Decarceration, Not Prison; Justness, not Justice; Constitutional Transformation, Not Treaty Settlements

Moana Jackson, Sina Brown-Davis, and Annette Sykes Space, Race, Bodies II workshop, 6 May 2016

Tonga Karena: Me te mea ano ra, he kakari mutunga kore a Tū raua ko [...]. Raua tahi haere ngātahi i roto i ngā mahi katoa. Just really like to pay homage to our next two guest speakers that are up here today to run a workshop, and when I found out that they were coming, I put my hand up and said 'Yes! Can I chair the session?' So I was really glad to really offer this space and be part of it, and really it's just to chair it and really ensure that everybody enjoys their time with us today. Moana definitely with this morning's session, we got a good idea of the mahi you've been doing over the last few years, with the constitutional transformation. And that blue sky vision that the normative kind of ideas that we have kia oti \bar{a} runga, and so I like to quote a whakataukī as I sort of introduce you from Huirangi, kia oti ā runga, that's te wāhi ki a koe. Kia oti ā raro, ka tāea ki waho. And when everything's completed above, and everything's completed below, we're able to emerge into the future. And though that kind of process of grounding and ensuring that our celestial dreams, whether it's constitutional, and raising awareness, consciousness raising through your experienced legal knowledge that you've been working amongst the people. And definitely keeping on, ensuring the space is created for conversation, dialogue, discourse around the end goal of providing a peaceful society, and being a recent student, peace is forefront in my mind as part of a constitutional transformation. And being a normative goal that – demilitarisation, reduced military spending – are all things that I've been learning and have become politicised in the Centre. And being a language zealot has really been about paepae. But really the political critique that you and Annette have offered for our generation over the last 20-30 years is definitely up to the individual to inform themselves and take on board all your efforts and find time to spend with you. So I'm thankful that in my little amount of time I've had, kua whai wāhi au ki a koe. And when I think of Annette, if it wasn't for Annette, I would never have been able to have initiated my lecturer career at Victoria. Prior to going to Victoria as a lecturer a few years ago, I was working with Annette on the Tuhoe Treaty Settlement Claim as a translator, and it was an amazing experience, and it certainly opened up my eyes to the amount of hard work she does in working with our people, and that was, it seemed like a long time ago now. And I don't know if anyone knows who Ngā Rauru o Ngā Pōtiki was, and the amount of transformations, and I started out law school with Kirsty Luke, but I failed miserably. And then Kirsty has definitely run with what she's doing now. And there's been many kinds of efforts, interesting kind of developments that have gone on since then. And I'm not so agreeable to it, so I definitely have found solace being in part of a peace movement in Parihaka, but Annette is also, I believe, a pononga o Parihaka as well as Moana, in being part of the... trying to instil change within Aotearoa New Zealand, with peace being forefront in their minds and challenging the dominant class. So we have a workshop here: Decarceration, Not Prison; Justness, not Justice; Constitutional Transformation, Not Treaty Settlements. So I'm really glad to have you here today and to finish off our day with your workshop, e kōrua, nau mai Ngāti Pikiao, Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou, piki mai ki runga i te atamira nei ki te wherawhera i ō kōrua māramatanga. Tēnā kōrua. Haramai.

