and connects people to each other and to the wider environment. It reminds us of our reciprocal responsibilities to each other**
Describe your relationships with participants and communities, any consultation you have completed and any conflicts that may exist and how they will be managed. Will any participants differ from the researcher in any significant way relevant to the research? *What procedures will be used to ensure that involvement in the research is culturally safe and non-offensive for the participants?*	There is a relationship between myself and the environment of which the interviews will be conducted in the prison as I am a past employee of Waikeria Prison. My previous employment within the prison environment was as a case manager, so I am aware of the role that is needed with prisoners. Upon my resignation in 2018, I have had no further role in Waikeria Prison and was not in a power role with prisoners and my role at the time was supporting them through their sentence and working towards reintegration into the community. I do not have access to case managers to coerce recruitment of prisoners to participate in the research. Once participants have been identified, I will know who the case managers are supporting the participants and there will be consultation with the case managers around how they think engagement may be best utilised with the participants. Consultation will also include safe ethical practice for example case managers will know the participants and who may be triggered by the questions within the interview or the survey and know who best to have as a participant. They can also provide advice on cultural sensitivity and whether they think a follow up

	with the case manager post interview is necessary and this can be arranged to be completed through case manager. Consent forms will be given to each participant.
Kaitiakitanga	**Kaitiakitanga acknowledges in the first instance the unique obligations and responsibilities that Ngāti Awa have as kaitiaki of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. Students and staff accept responsibility to be accountable in the te ao Maori academic environment, and to our knowledge communities, marae and external stakeholders**
Consider how you will be kaitiaki of the information/knowledge shared in this research. How will information be stored/used/published? How will you ensure confidentiality?	Participants will remain anonymous and any details that may led to disclosing who they are will also be refrained from using. As kaitiaki of the knowledge and information shared with me through interviews, I will ensure that what is gained is stored on my laptop that is password protected, the information will not be shared with anyone outside the interview environment and participation process. The information to be used will only be used for the purposes of this thesis and as the researcher I will only have permission from participants to use the information gathered from them for the purpose of this thesis. The participants will be made aware that the information gathered and to be used will be written as part of my thesis that will be in the Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi library for future students to be able to access and read. Once again participants will know this information before giving consent to participate. Data will be retained for 5 years, before being disposed of e.g. (deleted from laptop). In conjunction with my supervisor the data will be disposed of. Consent forms will be scanned onto a password protected computer and have a separate password to open them. Hard copies will be destroyed. The participant will be given a copy of the consent form and only myself and my supervisor will have access to the consent forms. Consent forms will also be retained for a 5-year period.
Pūmautanga	**Pūmautanga is to be steadfast and committed to doing the right thing, in the right way, in all that we do with and for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.**

Research can in some occasions cause harm to participants, researchers, communities and/or institutions. Please detail any potential harm that may result from the research and strategies to ensure that you are able to 'do the right thing' in mitigating any potential harm. Consider also how participants will be informed of the research outcomes.	Firstly, I will be completing a separate ethics application to the Department of Corrections as I wish to interview on their property in prison. This application will highlight any harm or risks to the institution themselves and will need approval from their ethics committee to be able to complete such research. The institution will be made aware the information gathered will only be used for the purposes of this thesis. A copy of the Ethics Application for Department of Corrections is attached to this application. In relation to the participants, consent forms will be given to each participant. Background consultation with the Department of Corrections case management staff will provide insight to the individual and any potential harm the questions may pose to them can be mitigated with case management. Participants will be given the opportunity and made aware of closing the interview at any time should they feel uncomfortable, or at risk of any emotional harm or trauma as a result of the interview. There will be an arranged staff member on hand to sit down and discuss with the participant afterwards should they not feel in a safe place. I will provide karakia and ensure that each participant before leaving is in a place that has been identified as 'safe' to return to their normal day's activities. I will highlight with unit staff if I feel a participant may be struggling to manage emotions etc as a result of the interview, so that unit staff are aware and can best support the participant upon their return. Again, the participants who are chosen will be consulted with case management staff who will know any potential harm that may arise for individuals. Each participant would be given the opportunity to say how they would like the research outcomes given to them and the appropriate way to do so, for example, whether I was to return and talk with each individual around what the outcomes and findings are, or whether they want the research outcomes feedback to be given to them or to their whānau. Details can be given to speak with whānau if this is what is decided. I will feedback individually also by providing the excerpt of their information within the thesis.
Tumu Whakaara	**Tumu Whakaara acknowledges that all staff at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi are leaders, decision-makers and the navigators of our journey. In doing so, we will be accountable, honest and ethical in all aspects of our academic, administrative and general responsibilities and work.**

