

THEY'RE OUR WHĀNAU



A community-powered
and collaborative research
report on Māori perspectives
of New Zealand's justice system

ActionStation
people powered change



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FOREWORD

Ki ngā maunga, ngā awa, ngā ngahere, ngā whanāunga katoa, ngā mea katoa, kei te tangi tonu tātou.

To our mountains, rivers, forests and extended relations, we acknowledge you all.

We acknowledge the pain and suffering of generations of our whānau and indigenous peoples the world-over. We weep for all that has been lost, and the trauma of generations that is the enduring legacy of colonisation.

This study was born out of the Government announcement that 500 more beds would be built at Waikeria prison and a further 100 beds inside the prison would be for the treatment of prisoners with mental health and addiction issues.

When ActionStation conducted a survey on New Zealanders' reactions to the government's prison expansion plans, the Māori response rate was low. When we saw an opportunity to improve the Māori response rate by establishing a Māori survey this led to the idea of a collaboration between the University of Otago and ActionStation.

This resulted in almost 1000 responses from Māori. Additionally, key leaders who have influenced the justice system in Aotearoa were interviewed and the themes of the interviews were analysed alongside the survey data. Finally a major review of the literature was conducted with over 100 articles, book chapters and reports reviewed and analysed to identify the key themes.

The outcome of the information and long hours of analysis is this report. A comprehensive, well analysed and strong statement about how the justice system could and should work more effectively for positive outcomes for Māori and their/our whānau. We hope that it makes a difference and a contribution to justice reform and the healing of our whānau.

Every one of those incarcerated in our prisons is part of whānau. Whānau who are also doing time. Put simply, the suffering of one is the suffering of many and the suffering of many is the suffering of all. In other words, the suffering of Māori is indivisible. Although the prison bars that enclose the lives of whānau are invisible and the scars are not immediately obvious, the wounding of the Māori spirit cuts through generations. Putting plaster on the deep issues underlying the criminalisation of Māori is not and never will be a permanent solution. As this research will show, having 600 more beds is not the answer.

Only a radical set of solutions will bring about much needed change and transformation.

We have reached the point now where something has to be done to stem the tide of Māori incarceration and support the rebuilding of Māori lives shattered by the justice system, a punitive, destructive and harmful process. Many of the 900+ Māori who took part in this study offered real solutions. The question is, are the solutions matched by the political will to take action?

Thank you to Laura O'Connell Rapira, Madeleine Ashton-Martyn and the team at ActionStation. Thank you to our fourth year medical students whose work will have a resounding impact.

Finally, and most importantly, thank you to all those who participated in this study. We honour your kōrero, we honour your whānau, and we stand in solidarity with you.

**Hutia te rito o te harakeke,
Kei whea te kōmako e kō?
Kī mai ki ahau;
He aha te mea nui o te Ao?
Māku e kī atu,
He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata**

**If the heart of the harakeke was removed,
Where will the bellbird sing?
If I was asked what is the most important thing in the world;
I would respond, it is people, it is people, it is people.**



Dr. Keri Lawson-Te Aho
Māori Public Health Researcher at Otago University
3/10/2018

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Earlier this year, the Coalition government announced it will spend \$750 million to expand Waikeria prison by 500 beds; build 976 more beds at five different prisons around the country; and set up a new 100-bed facility for mental health patients in prison.

It's less than the \$1 billion the previous government planned to spend on locking people up, and more in line with what evidence says is needed to rehabilitate those who cause harm. Many of the people locked in our prisons suffer from mental distress, addiction and/or brain injuries.

Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern described the decision on Waikeria as a move away from "American-style prisons". But is the shift big enough? And is it right that we lock up people who need mental health help in the first place? Since the early days of New Zealand's colonisation – as in Britain at the time – people with mental health issues have often been imprisoned.

Imprisonment did not exist in Māori society before colonisation. Today, the number of Māori who are imprisoned by the Crown is the highest it has ever been.

As this research will show, the rate of Māori incarceration is the tragic and seemingly inevitable outcome of 178 years of successive Pākehā governments stripping Māori people of their whenua (land), tikanga (laws and customs), reo (language), and culture. A by-product of the state's intergenerational removal of Māori children from their homes, only to place them in at times violently abusive state care. The culmination of an imported justice system full of people who harbour racist views toward Māori, both conscious and unconscious. The end result of a justice system more interested in criminalising poverty than tackling extreme wealth and tax fraud.

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1. New \$750 million, 600 bed prison to be built south of Hamilton, 1News, June 2018
 2. Mental health treatment and services in New Zealand prisons are inadequate, JustSpeak
 3. 'No to American-style mega-prisons' - Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern, Newshub, June 2018
 4. Peter Clayworth, 'Prisons - Early prisons, 1840–1879', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/prisons/page-2> (accessed 1 October 2018)
 5. Corrections.govt.nz website
 6. Never Again: E Kore Anō, NZ Human Rights Commission
 7. New Zealand's racist justice system - Our law is not colour-blind, Stuff, September 2016
 8. Why is tax evasion treated more gently than benefit fraud?, E-Tangata, August 2017
 9. Our stolen generation: A shameful legacy, The Spinoff, November 2017

This research was conducted by ActionStation 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 ActionStation Laura O'Connell Rapira. It was conducted between July and September 2018 in four main ways: online survey, expert interviews, a literature review and attendance of the Safe and Effective Justice Summit.

They're Our Whānau is a collaborative research project that compiles the perspectives of over 900 Māori participants.

"Nothing about us without us" has to be more than a nice slogan in politics. It's about embracing the idea that no policy should be decided by elected representatives without the full and direct participation of members of the group(s) affected by that policy. Therefore, as the people who judges and courts lock up the most, Māori voices and views should take prominence in the justice debate. It is also the Crown's obligation to do this under Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

We put this report into the world, in the hope it encourages policy makers to centre Māori voices in any and all conversations about justice reform.

With the Coalition government's inquiry, Hāpaitia te Oranga Tangata, we have a once-in-a-generation opportunity to transform our justice system so that it better serves humanity.

Here's why we have to seize it:

- 77 percent of the people in our prisons have once been a victim of violence;
- 64 percent of people in prison have suffered a traumatic brain injury, compared with just two percent of the general population;
- Two-thirds of the people in prison do not have basic literacy skills;
- More than 90 percent of people in prison have mental health or addiction issues;
- 23,000 children currently have a parent in prison. These kids are nine times more likely to end up in prison than a child who doesn't have a parent in prison;
- The Government spends more on locking up people in prison every two years than the entire history of Treaty settlements put together.

10. Safe and Effective Justice website

11. New Zealand prisoners' prior exposure to trauma, Department of Corrections

12. Most prison inmates have brain injuries, Stuff, October 2013

13. Two-thirds of prisoners can't do everyday literacy tasks, Stuff, October 2016

14. More than 90pc of prisoners have suffered mental health or substance use issues, Stuff, September 2016

15. Contemporary Research and Analysis on the Children of Prisoners, Invisible Children, Liz Gordon

16. The amount allocated to Treaty of Waitangi settlements is tiny, compared with other Government spending, Stuff, August 2018

In short, our justice system fails to support victims of violence, locks up people with brain injuries, mental health issues and low levels of literacy and imprisons generation after generation of Māori whānau (families) at a huge cost that could be better spent increasing funding to hapū and iwi.

It doesn't have to be this way.

As our research shows, Māori have their own ideas and solutions to improve our justice system and the lives of people who are affected by it:

- 80 percent of people who participated in our research thought people in prison should have the right to vote;
- 76 percent of the survey participants agreed community-based interventions to prevent and reduce crime should be supported and funded instead of prisons;
- When asked which interventions would be the most effective at preventing and reducing crime, participants said: More connected communities; better wages and incomes; well-funded mental health services; better drug, alcohol and addiction support services; good education; tikanga, whānau, hapū and iwi-led initiatives;
- 65 percent of survey participants support the 100-bed mental health facility planned for Waikeria, but 63 percent also said that prisons are not good places to provide mental health services.

This quote from a survey participant summed up the general whakaaro (thoughts) on the last point:

"Effective health services are needed outside of prison. While I understand that prison is at times, the only place a person is able to get help, it also highlights the need for services prior."

What this research tells us is that Māori believe the solutions to harm are healthy communities and preventative help, not handcuffs and prison.

Further analysis conducted by the fourth year medical students at Otago University revealed four main themes:

The justice system is a tool of colonisation.

Early on in the colonisation process, European settlers instigated policies that forcibly stole Māori identity, language, and whenua (land), and created a foreign system of justice that actively diminished the role of tikanga Māori (Māori values and customs or law) in restoring balance between those who had harmed, and those who had been harmed. Colonisation created a cycle of intergenerational trauma that still affects Māori today.

The forceful taking of Māori land resulted in Māori having less resources and wealth than Pākehā and this unfair economic reality pushes more Māori toward acts of survival that get punished by the justice system.

Institutional racism results in the state locking up more Māori than non-Māori.

Social services, police, and courts hold an active bias against Māori, making decisions that more harshly punish Māori than non-Māori for the same crimes.

This structural racism also continues to play a role in the state's forced removal of Māori children from whānau (families).

The prison system is a failure.

There were no prisons before colonisation, and prison structures do not fit with Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). Rehabilitation of those who have harmed does not and cannot occur through imprisonment.

Māori-led community initiatives and policy will stop the violence of this system.

By returning rangatiratanga (sovereignty) to Māori, uplifting Māori culture, restoring te reo Māori and incorporating tikanga Māori in policy we can build a justice system that contributes to a fairer, more compassionate, Tiriti-honouring Aotearoa New Zealand.

These findings were reinforced at the government's Safe and Effective Justice Summit held in Porirua from 21 - 22 August 2018 where the Children's Commissioner Judge Andrew Becroft presented a "wider vision for the justice system" that stated:

"All roads lead back to (1) child/youth poverty and material disadvantage, (2) early interventions and assistance, and (3) the enduring legacy of colonisation and modern day systemic bias. We must address our enduring shame of indigenous over-representation through partnership with, and devolution of resources to, iwi and Māori services as a start."

What this research also tells us is that Māori are unfairly and inaccurately presented by New Zealand media to the public and that, too often, stories of Māori and the justice system perpetuate anti-Māori views.

Journalists and media editors overrepresent Māori in reporting about crime and stories about justice are often told from a Pākehā centric worldview that others Māori, and privileges Pākehā. 7

Journalists' decisions not to represent the perspectives of iwi and Māori-led organisations in these stories erases the voice of Māori and prevents accurate representation.