Moana Jackson: Kia ora tātou, I'm more comfortable standing up so I hope that's OK. We've reorganised things as you can see; we've asked Sina to join us. It seemed obvious that because she was here, she should be part of our korero, and I'm grateful that she is able to be with us. I'd like to thank all the organisers for the work they've done to pull this together, and thank you to all of you for coming. When I first saw the title of the hui, I wasn't quite sure what it was all about. And I'm very interested in words, and the way words are used. Which is why we've ended up with this heading. And what I'd like to do as a beginning, is really just to try and explain why I chose that title if you like. It's been known for as long as I can remember, in terms of imprisonment, that there is what is called disproportionate rate of Māori in prison compared to Pākehā. And so most of the debate is about 'How do we fix the prison system?', or 'How do we fix the criminal justice system?', so that there are less Maori in jail. And nothing's changed. As I'm sure you know, the figures for Māori men who have remained fairly constant in 50-52%, but the rate of women, as I'm sure Tracy will talk about, has skyrocketed in an alarming and shameful way, really. And so if things don't change within the box that the debate is being held, then its seems to me you change the box. That you no longer keep confining the debates to the framework which serves the power of those who control it. So I'm not interested in talking about prison reform. I'm actually more interested in talking about getting rid of prisons and looking at other ways of dealing with those, of helping those, who may cause harm in the community, and finding other ways of working with those who are harmed. And if I can illustrate with just a couple of reasons why, that's where I'd like the debate to go. And in a sense they had to do with words. One of the things that the Crown has got very good at in the last 20-30 years, although it has its roots much longer, is coopting our words to describe what they are trying to do. Or imposing their words on us. And so one of the classic examples of that for me, is the term which is now commonly used in Corrections for prison; the term they use is 'whare herehere'. Well, our people had no word for prison because we had no concept of imprisonment. So if you don't have a concept of locking people away, you don't have a word for it. In Kahungunu we do have a word - 'here', which means to conciliate. To rejuvenate. To refresh. And I actually find it offensive that that word is now applied to prisons. Because prisons are not about conciliating, they are not about refreshing, they are about exercising the control and power of the colonising state. And so what I would hope we might be able to have today is a little debate about what else can be done beyond this idea of imprisonment. And there is a movement as I'm sure you know in many countries to move away form the idea of incarceration, to decarceration. And that's probably as scary for some people as the idea of constitutional transformation. Because you're shifting the power; you're shifting the status quo to something which threatens the power of people. But unless we want to keep coming back and saying 'isn't it terrible how many Maori are in prison', and saying that every year, then we will stay in the incarceration box. And some of you have heard me speak when I often talk about my mokopuna. And the first time I took one of my mokopuna to Te Papa, in Wellington, and she loved it and rushed around pulling things out of displays, there's a big tank that they keep the giant squid; she tried to climb in the tank with the squid. And by the time we left I was exhausted. But she said to me as we left, 'Koro, this is an imagination place.' And in the whole subject of prisons, imprisonment, and so on, I think it's really important that we try to go to an imagination place. Because unless we go there, without being fatalistic or pessimistic, the situation will not change. A colonising state is dedicated to controlling the people it has dispossessed. And unless we actually use our imagination to address that, and find other ways of working with those who do harm, then we won't change the situation. So I'd like us today, to think about what that might mean, and what it might look like. And I just want to say one more thing if I may about that part of the kaupapa for this session all of the discussion around imprisonment is based as it is in so many areas, on disproportionality. That is, there is a disproportionate number of Māori in prison. So we make up 15% of the population, and 52% of the prison population. I think the notion of disproportionality is statistically, methodologically, and philosophically racist. Because it privileges Pākehā as the norm against which we must be measured. As an all-colonising dialectics, Pākehā are the perfect, civilised, wonderful beings. The 'complete humans'. They are the norm. Those who are to be disposed, are the imperfect, the uncivilised, the inferior. And so whether it's in health statistics, or prison statistics or whatever, Pākehā become the norm. And Māori are measured against them. I think it's actually more helpful, statistically, methodologically, philosophically, to just say 'there are so many hundreds of Māori in prison, what does that tell us about prison? What does that tell us about the criminal justice system?' And not set up our people to continually be inferior, measured against something else. So when we talk about decarceration, or whatever term we wish to use, I hope we can talk about it not as a comparative thing with