What experience does the researcher(s) have to carry out this research with ethical integrity? Detail any support systems for the research (cultural support/research advisors etc.).	I have experienced working within a prison environment and the difficulties that my participants would face each day they remain in custody. I have personal experience from people within my own whānau who have been in prison and who have experienced trauma. I myself have experienced trauma and know the limitations of triggering trauma in others and how to best mitigate these. As a social worker, I pride myself in best practice and that when working with whānau and individuals that I leave them in the same or better way than when I first met them, I know the importance of whakamanawa and empowerment rather than disempowerment. I will have a trained counsellor that is able to sit with individuals on the day, should any trauma arise from a result of the interview process. Should there be a need for participants to be seen following the interview as a result of trauma, there are staff contracted to the prison that are accessible for individuals. I am competent in te reo Māori and tikanga, which informs my cultural interactions. I will also have cultural support provided by my whānau and kaitiaki within my whānau and research support and advice provided by ongoing consultation with my supervisor.

SECTION E: DECLARATIONS

Declaration by Applicant

Please tick the boxes below.

☑ The information supplied in this application is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, accurate.

☑ I have provided copies of all relevant documentation. I have considered the ethical issues involved in this research and believe that I have adequately addressed them in this application.

☑ Should the research change significantly, or any unforeseen ethical issues arise I understand that I need to contact my supervisor and the Chair of the Ethics Committee as soon as possible.

☑ I agree to abide by all laws and regulations and the internal code of ethics of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

....   13.07.2021

07/09/2021   Student ID: 2101984

Lucinda Cassin

Tēnā koe Lucinda,

Tēnā koe i roto i ngā tini āhuatanga o te wā.

Ethics Research Committee Application EC2021.20 Outcome: Approved

The Ethics Research Committee Chairperson has reconsidered your application and we are pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved. The committee commends you on your hard work to this point and wishes you well with your research.

Please ensure that you keep a copy of this letter on file and include the Ethics committee document reference number: EC2021.20 on any correspondence relating to your research. This includes documents for your participants or other parties. Please also enclose this letter of approval in the back of your completed thesis as an appendix.

If you have any queries regarding the outcome of your ethics application, please contact us on our freephone number 0508926264 or via e-mail ethics@wananga.ac.nz.

Nāku noa, nā

Shonelle Wana, BMM, MIS
Ethics Research Committee Administrator
Phone: 0508 92 62 64

Appendix 2: Department of Corrections Application to Interview

 Full Application to Undertake Research

This full application form should only be completed and submitted to the Research and Evaluation Steering Committee. Once submitted, the full application will be **approved or declined** at a subsequent Research and Evaluation Steering Committee meeting.

All researchers whose projects are approved through this process will be expected to sign a Research Agreement with the Department. As part of the Research Agreement, researchers will be required to provide a copy of the final draft of the thesis paper, research report or similarly described document, to the Department for review prior to submission, completion, and/or publication.

Boxes for text are expandable (please do not type in the shaded areas).

General information	**(Applicant to complete)**
Project title	Māori Overrepresented in Prison
Name of applicant/researcher	Lucinda Francis Cassin
Mail address	43a Roberts Road, Lansdowne Masterton 5810
Email	lucinda.cassin@ot.govt.nz Or bungimon@hotmail.com
Phone	0273236151
Organisation and department	Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
(If a student – Masters level or above) Degree programme that this research will be part of *Applications may be considered from Honours in exceptional circumstances*	Master of Indigenous Studies
Supervisor(s) name	Paul Kayes
Web link(s) to supervisor(s) faculty profile	N/A
Are you currently working for the Department of Corrections and in what role	No
(If an employee) Manager's name	
Email addresses of supervisor(s) and/or Manager.	