Over 75 percent of people who participated in our research either thought crime rates had been increasing over the past couple of years, or did not know. Yet crime has been steadily decreasing since the 1990s. This signals a need for more reporting on crime trends over time than individual incidents in order for the public to be accurately informed.

Finally, this report puts forward a people-powered vision for the future where Aotearoa New Zealand closes its last prison in 2040 - 200 years since Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed. This was the incredible aspiration that was shared on stage by participants at the Justice Summit in August 2018.

As the government's Safe and Effective Justice Advisory Panel investigates the problems with, and solutions for, our justice system we put this report into the world in the hopes that it encourages decision makers and policy advisors to prioritise Māori knowledge and Māori-led solutions to our justice crisis.

We also hope that it encourages people who write about, or report on, Māori and our justice system to centre Māori voices in the stories they choose to tell.



HOW WAS THE RESEARCH CONDUCTED?

This research was conducted in four ways:

- A 28 question online survey;
- Seven expert interviews;
- A literature review;
- Attendance of the government's Safe and Effective Justice Summit in Porirua.

The surveys were promoted through the ActionStation mailing list, ads on Facebook and through outreach to hapū and iwi groups.

The seven expert interviews were conducted by a group of the medical students under the supervision of Dr. Keri Lawson-Te Aho. The questions were standardised across all interviews and given to the interviewee in advance of the interview. The interviews were transcribed and then analysed by a different group of students.

The literature review was conducted by a different group of medical students once again.

The Safe and Effective Justice Summit was attended by Madeleine Ashton-Martyn and Laura O'Connell Rapira from ActionStation.

You can read more detail in the Methodology section at the end.



Fourth year medical students from Otago University with Whaea Dr. Keri Lawson-Te Aho, Moana Jackson and Anne Waapu



Fourth year medical students after the first presentation of the research at Otago University. Picture here with Whaea Dr. Keri Lawson-Te Aho and Laura O'Connell Rapira

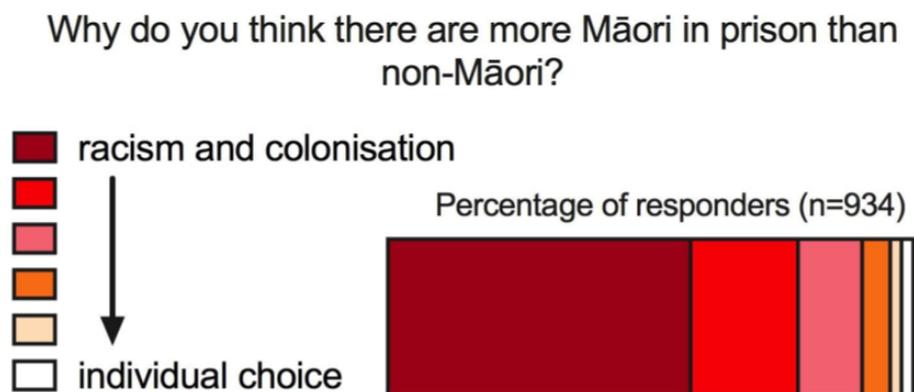
WHAT DID WE LEARN?

This section outlines the findings of the online survey, the interviews with experts (six Māori and one non-Māori), and the literature review. The findings from each thread have been woven together using the seven themes below.

The justice system is a tool of colonisation

A major theme which recurred through all seven interviews, the majority of survey responses, and the literature review was that the justice system in Aotearoa New Zealand is a tool of colonisation.

In response to the question 'Why do you think there are more Māori in prison than non-Māori?', 90 percent (or 843) of survey respondents agreed structural racism, intergenerational trauma, and colonisation were the reasons over individual choice.



This overwhelming majority was supported by insights elicited from interviews.

There are two interconnected streams that come through from these threads. First, that the imposition of foreign, British systems for justice by the Crown is a breach of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Second, that colonisation has contributed to vast economic inequities privileging Pākehā and pushing Māori into unfair economic conditions that can necessitate acts of survival. This inequity has also resulted in an intergenerational cycle of trauma for many Māori who were dispossessed of their land, language and culture.

Imposition of a foreign justice system by early European settlers

Before colonisation, the system for justice in Aotearoa New Zealand was based on tikanga. This system restored mana (supernatural force, power in a person, place, or object) and balance when harm against whakapapa (a line of descent from one's ancestors, the binding of all things) had occurred. Tikanga describes the ways of doing and thinking held to be just in the Māori worldview. It is a set of beliefs, lore, and customs equivalent to law. The term tikanga is derived from the Māori word tika meaning 'right' or 'correct'.

Tikanga practices help guide whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribe), and iwi (tribe) and individual wellbeing.

Tikanga is based on the balance of tapu (sacred, special, protected under specific rules, restricted) and noa (unrestricted, to be free from extensions of tapu). Tapu is one of the strongest forces in Māori life. A person, object or place, which is tapu, may not be touched or even in some cases approached. Therefore, it is considered an act of violating tapu to bring harm upon another. To whakanoa is to remove tapu, to free things that have the extensions of tapu, but it does not affect intrinsic tapu. This balance between tapu and noa, and tikanga practices are all anchored in the belief that the wairua (spiritual) and physical realms are united as one.

The goal of tikanga is to restore balance within whakapapa when a hara (violating tapu or transgression) occurred. Processes for restoring balance acknowledged the imbalance in the components of tapu that may have led to offending, and resolution was achieved using utu (recompense) and muru (a ritualised form of recompense including forgiveness). Tikanga custom law recognises that the rights of individuals are indivisible from the wellbeing of their whānau, hapū, and iwi. The righting of wrongs from a tikanga-based perspective has been described by constitutional lawyer and justice researcher Moana Jackson as “an ancestrally defined responsibility to maintain order and to protect the land”.

There are no stipulations in Te Tiriti o Waitangi allowing the British Crown to impose a system of justice onto Māori. Te Tiriti o Waitangi guarantees Māori tino rangatiratanga (absolute sovereignty) over their lands, people, and taonga (treasures). This agreement was broken by Pākehā almost immediately following the signing of Te Tiriti. Early on in the colonisation process, the British Crown and early European settlers created a foreign system for justice that actively diminished the role of tikanga in restoring balance between those who had harmed, and those who had been harmed.

Interview participant four noted that;

“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.”

18. Taonui R. Te ture – Māori and legislation - Māori traditional law. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. 2012.

19. The Law Commission. Māori Custom and Values in New Zealand Law. Wellington: The Law Commission; 2001.

20. Quince K. Māori Disputes and their Resolution. In: Spiller P, ed. by. Dispute Resolution in New Zealand. 2nd ed. Auckland: Oxford University Press; 2007. p. 256-294.

21. Jackson M. The Māori and the Criminal Justice System: A New Perspective, He Whaipanga Hou. Policy and Research Division, Department of Justice; 1988.

The attitudes of early colonisers towards tikanga law ranged from outright dismissal to active destruction. In the Pākehā worldview, justice policies take a monocultural and individualistic approach to accountability when harm is caused. This approach is not conducive with the collective accountability favoured within the Māori worldview. In fact, it directly contradicts Māori collective whānau and cultural structures that are vital in maintaining mana.

One survey participant reflected on this when asked why people commit crime;

“There are many contributing factors. I believe colonisation and the loss of our rangatiratanga is a huge part of this. This is supported by statistics that show Māori are overrepresented in so many areas.”

Interview participants identified that almost all parts of the current justice system (with a few exceptions such as Rangatahi Courts) are foreign, British structures that conflict with te ao Māori (the Māori world). Participants acknowledged a growing sense of frustration at the Crown’s failure to reform the justice system. Instead successive governments have allowed this imposed system to continue to lock up Māori, separate them from whānau, disrupt whakapapa and perpetuate ongoing colonisation. Many interview participants acknowledged that New Zealand should embrace tikanga law and the tino rangatiratanga promised to Māori by Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Cycle of intergenerational trauma

All seven interview participants discussed the direct relationship between the cycle of intergenerational trauma instigated by colonisation and the criminalisation of Māori.

Laws introduced by European settlers following the signing of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi forcibly stole Māori identity, land, language, and whenua (land). The Native Lands Act 1862 and the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 were particularly damaging. Laws that targeted land ownership and sale were instrumental in denying Māori their connection to their whenua, and eroded social, cultural, and political structures. The Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863 was instrumental in allowing the Crown to confiscate land from Māori who resisted colonisation. The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 undermined the mana of tohunga (expert practitioners, healers, spiritual guides) and the repositories of cultural knowledge which resulted in wider adoption of missionary teachings and further erosion of traditional Māori practices. The Native Schools Act 1867 introduced and reinforced British disciplinary practices, and punished and abused children who spoke te reo Māori at school. The Crown’s use of these tools of colonisation benefited Pākehā by appropriating Māori land for Pākehā economic benefit, embedding Pākehā systems of knowledge as dominant, and constructing Pākehā social and political structures.

Interview participant four drew connections between these tools of colonisation and incarceration of Māori with other indigenous peoples;

"If the figures are the same for indigenous peoples in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States, then I think we have to look at what do those four countries have in common in their relationships with indigenous peoples. And what they have in common is the dispossession, the oppression of indigenous peoples, the taking of land, the destruction of culture, language and so on. And that's why I think it's important that we look at, not so much, why are so many Māori people being imprisoned, and looking for some fault in Māori, but looking at what is it that those four colonising countries have in common. And what those countries have in common is that history of colonisation. If you take away from people the things that give them stability, that give them comfort, that allow them to be who they are, then that has consequences. If you need, as a coloniser, to take land off indigenous people so you can make a fortune at the same time as dispossessing the people whose land that you've taken, then that has consequences."