Pākehā. Because if Pākehā want to keep prisons for Pākehā, they can keep them! They probably won't. Because it won't make as much money for them as having all these brown people in prison. But I'd like us to change the debate. The second thing in our kaupapa is 'Justness, not Justice'. And I'd like to take a little time to describe that. 200 years ago, say, if a person in an iwi or a hapū, committed a hara, or a hē, committed a wrong, because we had no word for crime, the notion of crime was unknown, but if they committed a hara or a he, then it was a wrong against what 'ought to be'. It was a wrong against the sense of what was just. In the relationships between people, in the relationships between people and the land, and so on. So to deal with a hara, involved two steps. One was to restore the relationship that had been damaged by the wrong. The second was to re-establish the normative value of what ought to be. Of what was just. And because our people were not perfect - unless you were Kahungunu or Ngāti Porou - we also recognised our fallibility. We made mistakes, we did dumb things, we hurt each other. And so the fixing of the hurt was to rekindle, to establish the notion of what ought to be. And a notion of just-ness for me is, if you like, a moral imperative of what ought to be. The aspirations that we should have in our dealings with each other, and the land, and so on. Justice, however is an institutionalised notion. Not of what ought to be, but of what is defined as 'right'. And in that construct, what is defined as 'right' is normally a sense of what is right, controlled by those who have power. So it is a systemic goal. To achieve justice is to maintain the law and order of those who have power. To seek just-ness is to aim for what ought to be in the way humans live with each other. And so it seems to me if we're going to change the debate around imprisonment, we need to change the debate around the word 'justice' as well. And the system of justice, of course, was brought here in 1840. It is part of the wider Westminster constitutional system that was imposed on this land in colonisation. It has failed our people. I would suggest it fails many Pākehā people as well. But as I said earlier, if we continue to let ourselves be confined in that particular contextual box, then we will never remove the notion of imprisonment and we'll never aspire to a notion of what *ought* to be. And so that's the second stage of a debate I hope we might have at this hui. And the third part, Margaret touched on earlier, Constitutional Transformation, Not Treaty Settlements. I find the term 'Treaty Settlements' really offensive. Treaties are constitutional political arrangements about a relationship. And treaties are not settled. Treaties are honoured. And a treaty is not honoured, obviously, until in the situation of colonisation, colonisation is settled. So what needs to be settled is the dispossession, the wrong, the violence, the hatred, inflicted upon people who have been colonised. That's what needs to be settled. And you settle that by addressing the issues of power, the issues of imprisonment, and all of the things that are part of that dialectic. The government of course calls the Treaty settlements 'full and final'. Well they aren't, and they won't be if we continue to see the Treaty as a means to settle, beyond doubt, the on-going exercise of power by the coloniser. I understand, absolutely, why so many of our people pursue Treaty settlements. When a people have had so little for so long, then to take what is on offer is perfectly understandable. But it will not bring about the full and final settlement of colonisation. That will come about through a number of things, in my view, one of the most important of which is constitutional transformation. That is, transforming the way in which decisions are made about how people should live with each other. The word 'constitution', the English word 'constitution' comes from the Latin 'constitos' which means 'to make decisions.' And there has long been a colonising presumption, of course, that indigenous peoples did not have constitutions because constitutions were equated with the Westminster system, the French constitutional system, and so on. But every culture that I'm aware of, every culture that I've looked at, has it's own ways of making decisions. No community lives in a power-vacuum. No community seeks to live in a law-less society. They each find their own ways of making decisions. And our people were no different. And as you know, we have argued since 1840 to retain that right. The Crown has argued to the contrary, of course, that we gave it away in 1840. Kia ora Tame. And at the risk of repeating an analogy which you may have heard me use before: it is not actually a Māori reality, that say 200 years ago, that Ngāti Kahungunu would have given away the right to make Kahungunu decisions to Ngāti Porou. That Ngāi Tahu would have given away the right to make Ngāi Tahu decisions to Tūhoe. Would not, did not, happen. And actually it's not a human reality. I'm not aware, at any time, the King of England waking up and saying 'ohh I don't want to be King of England anymore, I'll go and ask the King of France to make all our decisions.' Yet we've been taught to believe, that on the 6th of February 1840, every Māori in the country suddenly woke up and said 'we don't want to make our own decisions anymore; we're going to ask a fat lady in London we've never met to make them for us.' That is such a gratuitous lie and insult, that I'm amazed the Crown still has the effrontery to promote it. So settling colonisation means deconstructing those lies, that if