Details of research project

Statement of purpose / objectives / hypothesis to be tested What information will the research / evaluation aim to provide? What is the objective of the research?	The overall aim of the study is to identify whether intergenerational trauma dating back to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, has impacted on Māori being overrepresented in Prisons as a result of the loss of their lands, culture, identity and resources. For example, did the participants whānau/tupuna (ancestors) lose their land due to the land wars or colonisation and as a result, move into urban areas causing whānau to adjust to Pākehā ways and being cut off from their natural resources such as their gardens, hunting and kaimoana (seafood) gathering. As a past employee of Department of Corrections as a Case Manager, some of these concerns by Māori were highlighted and in my current role as a Social Worker for Oranga Tamariki, I hear effects of intergenerational trauma from those whom I am working with, some who have also been past prisoners.
Background literature to the research question(s) Summary of literature review, theoretical orientation, bibliography.	These are the main literature pieces that will be used, more will be highlighted throughout the writing stage. Action Station. (2018, October 6). They're our whānau: Māori perspectives of NZ's justice system. E-Tangata. https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/theyre-our-whanau-maori-perspectives-of-nzs-justice-system/ Brittain, E., & Tuffin, K. (2017). Ko tēhea te ara tika? A discourse analysis of Māori experience in the criminal justice system. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, *46*(2), 99–107. Jackson, M. (1987). The Maori and the Criminal Justice System: A New Perspective, He Whaipaanga Hou. *Policy and Research Division Department of Justice*, 48. Latu, A., & Lucas, A. (2008). Discretion in the New Zealand criminal justice system: The position of Maori and Pacific Islanders. *JOURNAL OF SOUTH PACIFIC LAW*. https://search.informit.org/doi/abs/10.3316/agispt.20120307 Tauri, J. (2005). Indigenous perspectives and experience: Maori and the criminal justice system. In R. Walters & T. Bradley (Eds.), *Introduction to Criminological Thought* (pp. 1–21). Pearson. http://www.pearson.com.au/storesnz/styles/professional/titleDetails.asp?GroupItemID=979&StoreID=19 Webb, R. (2009). Māori, Pacific peoples and the social construction of crime statistics*. MAI Review, Issue 3, 4.* Peer Commentary 2
Describe your methodology • data collection methods • intended location for data collection • sample size • research subjects required (e.g., female prisoners, sex offenders, Probation Officers etc)	Methodology A Kaupapa Māori methodology is relevant to my research as it encompasses a Te Ao Māori framework and highlights the importance of kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face). Kaupapa Māori theory is by Māori, for Māori, with Māori. Pihama (2000), describes Kaupapa Māori as capturing Māori desires to affirm Māori cultural philosophies and practices. In short Kaupapa Māori is about being "fully Māori". These desires have only

• use of control / comparison group • measurement / assessment tools that will be used. **Copies of materials you propose to use (information leaflets, assessment tools) must accompany this application.**	rarely been recognised by the mainstream education system that has at various times sought to "civilize," "assimilate," and "integrate" Māori. Also, Smith (2000), says "there is more to kaupapa Māori than our history under colonialism or our desires to restore rangatiratanga. We have a different epistemology. tradition that frames the way we see the world, the way we organize ourselves in it, the questions we ask, and the solutions we seek". Therefore, it is relevant for this research to be conducted under a Kaupapa Māori framework. Data Collection methods I will use a qualitative method to achieve the outcomes of this research. Qualitative methods include interviews, as they are important because the purpose of the research interview is to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and/or motivations of individuals on specific matters (e.g., factors that influence their attendance at school). Location Interviews to be conducted in Waikeria Prison. Research participants required: The participants are male Prisoners aged between 30-60 years old. They will be Māori, remain anonymous (unless they wish for their identity to be known) and have been in prison one or more times. There will be 6 participants. Interview participants will participate through face-to-face audio recording. The time frame given for each interview will be no more than 2 hours per participant, however, consideration will be given to each individual and the interview will continue past this allocated time if it is necessary, or the researcher and the participant agree to this for the welfare of the participant. There will be no material provided to the participant during the interview, and should they wish to have a copy of transcripts from the interview this will be provided to them once it has been transcribed.
Describe your outcomes What data or knowledge will be produced as a result of this project? How will the interpretation of data and analysis be managed? Where / in what form is it intended that the research findings are published? **Review of all final reports by the Department of Corrections is required prior to any public release of findings**.	Data management: Participant information will be stored on a laptop that is password protected. The voice recordings will be stored on the laptop and will have a separate password to open and any word documents that identify participants e.g., transcripts will also be stored on the laptop with a separate password. All three passwords will be different. The voice recordings will then be deleted from the device originally used to record on e.g., Dictaphone. Surveys will be scanned and loaded to my personal laptop and password protected. Data and Knowledge to be produced: The research examined in this thesis focuses on the dilemma of Māori being overrepresented within New Zealand Prisons and what is the relationship between this and intergenerational trauma, caused by a loss of identity and the right to Māori culture, knowledge and resources. Therefore, this research