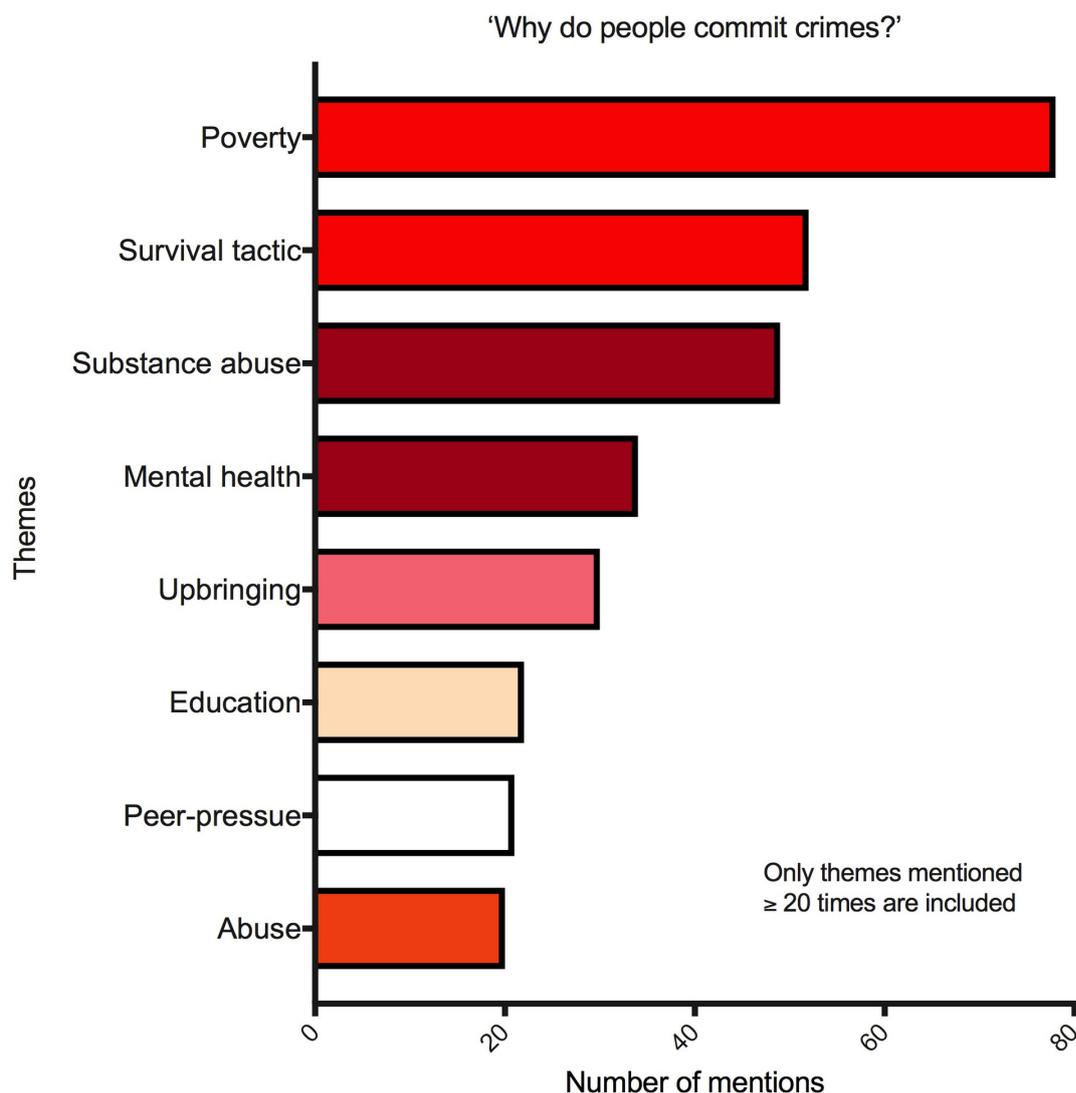
Historic and present Pākehā governors, decision makers, and policy makers' oppression of Māori is directly responsible for the complex and chronic multi-generational trauma that has impoverished and imprisoned Māori. All seven interview participants and 48 survey respondents discussed how these processes of colonisation can force Māori into criminalised acts of survival that the judiciary punishes by imprisonment. The literature review also identified that colonisation has forced Māori into poverty necessitating survival tactics that are criminalised by the state as a significant driver of mass Māori incarceration. Oppression of Māori culture, and ongoing mental health issues caused by trauma passed through generations of colonial violence were also identified. Interview participant one described the number of Māori in New Zealand prisons;

"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."

22. Maclaurin E. The Application of the British Criminal Law Towards Māori During the Early Colonial Period [Bachelor (Honours)]. University of Otago; 2015.

23. Wirihana R, Smith C. Historical Trauma, Healing and Well-being in Māori Communities. MAI. 2014;3(3):197-210.

Survey participants also identified poverty and survival tactics as the reasons people commit crimes in our open-field text question.



One survey participant added;

“Poverty, powerlessness, lack of identity, support and community. When your entire early life is about survival (scarcity of resources) you have very little chance to rise above your circumstances.”

This is a horrific series of events.

First, colonisers violated Te Tiriti o Waitangi by forcing a British justice system onto Māori and enforced policies that stripped Māori of their land, self-determination, and language. Then, the Crown distributed material resources and land in favour of Pākehā, pushing Māori into economic deprivation.

Today, the Crown continues to breach Te Tiriti by locking Māori in prisons for acts of survival they are forced into by Pākehā imposed economic, cultural, and spiritual deprivation.

Institutional racism results in the state locking up more Māori than non-Māori

Note: this section discusses child sexual, mental and physical abuse in state care.

All the threads of our research revealed institutional racism results in the state locking up more Māori than non-Māori. This was identified in two forms; social services constructed in a Pākehā worldview forcibly separate whānau through incarceration or child welfare policies. While the agents of the justice system such as police, judges, courts, and lawyers hold an active bias against Māori punishing them more harshly than Pākehā for the same transgressions.

Institutional racism within social services

Participants described how the state social services can disrupt Māori systems of child care, force Māori to endure separation from whānau and hapū and disconnection from whakapapa.

Kaupapa Māori (Māori approach, values or customary practice) systems for the welfare of children involve multi-generational systems of childrearing that cherish mokopuna (grandchildren) and tamariki (children) and include key roles for grandparents. These systems are anchored in the relationships of whakapapa in which the entire whānau and hapū are concerned with the wellbeing of every person within the cultural collective. Separation of whānau is the direct outcome of wide scale incarceration and institutionalisation of Māori by state social services. For every person imprisoned by the state, there is at least one whānau affected; tamariki grow up without a parent, mokopuna grow up without grandparents, and taiohi (young people) often must pick up responsibility for their whānau at a young age. Interview participant one acknowledged this;

"For every one person that is in there [prison], and we're reaching around 10,000, all... say that they have the average two kids, that's 20,000 kids that we've just put on sentence without their parents."

Four interview participants described institutional racism and discrimination in state social services. Successive governments have instigated policies that forcibly removed Māori babies and children from their whānau, and placed them in institutions. From the 1950s to the 1980s, over 100,000 children, the vast majority of them Māori, were taken from their families and placed in state welfare institutions. The institutionalisation of Māori children by the state occurred during rural-urban migration, where urban Pākehā racism contributed to police and social services targeting Māori children and punishing them for minor infractions.

One interview participant described this racial targeting;

"It wasn't so much that Māori were serious offenders it was the way they were treated by Pākehā policemen and judges, so when a group of them, of kids were playing in the street, if they were Pākehā, the neighbours would look out and say you know look at those lovely boys, having a good time and if it was Māori kids they'd look out the window and say those little buggers are up to something and call the police. And that's been a continuing story."

These policies uprooted Māori children, isolated them from their whakapapa, and attacked whānau by putting them in stranger care or Boys and Girls Homes.

These institutions were sites of traumatic violence for many of the rangatahi forcibly held within them. Many of the 100,000 children experienced physical, sexual, mental, and emotional abuse while under the care of the state.

Interview participant one described what a lack of intervention, recognition, and healing from this trauma creates:

"A pipeline from state violence [to prison] that happens from the second a child is uplifted and put into state care. The state now is parent, an irresponsible parent. A number of people have gotten through that, then ended up abused."

Participant three described the pains and injustice of these discriminatory decisions on whānau who have their tamariki taken;

"We're still fighting for our whānau to get their kids back. We've had uplift on the smell of dope. Five kids have been uplifted because someone's smelt a joint when they last visited yaknow? And the only way these kids are gonna go back is if the mother and father pass a hair follicle test, or they go through intensive rehabilitation. And they might not even be on drugs, but because of this notification, they're gotta fight to get these kids back, yaknow? And then what they do is they meet with the mum, and they call it an FGC family conference. And the mum gets angry because she hasn't seen her kids in three months. And they go oh ok violent behaviour, make sure she does a violence course as well yaknow? And you're like wouldn't you be fucking angry if you lost your kids yaknow?"

A recent Ministry of Social Development study tracked the lives of more than 58,000 people born in 1989. Of those who were in prison by the time they were 20, 83 percent had a record with child welfare services.

24. Lawson-Te Aho, K. (2010). Definitions of Whanau: A review of selected literature. Families Commission.

25. Our stolen generation: a slcw genocide. The Spinoff 17 November 2017

26. Dame Susan Devoy: State child care may explain why so many Māori are in prison. NZ Herald 2 March 2017.

Institutional racism within the justice system

The majority of survey and interview participants cited institutional racism within corrections, police, courts, judges, and lawyers as a significant reason there are more Māori locked in New Zealand's prisons than non-Māori.

As legal scholar Max Harris points out in a column for E-Tangata:

"Racism has helped to sustain colonisation over time... and it is still present. Māori make up 51 percent of the prison population, but just 15 percent of the general population. For the same category of dangerous or negligent acts, according to JustSpeak's research, 46 percent of Māori apprehended are prosecuted, compared to 9 percent of Pākehā. The Māori unemployment rate is 9 percent, while it is 4.5 percent for Pākehā."

Interview participant four described racial bias against Māori in policing and sentencing;

"There's clear statistical evidence that the police are more likely to charge a Māori with a more serious offence than a Pākehā who commits the same act. That when they go to court a Māori is statistically less likely to get bail than a Pākehā charged with a similar offence. A Māori is statistically less likely to be given home detention than a Pākehā charged with a similar offence. So yeah, I mean the evidence has been there for 30 or more years."

In 2015, the Police Commissioner admitted to "unconscious bias" in the police force. While previous research shows that young Māori are three times more likely to be arrested than Pākehā. This is due to conscious, and possibly unconscious, decisions made by police officers to target Māori communities and use their powers of discretion to hand out harsher punishments to Māori than their Pākehā counterparts.

From 2010-2014, police and justice figures show Māori made up only 30 percent of those who received pre-charge warnings (e.g. were let off with further action) compared to 57 percent of Pākehā.

In 2015, the rate at which Māori were sentenced to imprisonment was eight times higher than it was for Pākehā.