we did not give our right away to make decisions, then we have the right and authority, and I would suggest the obligation, to talk about how we reclaim it and make those decisions again. And that's why the third part of the korero is 'Constitutional Transformation, Not Treaty Settlements'. Because if tomorrow every iwi in the country signs a Treaty settlement, but we still can't make our own decisions, then colonisation is not settled. If an iwi gets back 100 acres of land in a Treaty settlement, and then can't make decisions over that land without going to the local Council or something, then colonisation is still not settled. And that settlement comes through constitutional transformation. And for me, the three parts are all interlinked. That if we have constitutional transformation, then that would necessarily involve the Crown no longer accepting, the Crown no longer being permitted, to exercise an authority to lock our people away. If we have a search for 'just-ness', as a moral philosophical imperative, rather than a system exercise of 'justice', through imported systems, then we won't actually reduce the figures of those people who do harm, and those who are harmed. So the aim then of this little session is just to try and have a korero really, within this sort of framework, that we will be brave enough to go to that imagination place, where those sorts of things are freely able to be discussed. There is, as you probably know, a Waitangi Tribunal claim which is going to be heard soon, laid against Corrections. And there are a number of people in the room here who are involved in that claim. Because there's no doubt, it seems to me, that the whole philosophy and policy of Corrections, both historically and now, is a direct breach of the Treaty. And many of the witnesses in the hearing, I'm sure, will be able to illustrate really clearly and beyond dispute, what those things are. The approach that I'm taking in the brief I've been asked to give, is slightly broader. And it is, if we did not give away our constitutional authority to make decisions, then we did not give away our right to deal with those who cause harm. And therefore, the very presumption by the Crown that it can imprison Māori is itself a fundamental Treaty breach. And so that claim, brought, I'm proud to say, by one of my whanaunga in Ngāti Kahungunu, will open up this discussion in a much broader sense, than what I think has been possible before. And I'm hopeful that we'll take the chance to be part of that discussion. And I'll hand over to my two mates!

Sina Brown-Davis: Kia ora koutou, ko Sina Brown-Davis ahau. On my father's side I descend from the [...] people of the Ngāti Whātua federation. And my father's mother was Scots, of the Pākehās that landed in Waipū Cove, and ended up in

Cambridge. So I'm quite feeling at home with all this Scottishness around me, go figure! And on my mother's side I descend from Faleola, from the [... 'ainga], those are the Irish Sāmoans that don't piss us off. And I also whakapapa to Tonga. I am an urban Māori, I grew up in Māngere, so I'm part of the rubbish of structural adjustment, and I lived in a vibrant neighbourhood before Roger Douglas slept with Ruth Richardson and fucked us all over. And we haven't come back from that. My passion - I would describe myself as an anti-colonial anti-capitalist prison abolitionist. My passion for anti-prison work comes from being the daughter of an incarcerated person; my father is doing 7 years of an 11 year lag at Spring Hill He was described in the Herald at sentencing as the 'Godfather of Auckland crimes', and I'm happy to be his princess. So a really poignant story for me, is the last time I saw my father free, was the day I just had my moko done. And I sort of realised seven years... sentence, aside from cultural and spiritual reasons, I got my moko to bear the pain of missing my father. So I want to talk about the pain of missing a loved one, but also the terrible fucking human rights abuses that are occurring to our people every day. You've heard about our political prisoners in Taranaki, they were kept like animals in caves. Our people today are kept like animals in caves. People are stripsearched everyday. If people in New Zealand treated their dogs like Māori prisoners are treated inside, there'd be outrage. People would be outraged. SPCA would be getting millions of dollars! But because it's our people, who get treated like dirt, who get treated like dogs, whose human rights are abused and the UN has done report after report after report about how the human rights conditions of prisoners in Aotearoa is dire. And getting worse. But we don't care, because these are our disposable people that we don't want to care about anymore. These are the people that were made disposable because of colonisation, and neoliberalism. My criminal record is pretty thin on the ground, I have a conviction for a [...] criminal damage but I was proud to be the only person who protested the G20 in Melbourne who bet the riot charge. I'm very honoured to sit next to Moana; his brother, Syd, was my mentor, and very much Syd was our Māori Malcolm X. So when you talk about transformation, [...] talks about our liberation. And I see our people in person as a revolutionary force that can liberate, that can lift us up and liberate us form colonialism. I'd like to start with a quote from Richard S. Hill, and this The History of Policing in New Zealand Volume 1. "Māori signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi had been led to believe that chiefs would be allowed to continue to rule their tribes as before, but the British government vetoed even a plan