	seeks to provide the reader with both statistical facts and participants own experiences and opinions of why they think Māori are overrepresented in prisons. It is important to include the views and experiences of the participants as these are based on their worldviews, childhood experiences and any past trauma they may have experienced and the connection these may or may not have in relation to intergenerational trauma. Publication of research: This research will be published as part of my thesis for a Master's programme with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and will be available to access through their library.
Benefits to the Department and those involved in the research How does the project align with Hōkai Rangi, the Department strategy? https://www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/strategic_reports/corrections_strategic_plans/hokai_rangi What are the expected benefits to the Department of this proposal? What are the expected benefits to those participating in the research? How could the research be used to improve the Department's outcomes? What are the perceived risks to the Department and how could these be mitigated?	Hokai Rangi: I believe that the purpose of my research linking to intergenerational trauma aligns with Hokai Rangi in terms of finding new or alternative ways to achieve better outcomes for whānau Māori. The website states "This strategy will underpin transformative and intergenerational change for those in our care and their whānau". In order to achieve transformative and intergenerational change first we must understand the underpinning issues for Māori. This research looks at past history in order to achieve better outcomes in the future and reduce the number of Māori in prison. Expected benefits to Department: A way of reducing Māori in prison, if it can be identified that the overrepresentation of Māori is linked to intergenerational trauma then there is a starting point to support future generations to be crime free. Benefits to participants: Participants are able to have their voices heard, their opinion shapes the research as it is based on personal experiences. My experience in working in the prison setting is grievances by Māori to not be heard, this is a way for participants to be heard and fully heard within a kaupapa Māori framework. By Māori, for Māori, with Māori. Research to improve Department Outcomes: The research can path a way forward to reduce Māori offending and imprisonment rates. Risks to the Department: Participants may be affected by questions causing risk to themselves and others including staff. This can be mitigated by providing a safe space for participants, someone to debrief with afterwards if they are heightened e.g., their case officer or case manager. The research findings should pose no risk to the department as they are not for the purposes of treatment of facilities in prison or of participants and is in relation to generational trauma. The

	information used in the thesis will highlight it is the 'participants views' on why they believe Māori are overrepresented in prison.
	As set out the department will review any reports before research is made public and the department will be given the opportunity to comment and whether that should be removed or reworded (other than transcript information) will be taken into consideration.
Project funding arrangements	No funding has been arranged for the purpose of this research.

Project logistics

Accommodation Describe what facilities your project will require (e.g., interview rooms).	I will require an interview room on Prison property.
Research staff Provide the names of all researchers who will be participating and explain their roles.	Lucinda Francis Cassin – sole researcher. I will conduct the interviews, collate information and write the thesis.
Equipment Do you propose to use special equipment (e.g., video / DVD, recording devices, laptops)?	I propose to use a dictaphone for the purposes of audio recording.
Schedule of data collection How many on-site data collection sessions are envisaged? How long will individual sessions/interviews last? Will participants be interviewed more than once?	I am asking to interview with 6 participants. Sessions are expected to last no longer than 2 hours each over a course of a two-day period. 3 participants per day. Participants will only be interviewed once.
Access to files or data Do you need access to the personal files of people under the management of the Department? What information is sought from this source? What	If given access to file information, this would only be on the 6 participants who have been chosen to be interviewed. The basis of reviewing their case files is for engagement purposes, safety for the researcher and the participant and a background of the offending. Case study on each participant to identify any patterns of reoffending behaviours, length of time before reconviction, when the first offence started, has the offending increased. This will help to identify what has happened historically for each participant. First time offenders' information will differ from that of recidivist offenders. The information will help form a better engagement and experience for the participant.
Use of incentives or use of koha Please describe whether you intend to use incentive or offer koha and form this may take. Please note recommendations may be offered from the Department.	During the interview I would like to provide refreshments in the form of juice and something small to eat example, biscuits, cake, slice. This is a form of manaakitanga and crucial to engagement with Māori. I can provide paper/foam cups for the juice, or what is recommended by the Department to align with your rules and procedures. No food or juice will be allowed to leave the interview room and I can inform the participants of this. I also propose to be able to give each participant a $20 phone card, so they have access to phoning their whānau, loved ones or support people should they wish to discuss their experience of participation in the research and as a gesture to say thank you for participation, along with a thank you card. I am open to suggestion from the Department around what would be best suited as a form of a koha or even around providing refreshments.