27. Racism and White Defensiveness in Aotearoa: A Pākehā Perspective, E-Tangata, June 2018

28. Lisa Owen interviews Police Commissioner Mike Bush, Scoop, November 2015

29. Identifying and Responding to Bias in the Criminal Justice System: A Review of International and New Zealand Research, Ministry of Justice, November 2009

30. New Zealand's racist justice system - Our law is not colour-blind, Stuff, September 2016

One survey participant linked racial profiling by agents of the justice system with broader impacts of trauma and colonisation;

"I believe Māori are unfairly profiled and it is a systemic issue. I also believe that the trauma from colonisation and the continuous oppression of Māori has seen an increase of disconnection, poverty of the mind, mental health decline and a nation of displaced people who have lost hope for the future. I don't believe the crime rate has increased. I think the system cannot differentiate between crime and those who are unwell due to continued trauma that requires specialised treatment so they are put in jail and never treated. It's become a cycle that is repeating itself from one generation to the next. Why can't we invest the money spent on keeping an individual in jail by providing for these people as soon as they are identified as high risk of incarceration. If it costs \$100,000 a year to incarcerate one offender couldn't that money be better utilised to help improve their lives and keep them out of jail."

The prison system is a failure

Overwhelmingly, interview and survey participants described the prison system as a failure. Failure of the prison system was largely described in terms of inefficacy at preventing or reducing harm, and the capacity for the system to perpetuate harm. Participants specifically mentioned problems with double bunking, the Bail Amendment Act 2013, and the Sentencing and Parole Reform Act 2013.

All interview participants agreed that the government response to Māori incarceration to date has been underwhelming. The failure of governments, policymakers, and politicians to respond to evidence and recommendations from Māori leaders was noted as a significant contributing factor to overall system failure. Once again it was emphasised that the New Zealand justice system is a British structure unsuitable to Māori. Interview participant four described the current situation as;

"Both unjust and unsatisfactory. No country should or can afford to have so many, mainly young people, incarcerated. No country can or should afford to spend so much money on locking people away and so little money on understanding why that situation has arisen."

The inefficacy of prisons at reducing harm was noted by several interview participants. One participant noted;

"If the aims of prisons is to stop further offending, if the aim of prisons is to rehabilitate people who have done wrong, then they fail miserably because the recidivism rate, the rate at which people coming out of prison reoffend, is the highest again in the world except for the United States. All prisons do is further criminalise people. They are fearful, violent, awful places."

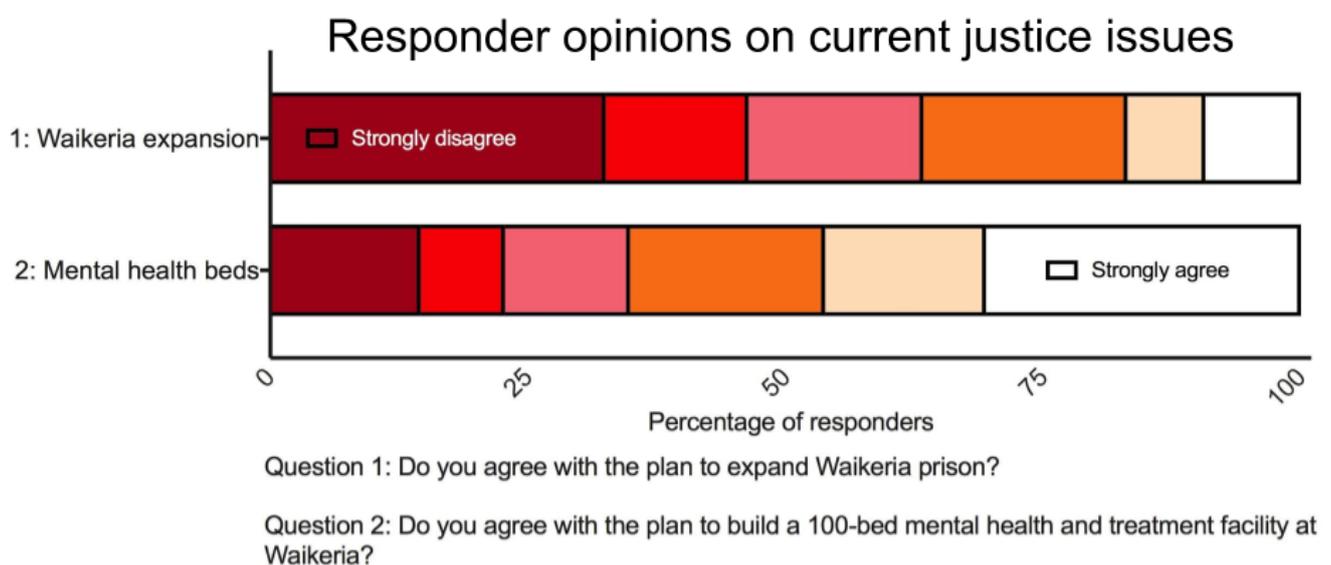
They went on to describe the failure of the Parole and Sentencing Act 2013:

“There has been a spike in the prison population driven by the vindictiveness of groups like the Sensible Sentencing Trust since the introduction of the three strikes law, and you now have people in jail for shoplifting a moro bar. That was their third offence. I think we should and can do better than that.”

Participants were critical of tikanga and te reo workshops within prisons as they are seen as a token gesture that have been unsuccessful in reducing harm. Programs such as Te Tirohanga National Programme and Mauri Tu Pae have been running for a number of years, but mass incarceration of Māori remains. It was noted by some participants that Māori should not have to be imprisoned in order to learn about their culture and whakapapa. Participant three described that;

“Putting Māori programmes in prison is probably the worst thing they can do. The reality is yes those fellas will learn some shit in there, but we don’t want people to think the only way they’re gonna learn Māori is to go to prison.”

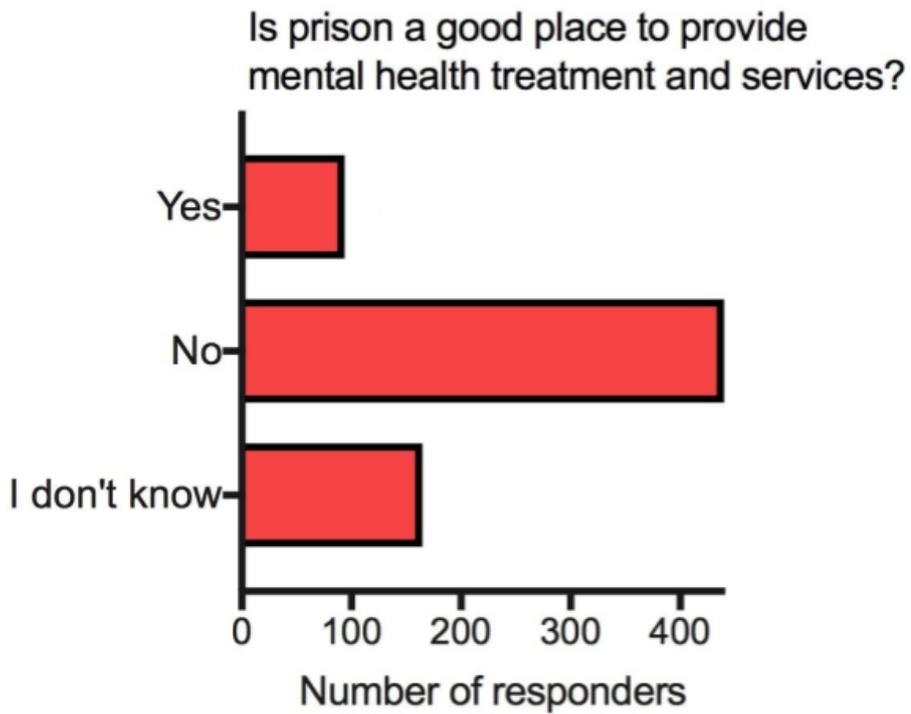
The majority of interview and survey participants (63 percent) disagreed with the planned Waikeria prison expansion.



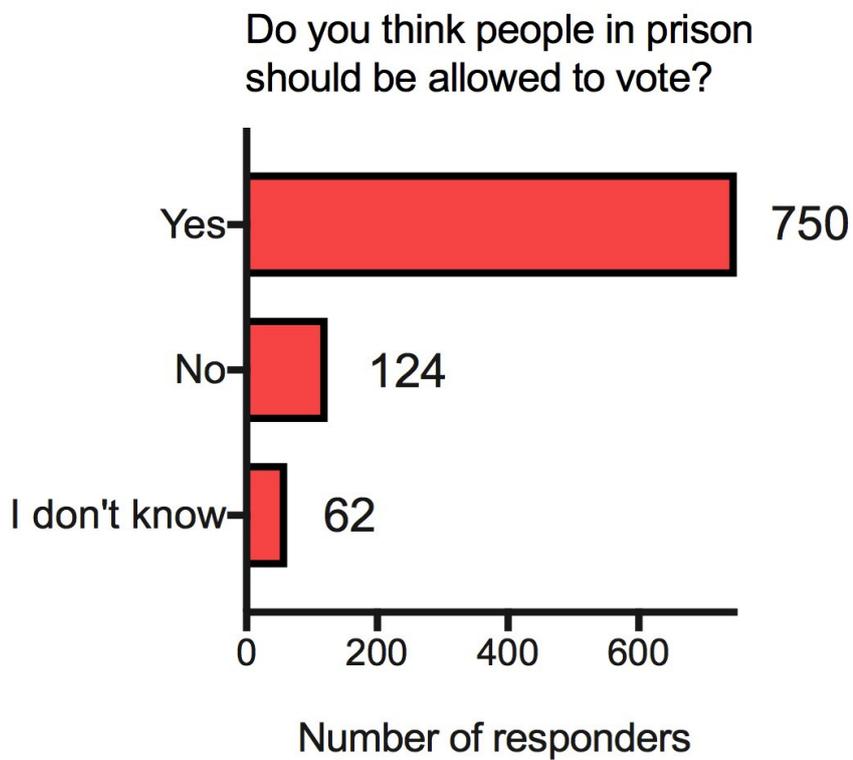
While 65 percent of survey respondents agreed with the plan to build a 100-bed mental health and treatment facility at Waikeria, 63 percent also thought prison was not a good place to provide mental health services.

One participant summed up the whakaaro (thoughts) on this point well;

“Effective health services are needed outside of prison. While I understand that prison is at times, the only play a person is able to get help, it also highlights the need for services prior”.



80 percent of participants agreed that people in prison should be able to vote.



Māori led community initiatives and policy will stop the violence of this system

Perhaps the most imperative insight that arose through the stakeholder interviews was that Māori-led initiatives are fundamental to reducing the imprisonment of Māori, the drivers that cause Māori to harm, and in healing the violence of this imposed system and the wider cycles of intergenerational trauma and colonisation.