Project logistics

Staff assistance, support Describe the kinds of practical assistance that you may require from Departmental staff. This should include such things as how many hours of staff time, how many staff, which staff (e.g., custodial, psychological, health). Dates are also helpful.	If approved, I will require the following assistance in this timeframe. Interviews to be conducted on Thursday 12 August and Friday 13 August 2021. I will require the support of custodial staff to escort participants to and from the interview, and custodial staff close by during the interview should the participant escalate and the need for custodial staff to step in arise. If approved, I would require the assistance from administration or case manager for case files for the purposes as described above. The time of the participants case manager/case officer 15-30 minutes after the interview process to debrief with participant if this is needed.
Participant debrief Will participants be debriefed after interviews / sessions? How will participants receive feedback on results?	Participants will be debriefed by the researcher (Lucinda) after completion of the interview, time allocated for this will depend on how the participant is feeling and what needs to be discussed. Each participant would be given the opportunity to say how they would like the research outcomes given to them and the appropriate way to do so, for example, whether I was to return and talk with each individual around what the outcomes and findings are, or whether they want the research outcomes feedback to be given to them or to their whānau. Details can be given to speak with whānau if this is what is decided. I will feedback individually also by providing the excerpt of their information within the thesis. This can be done through mail correspondence.
Timelines Please provide a project timeline. When do you hope to commence data collection? What deadlines exist for specific phases of the research project? Allowing for delays, **when is the research likely to be completed?**	Interviews will take place in the middle of August. Data collection will commence upon completion of the interviews and is expected to take three months. I intend to have the research project finished by February 2022 this allows for delays.

Ethical, legal & cultural considerations

Ethics approval is a precursor to the research being approved by the Department's Research and Evaluation Steering Committee. It is recommended that the researcher seek ethics approval from an institutional ethics committee or other similarly accredited body after the proposal has been **accepted** by the Committee. A copy of the approval letter must be supplied before any research agreement will be signed.

Informed consent Describe the process to obtain informed consent. **Copies of participant information sheets and consent forms must accompany this application** Informed consent means agreement to participate in the research and includes (but is not limited to) the following: • the purpose, nature and procedures of the research	I have attached a copy of the information sheet and consent form that participants will be given. I have applied through my tertiary education institutions ethics committee to be able to complete this research. The outcome of this is awaiting approval. A copy of my educational ethics application is also attached.

Ethical, legal & cultural considerations

Ethics approval is a precursor to the research being approved by the Department's Research and Evaluation Steering Committee. It is recommended that the researcher seek ethics approval from an institutional ethics committee or other similarly accredited body after the proposal has been **accepted** by the Committee. A copy of the approval letter must be supplied before any research agreement will be signed.

• information about any potential risks from the research • the voluntary nature of participation • the right to withdraw at any time without disadvantage • how participant details will be used • the nature of the final report	
Privacy of participant information Describe the measures to protect the privacy of individual participants. Describe the security measures to be used to ensure security of data	Participants will remain anonymous and any details that may led to disclosing who they are will also be refrained from using. As kaitiaki of the knowledge and information shared with me through interviews and surveys, I will ensure that what is gained is stored on my laptop that is password protected, the information will not be shared with anyone outside the interview environment and participation process. The information to be used will only be used for the purposes of this thesis and as the researcher I will only have permission from participants to use the information gathered from them for the purpose of this thesis. The participants will be made aware that the information gathered and to be used will be written as part of my thesis that will be in the Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi library for future students to be able to access and read. Once again participants will know this information before giving consent to participate. Consent forms will be scanned onto a password protected computer and have a separate password to open them. Hard copies will be destroyed. The participant will be given a copy of the consent form and only myself and my supervisor will have access to the consent forms. Participant information will be stored on a laptop that is password protected. The voice recordings will be stored on the laptop and will have a separate password to open and any word documents that identify participants e.g., transcripts will also be stored on the laptop with a separate password. All three passwords will be different. The voice recordings will then be deleted from the device originally used to record on e.g., Dictaphone.
Use of deception Is any element of deception intended in the design?	**No**
Inducement / management of participant discomfort Is the research approach likely to / intended to induce any discomfort in participants? How are associated risks to be managed?	**The research is not intended to do this however, associated risks and mitigation of those as follows:** Background consultation with the Department of Corrections case management staff or case files will provide insight to the individual and any potential harm the questions may pose to them can be mitigated with case manager and by way of debriefing afterwards. Participants will be given the opportunity and made aware of closing the interview at any time should they feel uncomfortable, or at risk of any emotional harm or trauma

Ethical, legal & cultural considerations

Ethics approval is a precursor to the research being approved by the Department's Research and Evaluation Steering Committee. It is recommended that the researcher seek ethics approval from an institutional ethics committee or other similarly accredited body after the proposal has been **accepted** by the Committee. A copy of the approval letter must be supplied before any research agreement will be signed.

	as a result of the interview. There will be an arranged staff member on hand to sit down and discuss with the participant afterwards should they not feel in a safe place. I will provide karakia and ensure that each participant before leaving is in a place that has been identified as 'safe' to return to their normal day's activities. I will highlight with unit staff if I feel a participant may be struggling to manage emotions etc as a result of the interview, so that unit staff are aware and can best support the participant upon their return. I will have a trained counsellor that is able to sit with individuals on the day, should any trauma arise from a result of the interview process.
Research involving Maori participants You should detail how you have, or intend to: • gain advice / input from Maori into your research topic and design • ensure that research methods are culturally sensitive to Maori • ensure that data analysis explicitly identifies differences between Maori and non-Maori participants (depending on nature of study) • obtain input from Maori into interpretations of findings. Further guidance regarding obtaining input from Maori can be obtained from the Department.	I am competent in te reo Māori and tikanga, which informs my cultural interactions. I will also have cultural support provided by my whānau and kaitiaki within my whānau and research support and advice provided by ongoing consultation with my supervisor. The research methods have been chosen to highlight cultural sensitivity, e.g., kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face engagement). Māori appreciate knowing and seeing the person they are talking with, there will be time during the interview period for whanaungatanga (rapport/relationship building). There are no non-Māori participants and therefore the only data analysed for this research by participants will only be by Māori. I am happy to seek guidance from a kaumatua represented the Department of Corrections or any input that would be valuable towards my research.
Other cultural considerations Describe how your data collection and analysis takes into account factors relating to other relevant cultural sub-groups.	This research factors in Māori participation, the criteria I have chosen was selected to avoid youth participation and will highlight the older population/sub-cultural within Te Ao Māori. There have been no specific sub-cultural questions asked in terms of gangs, violence etc, however, if this is brought up within the interviews it will be transcribed accordingly.
Conflicts of interest Do you have any current or potential conflicts of interest (e.g., you work at the Department of Corrections or you work with offenders in the community or in another role)? How will these be managed?	My current employment role is a social worker for Oranga Tamariki which at times means that I am working with offenders to develop plans that involve their children or whānau. Some offenders are on a community-based sentence while others are in prison. This will be managed firstly by interviewing participants outside the region that I work in.

Other

Use this space to describe any other important issues or considerations not already covered above for example, any risks to the Department and appropriate mitigation strategies.	Any risks that may arise during this research, which has not be highlighted in this application will be discussed in consultation with my supervisor and decide on the best way forward to mitigate that risk.

Appendix 3: Department of Corrections email declining application

From: Research Applications <research@corrections.govt.nz>
Sent: Tuesday, 10 August 2021 7:31 am
To: Lucinda
Cc: paul.kayes@wananga.ac.nz;
Subject: RE: Revised application to undertake research

Kia ora Lucinda

The Research and Evaluation Steering Committee met on 27 July 2021 to consider your research application on "Māori Overrepresented in Prison".

Unfortunately, the RESC has declined your application.