Many survey participants described hapū and iwi-led initiatives as crucial to Māori self-determination and tino rangatiratanga;

“Hapu and iwi have rangatiratanga to work in accordance with tikanga Māori to provide better healing solutions than prison. This should be government funded but legislation and policy should allow for hapū and iwi to lead. When support is needed from government, this should happen in a way hapū and iwi wish it to happen”

“I think we should acknowledge that the settler state has no legitimacy in judging or imprisoning Māori. I think that iwi and hapū should be building the capacity to exercise tino rangatiratanga and to deal with harm in a way that focuses on restoring relationships, not on punishment.”

“I believe whānau, hapū and iwi should play the most significant role in all matters relating to Māori. As explained by our ancestors in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Pākehā govern Pākehā, Māori govern Māori.”

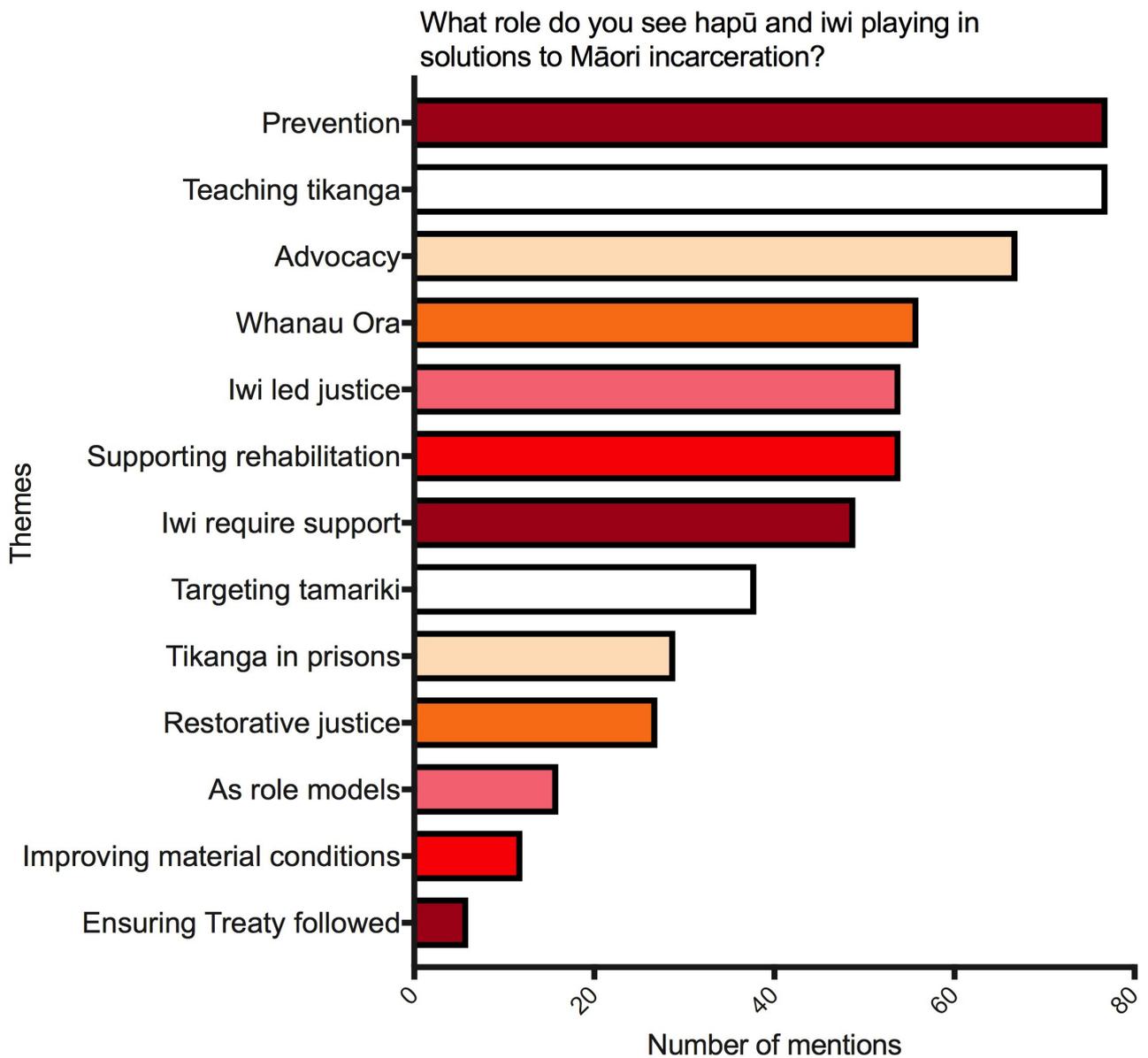
Participant six described that;

“The government is looking at a one size fits all [model]... I am of the opinion it will not work... Māori need to determine what pathways they take to... keep their whānau out of prison.”

Survey respondents echoed these views.

When asked ‘What roles do you see hapū and iwi playing in solutions to Māori incarceration?’, respondents described a broad range of ideas.. Prevention, teaching tikanga, and advocacy were among the most commonly mentioned.

Survey and interview participants also identified the need for further strengthening of cultural identity for Māori, alongside the development of kaupapa Māori solutions. This, participants say, will be more effective than adaptations of the existing system that is so clearly causing further harm.



One survey participant described what Māori-led solutions could look like;

“KO WAI / KO AU: Instill identity and esteem, educate. Make sure all education providers build curriculum that support and uphold hapū iwi histories, values, systems, and enhance te mana o te tangata and te tapu i te tangata.”

“WHANAUNGATANGA / MANAAKITANGA: Set up, maintain, model and monitor tikanga that protect te mana o te tangata me te tapu i te tangata.”

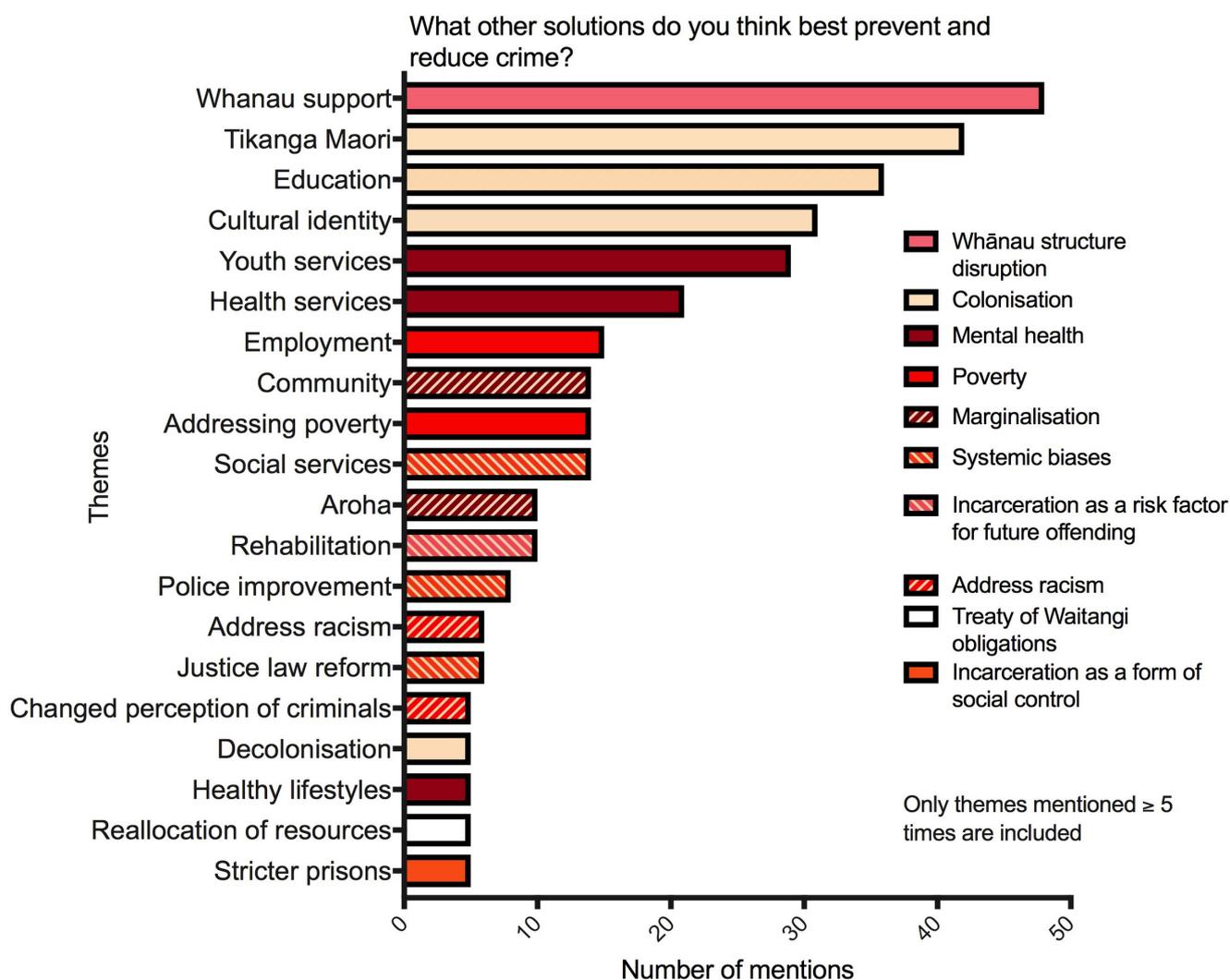
“HOHOUTERONGO / HAKATIKATIKA: Establish Komiti Hakawa comprising hapū iwi members of good standing to help fix up hara and restore te mana o te tangata me te tapu i te tangata.”

Interview participant two made a crucial point about resourcing for these initiatives, noting that;

“Our general society has their own racism against Māori, that Māori should actually use their settlement money to keep their people out of prison. What they don’t realise is we fought for that money but we didn’t stuff up the system, and mainstream thinks here they are, the Māori, complaining.

They’re complaining for our tax money to pay for [their problems], well too bad, Māori are huge tax payers and have a right to an equal and parallel system as well.”

The importance of iwi and hapū-led initiatives was also reflected in survey participants’ responses to the question ‘What other solutions do you think best prevent and reduce crime?’. Whānau support, tikanga Māori, and cultural identity were included in the five most commonly mentioned interventions.



Findings from the literature review show these perspectives from survey and interview participants reflect recommendations from previous studies. In 2011, Te Puni Kōkiri identified that current policy approaches to reduce crime do not come from a Māori worldview, are not translatable to Māori settings and do not reduce harm in Māori communities. The failure to address “social, economic, and intergenerational issues for whānau and Māori communities that drive offending” was specifically identified as a major reason harm prevention policies have not worked.

These findings emphasise that the enforcement of a foreign system on Māori is a form of oppression of culture, and leads to the development of intergenerational patterns of poverty and abuse. This is a strong case for devolution of power to iwi and hapū so that Māori may instigate the programs and policies that will work best - designed by Māori, in a Māori worldview, for Māori.

As explained by a survey participant;

“[Hapu and iwi have] an integral role as they are in the best position to assess the needs of their own people and tailor solutions to that need. They will have the local knowledge of whānau and available resources to meet that need and address issues particular to whānau, hapū, iwi.”

To fix our justice crisis, we need a more compassionate society

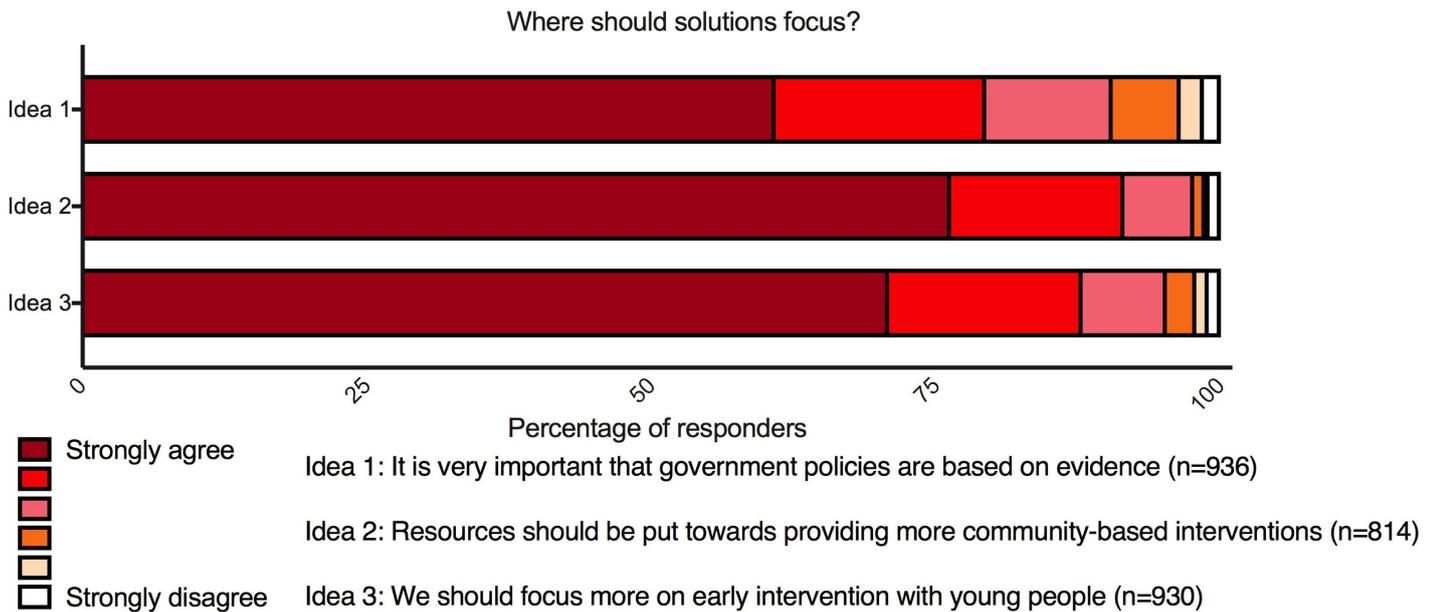
Research findings highlighted that our justice system - as well as its reform - cannot be viewed as separate from other policy areas. The interconnected deep *mamae* (hurt, pain) of colonisation, intergenerational trauma, and economic and resource deprivation that interview and survey participants discussed are embedded in wider societal structures. It is crucial to embed policies of care if we are to transform our justice system for the better. Government must ensure everyone has a warm, safe home, can get an excellent education, is looked after by health, mental health, and addiction services when they need them, and that everyone has enough *pūtea* (money) to live with dignity.

Participant one described the necessity for policies of compassion and care in communities;

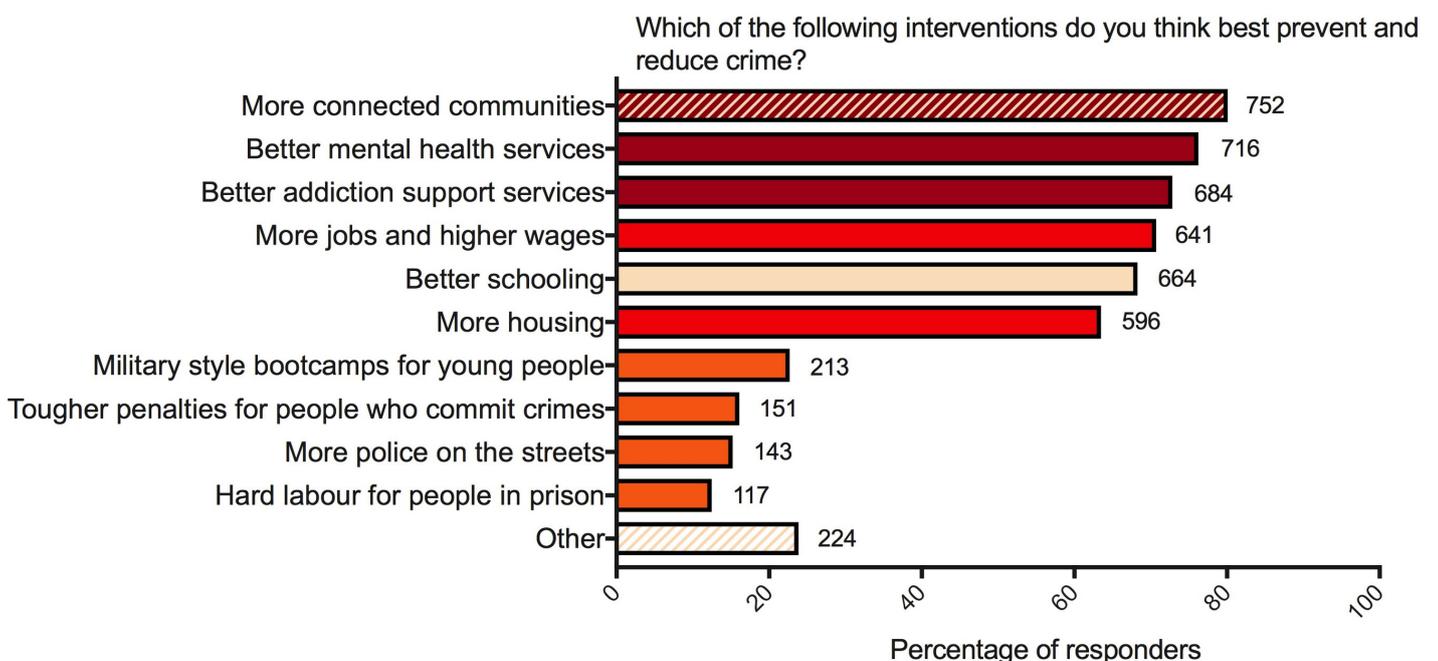
“We’re doing ourselves a disservice, by not looking at these people and helping them. By not in the first case, helping people while they’re already out in our communities, just helping people who are vulnerable. Cause ultimately, we all have to live together.”

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31. Anderson I, Robson B, Connolly M, Al-Yaman F, Bjertness E, King A et al. Indigenous and tribal peoples' health (The Lancet–Lowitja Institute Global Collaboration): a population study. *The Lancet*. 2016;388(10040):131-157.
32. Ko te Aro ki ngā Pūtake Hara mōo Ngāi Māori: Addressing the Drivers of Crime for Māori [Internet]. Te Puni Kōkiri; 2011. Available from: [http://file:///C:/Users/12058/Downloads/tpk-addressdriverscrime-2011%20\(3\).pdf](http://file:///C:/Users/12058/Downloads/tpk-addressdriverscrime-2011%20(3).pdf)

When asked where solutions should focus, survey participants strongly agreed that solutions to these problems must be evidence based (61 percent), focus on interventions for young people (70.1 percent), and on funding community-based interventions rather than incarceration (76 percent).



When provided with a list of examples of interventions to prevent and reduce crime, participants most commonly supported connected communities (80 percent), mental health services (76 percent), addiction support services (73 percent), jobs and higher wages (71 percent), schooling (68 percent), and housing (63 percent).



The majority of interviewees echoed this call for community, governmental, and social change

There was significantly more support for interventions that prevent harm from occurring than punitive interventions that punish people after harm has already occurred. The majority of interview and survey participants agreed that connected communities, access to mental health and addiction services, financial freedom and living without poverty, access to quality education, and having a home would best prevent and reduce crime.

Interview participant one summed up the need for these compassionate transformations of our fundamental social systems;

“It’s recognition I think of our power as people as human beings and knowing that we can’t live on this Earth by ourselves. That’s why we end up with all of these high suicide rates with high levels of mental health issues. Of course it’s gonna make people crazy living by themselves, we’re social beings. Why are we cutting ourselves off from each other? So at a deep philosophical level I think we can strip it right back and come back to looking at people as people and seeing if something has gone wrong. How can we then knit this person back into the community? Part of that is the community having aroha (love) and opening ourselves up to this person and having some space to be able to take a few hits inside there.”

Media portray Māori unfairly in crime reporting which drills anti-Māori views into the public

Findings across all four threads of research consistently found that Māori are unfairly and inaccurately presented by New Zealand media and that this representation drills anti-Māori views into the public. When asked, ‘Do you think that mainstream media in New Zealand fairly and accurately reports on justice issues that affect Māori?’, 89 percent of respondents said they did not, including 58 percent who answered ‘no, not at all’.

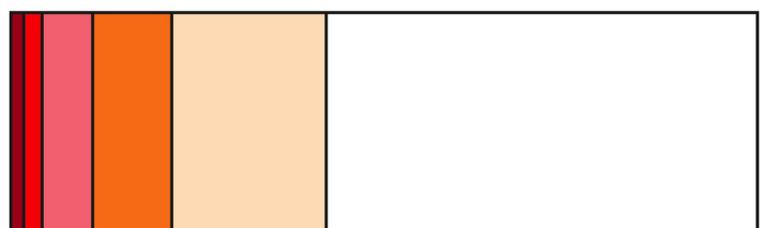
Do you think that mainstream media in New Zealand fairly and accurately reports on justice issues that affect Māori?