Overall, the RESC was of the view that there was insufficient merit in the application for Corrections to support it. Issues included:

- The research design was not appropriate to the research question and would be unlikely to provide insights about whether intergenerational trauma dating back to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, has impacted on Māori being overrepresented in prisons.
- The proposed interview questions were viewed as difficult to engage with and the connection between intergenerational trauma and current prison sentences may not be clear to participants.
- The amount of resource required for staff to set up and attend interviews was not considered to be justified by the research proposal.

I wish you well with any future research endeavours.

Ngā mihi

Fiona Conlon
Senior Research Advisor
Research and Analysis Team, DCE Māori
Ara Poutama Aotearoa, *Department of Corrections*
p: 04 460 3012 ext**:** 68012
e: fiona.conlon@corrections.govt.nz
Please note I work Monday - Thursday

Appendix 4: Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET

'Māori Overrepresented in Prison'
The overrepresentation of Māori in Prisons, is this a result of intergenerational trauma?

Ngā mihi nui kia koe, thank you for agreeing to be a part of this research project. Your input is invaluable.

Ko Tainui te waka
Ko Kahuwera rāua ko Kakepuku oku Maunga
Ko Mokau rāua ko Puniu oku Awa
Ko Napinapi rāua ko Mangatoatoa oku Marae
Ko Parewaeono rāua ko Paretekawa oku Hapū
Ko Maniapoto rāua ko Tainui oku Iwi
Ko Lucinda toku ingoa

I am a fulltime student at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. I would like to extend my appreciation to you, for considering being part of my Master's Thesis Research 2021. Please take the time to look over this information sheet and should you have any questions that need clarifying please contact me or my supervisor.

Researcher:
Lucinda Francis Cassin
bungimon@hotmail.com

Supervisor:
Paul Kayes
Mobile: 0274572395
paul.kayes@wananga.ac.nz

The key focus of this project is to interview individuals who have been in prison in relation to the dilemma of Māori being overrepresented within New Zealand Prisons. This project will allow me to gather relevant information pertinent to the relationship between intergenerational trauma, caused by a loss of identity and the right to access and understand and to be part of Māori culture, knowledge, and resources. You have been selected along with five others to be a part of this project due to your personal experience and the willingness in which to share this sensitive information. By choosing to be part of this research, it will have no impact on the way you are treated in prison. You will remain anonymous and the answers you give will not identify you within the Thesis.

Through this research I will gather and analyse the data collated. I will use this in order to form my thesis around intergenerational trauma and the link or lack of towards, Māori being overrepresented in Prisons.

It is anticipated that these interviews will take place face to face within the Prison environment of which you are currently in custody, with an allocated time frame of 2 hours. The use of data will be for the sole purpose of my Master's Research Thesis working title 'Māori Overrepresented in Prison'. If there is any discomfort within the interview process, you have the right to close the interview and all information gathered will not be used. You will remain anonymous unless you give permission by signed consent to use your personal details.

All information will be stored on my personal computer that only I have access to, that is protected with a password that is only known to me.

The data will be returned to participants, disposed of or archived. Once this is achieved the data will then be secured and locked in the office of a Thesis Supervisor at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. The data will be retained for a maximum of 5 years. Disposal of data will be completed by an appropriate member of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

While participating in this research you have the right to at any time:
- Decline to participate.

- Decline to answer any particular question.

- Withdraw from the study.

- Ask any questions about the study during participation.

- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher.

- To be given access to a summary of the project finding when it is concluded.

- To have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

- The right to contact the researcher or the researcher's supervisor should you have any questions throughout the research, contact details have been provided on the front page.

This project has been reviewed and approved by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Committee, ECA # eg. 09/001. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Committee administrator as named below.

Contact Details for Ethics Committee administrator:

Kahukura.epiha@wananga.ac.nz

Postal address:

Private Bag 1006
Whakatāne

Courier address:
Cnr of Domain Rd and Francis St
Whakatāne

Appendix 5: Consent Form

FORMAT FOR THE CONSENT FORM

NB. Adapt the Consent form to the needs of your particular project and its procedures

This is to be printed on Awanuiārangi letterhead by you the student once approval has been received

Name and Address of School
School of Indigenous Graduate Studies
Rongo-o-Awa
Domain Rd
Whakatāne

'Māori Overrepresented in Prison'

CONSENT FORM

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of study explained to me.

My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I agree to participate in this study under conditions set out in the Information Sheet but may withdraw my consent at any given time.

Signature: _____   Date: _____

Full name – printed:
_____