■ Yes, they do a good job

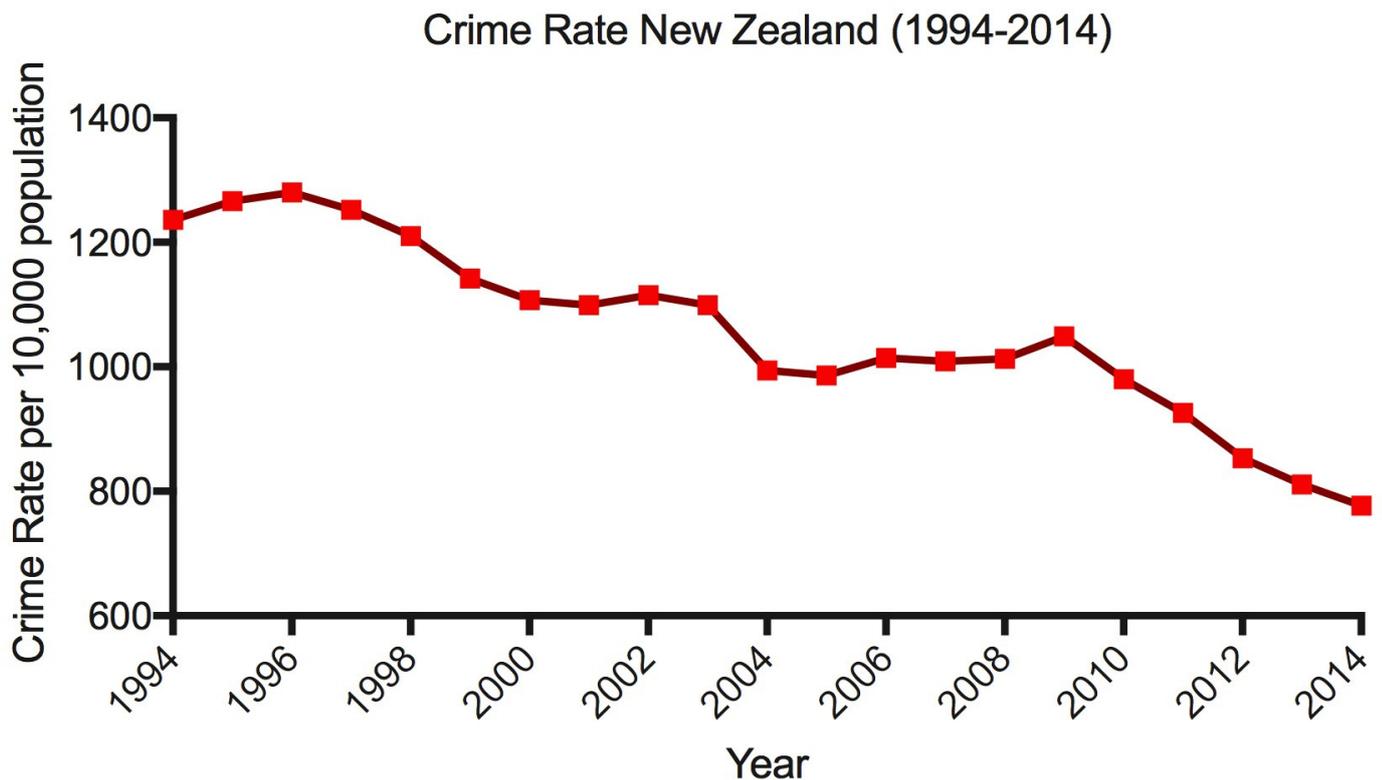


□ No, not at all

Percentage of responders (n=812)



Yet crime rates have been decreasing steadily since the 1990s.



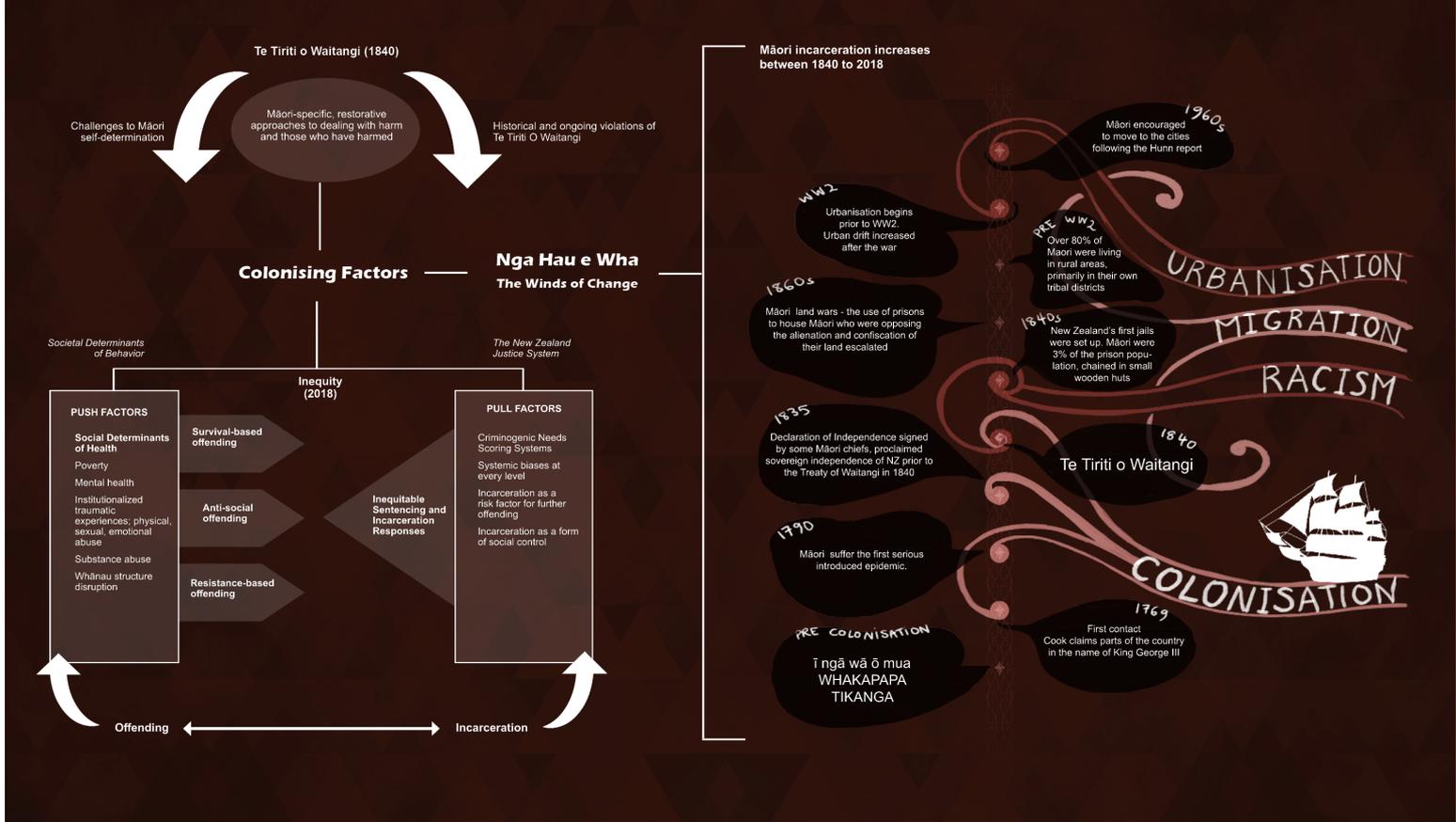
It is clear that inaccurate, unfair representations of Māori in crime reporting are dangerous and actively contribute to anti-Māori public perceptions. It is important to note that this approach also privileges Pākehā.

The model

The model on the following page was developed by the Otago University medical students and is based on the literature review, survey, and interview data.

It was designed to help explain how New Zealand's societal ecosystem functions to create an environment that locks up Māori and separates them from whānau. The model is influenced by Matua Mason Durie's work of Te Whare Tapa Whā which illustrates the four pillars of Māori health; taha hinengaro (mental health), taha wairua (spiritual health), taha whānau (family health), and taha tinana (physical health). It includes an adaption of the University of Otago Meihana model which is a clinical assessment framework that describes these measures of health within the colonising factors. These are referred to as Ngā Hau e Wha or the 'winds of change' blown by Pākehā colonisers, and the New Zealand government; racism, colonisation, marginalisation, and rural-urban migration.

The model describes 'push factors' such as poverty and marginalisation that push acts of survival that are criminalised, and 'pull factors' of racism within the justice system that pull Māori into the justice system.



At the top sits Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Te Tiriti promised tino rangatiratanga and as such should have embedded the role of tikanga in “dealing with harm and those who have harmed”, as described by interview participant four. The arrows either side of Te Tiriti illustrate how the Crown has consistently deviated from this promise. These deviations produce Ngā Hau e Wha, illustrated on the right alongside events as they relate to each wind.

The bidirectional influence of push and pull factors on the mass incarceration of Māori are shown on the left. The pull factors show the justice system as it is; a colonial, institutionally racist, Pākehā structure unjustly imposed on Māori by early colonisers and successive governments. Within this, other pull factors include: the Department of Corrections’ risk assessment system which was developed without Māori input, incarceration as a driver of further harm, and incarceration as a form of social control. The relentless criminalisation of poverty is also a significant causal reason for so many Māori being disconnected from whānau and locked in cages.

Colonisation has influenced the environment that determines the lived experience of Māori which has created the push factors illustrated in the model. Poverty forces people to make rational decisions to commit an offence - such as taking food from a supermarket - in order to feed and provide for their whānau. Aspects of intergenerational trauma such as disruption of whānau, abuse during childhood, and untreated or unsupported addiction contributes to some offending. Lastly, the pull factors illustrate that violence perpetrated by the Crown, Pākehā social services, and racist societal views of Māori all contribute to resistance-based harms.

33. Durie, M. Whaiora, Māori Health Development. Oxford University Press, 1994.

34. Meihana Model: A Clinical Assessment Framework. New Zealand Journal of Psychology [Internet]. 2007 [cited 28 30 July 2018];36(3). Available from: http://www.psychology.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/Pitamaeta_L_NZJP36-3_pg118.pdf

INSIGHTS FROM HĀPAITIA TE ORANGA TANGATA

This research has come at an essential time. The government has appointed a working group - the Safe and Effective Justice Advisory Panel - to investigate the problems with, and solutions for the justice system. To kick off this process, the government held Hāpaitia te Oranga Tangata; the Safe and Effective Justice Summit in Porirua in August 2018. 700 people gathered in Porirua to discuss what needs to be done to make our justice system better serve humanity. Attendees came from a range of places inside and outside of the system - frontline justice workers, people who had formerly been incarcerated, victims advocates, NGOs, policy advisors, academics, and politicians.

When viewed through the lens of the They're Our Whānau research, three observations can be made;

The justice system is not working for anyone and victims/perpetrators are often the same people

The highly individualised, adversarial system for justice imposed by the Crown is unfit to cope with the complexity of harm and the necessity of healing. Participants at the summit expressed great dissatisfaction with how the system treats those who have been harmed. On the first day of the summit a victims panel was held that explored issues people who have been subjected to harm have as they navigate police, courts, victims services, and the legal system. Many panelists and those who shared their experiences from the floor afterward described the intense scrutiny victims face during the court process, often feeling as though they were on trial themselves. Their access to justice was dependent on their own re-victimisation, having to share some of the worst and most difficult times in their lives publicly and in great detail.

There was discussion about how those who have experienced harm do not or cannot access support to heal, or get to safety because the justice system is incapable of supporting them and their community through their experience. This denial of access to justice was particularly acute for victims/survivors of gendered violence. This strongly aligned with the perspective of participant four;

"I think the existing criminal justice system is unjust for everyone in this country. I think the way it has traditionally treated the victims of wrongdoing has been appalling. The fact that less than 10 percent of women who are sexually assaulted, for example, complain to the police and their cases then go to court indicates that it is an inappropriate and insensitive system. So, I think it's a flawed system for everyone, really. I don't think it treats poor people justly. I don't think it treats women justly. But the second response is because of its history in this country it especially treats Māori unjustly."

Summit participants identified a false victim/offender binary enforced by the justice system and media stories, but does not reflect the lives and experiences of those who must navigate it. Harm is far more complex than this bifurcation allows. 77 percent of the people in our prisons have once been a victim of violence, yet the system codes them as an offender and punishes them for harm they've caused without recognition of harm they have experienced and, crucially, the relationship between the two. This is indicative of a system focussed on punishment over healing and rehabilitation. It is imperative that those with power to change the justice system, and those who write about it, understand that when we talk about victims and perpetrators of harm, we are often talking about the same people.

We need a wider vision for justice that includes an end to poverty, early intervention, and the devolution of power to hapū and iwi

As our research has shown, the solutions to our justice crisis are much bigger than small modifications to the way police, courts, lawyers and prisons work. It is about returning rangatiratanga (sovereignty) to Māori, uplifting Māori culture, restoring te reo Māori, incorporating tikanga Māori in policy, restoring economic balance, ensuring everyone has safe and secure housing, a decent income and access to well-funded mental health, distress and addiction services.

These findings were reinforced at the Justice Summit where the Children's Commissioner Judge Andrew Becroft presented a "wider vision for the justice system" that stated:

"All roads lead back to (1) child/youth poverty and material disadvantage, (2) early interventions and assistance, and (3) the enduring legacy of colonisation and modern day systemic bias. We must address our enduring shame of indigenous over-representation through partnership with, and devolution of resources to, iwi and Māori services as a start."

A people-powered vision for the future: Aotearoa's last prison closes in 2040

On the final day of the Justice Summit, the 700 event participants were divided into 40 groups and asked to come up with a vision for the justice system in 2040 - 200 years since Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed. The groups were then asked to design a newspaper front page for August 22, 2040.

Almost every single group came back with the same headline: "New Zealand Closes Final Prison." Participants at the summit were from NGOs, government, victims rights advocacy groups, community support work, iwi, health organisations and elsewhere - all were united in a collective vision for a country without prisons. A vision more in line with what Aotearoa New Zealand was like before colonisation. A vision grounded in tikanga Māori.

METHODOLOGY

The research was conducted in four ways:

- Seven expert interviews conducted by fourth year medical students;
- An online survey;
- A literature review;
- Attendance of the government's Safe and Effective Justice Summit in Porirua.

Interviews

Six of the medical students conducted interviews with six key Māori stakeholders and one Pākehā. Those interviewed include a former inmate, researchers on the topic, a lawyer, a mental health specialist, social justice advocate and a political lobbyist.

The interviews focused on three core questions:

1. What are your overall views of the level of responsiveness of the NZ criminal justice system to Māori? Do you have specific concerns about particular practises that are presented as "interim measures" that result from the shortage of prisons beds such as: Double bunking, placing vulnerable prisoners in high risk situations e.g. transgender or youth, or the use of seclusion?
2. Why, in your opinion, are Māori the most incarcerated people in Aotearoa?
3. What approaches/strategies/solutions do you recommend to change the high rates of incarceration and recidivism of Māori?

The student researchers were given training prior to the interviews which included a practice interview and discussion around correct pronunciation of Te Reo Māori (the Māori language). Informed consent was gained prior to the interview to allow the interview to be recorded electronically and/or filmed by the interviewers for research purposes. The interviewees were given the three main questions in advance of the interview, and the interview was centered around these with further questions and clarification as needed. The interviews were 15-50 minutes duration.

The recordings of the interviews were transcribed manually by the researchers for use in thematic analysis. Unfortunately the recording of one interview stopped after 10 minutes, so the students elected to only use those 10 minutes in the thematic analysis.

The thematic analysis was not conducted by the same people who did the interviews.

Survey

Māori attitudes on justice and incarceration were gathered using an online survey. The survey was open between the 10th-22nd of July 2018. The survey questions were based on a previous survey of the general population done by ActionStation between 13th-19th June 2018.

The survey consisted of 28 questions in total - including eight demographic questions, 19 questions relating to the study aims and one providing an option for anonymity. The survey took on average 15.58 minutes to complete. As the focus of our study is on Māori opinions of incarceration, we excluded any responses that did not categorise their ethnicity as Māori, which could be done under the ethnicity data question, or by nominating which Iwi they affiliated to. It is important to note that people were able to select multiple ethnicities and we included all people that selected Māori, regardless of whether they selected other ethnicities or not.

Data from the closed questions was analysed using Microsoft Office Excel 2016. The answers from the two open questions as well as one of the 'other' open text boxes were analysed using the same thematic analysis approach as the interviews.

Literature Review

The literature review, conducted by medical students at Otago University focused on four key documents:

Māori and the Criminal Justice System

In 1988, Dr Moana Jackson released his seminal report, Māori and the Criminal Justice System, or He Whaipaanga Hou. Jackson found that the use of legal instruments and the construction of prisons immediately following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi is part of the enduring process of colonisation and a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi. This view is supported in national and international literature.

Tū Mai te Rangi: Report on the Crown and Disproportionate Reoffending Rates

In 2017, the Waitangi Tribunal released the findings of Tū Mai te Rangi, a claim taken by Tom Hemopo, a former long standing employee of the Department of Corrections. This challenged the use of processes such as a Māori ethnicity rating (2 percent) which produces an elevated risk of recidivism score for Māori that can be linked to the length and severity of sentencing of Māori .

Series of Sir Peter Gluckman Reports to the Prime Minister

'Using evidence to build a better justice system' explored the factors that are involved in New Zealand's high incarceration rate, and the economic costs involved with this increasing rate.

'It's never too early, never too late' explored the factors of high incarceration rates in the youth population of New Zealand. These reports addressed the impact of colonisation on the increasing rates of Māori imprisonment in New Zealand. The reports recommended a broader Māori focussed approach, that recognised the role of the justice system in contributing to collective social harm. It was also recommended that any strategic plans should be clearly developed with partnership or leadership of Māori.

You can read the literature review in full at: <http://bit.ly/TOWlitreview>

Justice Summit

The Safe and Effective Justice Summit was attended by Madeleine Ashton-Martyn and Laura O'Connell Rapira from ActionStation. Both took notes and attended sessions where Māori voices were likely to be prominent.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

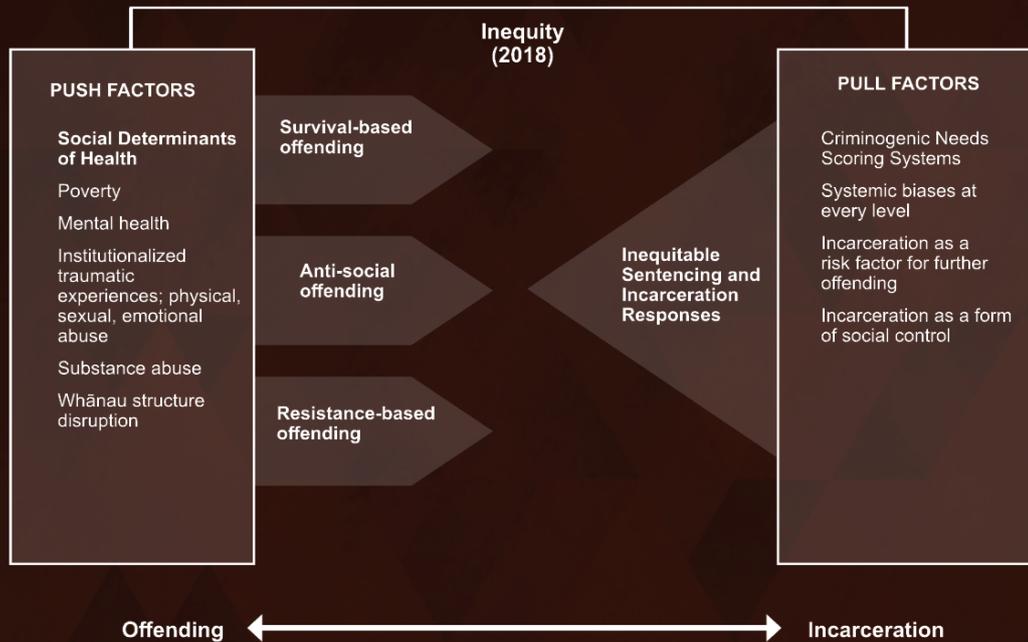
We would like to thank the 900+ people who trusted us with the voices and experience. We hope this report helps bring about the change our justice system so desperately requires.

We give thanks to Whaea Dr. Keri Lawson-Te Aho and the fourth year Otago University medical students for their incredible research work.

This report was written by Madeleine Ashton-Martyn, Laura O'Connell Rapira and features excerpts from the full research report written by fourth year medical students at Otago University. It was crowdfunded into the world by 163 people who donated an average gift of \$36 each. The cover was designed by Izzy Joy.

ActionStation is an independent, crowdfunded community campaigning organisation representing over 100,000 New Zealanders acting together to create what we cannot achieve on our own: a society, economy and democracy that serves all of us - everyday people and Papatūānuku, our beautiful planet.

Find out more about us here: actionstation.org.nz



NGA HAU E WHA

THE WINDS OF CHANGE

Māori incarceration increases between 1840 to 2018