recognising the continuance of Māori customary law and its control mechanisms in districts not significantly penetrated by Pākehā. The choice was made instead to extend regular judicial and administrative control as quickly as possible over such areas in order to participate both land alienation and racial subjugation in general." Well nothing's really changed. As a colonised person, we know that the criminal justice system is strategically employed to force Māori into a system of extreme repression and control – a tactic which has been successful now, and if we don't stop it for generations to come. So I want to repeat that point: criminal justice system is a system of extreme repression and control. We're talking about uptight fucking Victorians here! Who like to humanise the poor, treated them like shit, sent them all out and wanted to bring that idea over here. Which is at complete odds of how Māori people look at each other as human beings. It's a whole process of dehumanisation. So the criminal justice system is a key in the colonial project within the armoury of the settler colonial state, and I would say social welfare is too because that's the pipeline that we have to prison. The children that they remove into social welfare state care are the people that are moved into prison. My father's whakapapa is very interesting, he went from a boy's home, to a hostel, to prison. And that's repeated today. So in most respects the system has created the prison, that keeps it going. And its interesting when you talk about Treaty settlements, we had the fiscal cap which capped Treaty settlement at a billion dollars; they spend a billion dollars every year at keeping us incarcerated and locked down in the criminal justice system. Instead of giving Māori a billion dollars a year, they've come to some sort of decent recompense for stealing our land - no, we would spend a billion dollars on keeping your people locked down. So every system of control depends for its survival on the tangible and intangible benefits that are provided to those who are responsible for the system's maintenance and administration. And the criminal justice system of incarceration is no exception. So when we're talking about locking up more and more people, what we're really talking about is locking up more Māori men and women. So people nowdays don't necessarily want to speak directly of race, but when they speak about crime, they are speaking about race. So we have a system of mass incarceration, a wide variety of laws and institutional practices ranging from racial profiling to biased sentencing policies. Political disenfranchisement. Legalised employment discrimination. So it traps Māori in a virtual and very literal cage, where we live in a closed circuit of perpetual marginality. So mass incarceration has been normalised, as a normal experience for us, and all the assumptions that give rise to that system are embraced and internalised by people of all colours, from all walks of life, and in every major political party. Mass incarceration has been the most thoroughly implemented government social programme of our time, and there's no mistake why our prison numbers went through the roof. We're bearing the brunt of neoliberal reforms, and I'm thinking if any of you have read any of Michelle Alexander's book? And that experience mimics 1980s and the economic restructuring that took place in the states. So we'll remove the welfare state! We'll smash it! But we don't mind spending lots of money on social control and chucking you into prison. So the prison state along with privatisation, and austerity, are important part of neoliberal capitalism. It delivers up bodies, destined for profitable punishment. The political economy of prisons relies on the racial assumptions of criminality. And I might say something that you might think is radical: but I don't respect, acknowledge, Pākehā law. To me, all Māoris convicted under Pākehā law are political prisoners. I have no respect for a legal system that has disenfranchised and dispossessed my people. So mass incarceration perpetuates and deepens the pre-existing patterns of racial segregation and isolation. And I want to cut it short because I'd really like to have more of a korero with the audience, and this fantastic quote from Ani Mikaere. And it's a paper you should look out for, called Three Million Strikes and Still Not Out: The Crown as the Ultimate Recidivist: "So we should pause for a moment to ponder the cruel irony of our current situation. The ultimate recidivist has designed and now implements its own legal system in order to further prey upon its victims. In a bizarre reversal of roles, the serial offender has become the arbiter of justice, while we are now perceived as criminals. The Crown has been responsible for a relentless campaign of criminal violence against us. Every day it continues to assert its authority in this land. It demonstrates that violence carries its reward, and that crime pays. It has viciously attacked our physical, social, emotional and spiritual wellbeing over a long period of time, thus setting in train a crippling cycle of violence from which some of us, unsurprisingly, have struggled to escape. While the cycle of violence idea seems to have gained widespread acceptance as a way of understanding family relationships, the Crown appears to have difficulty in grasping its applicability to the relationship between itself and people whose homeland it has invaded." So it's like a purposeful thing: when the National government changed the laws on parole, changed the laws on sentencing, changed access to legal aid, changed the laws on bail, privatised prisons, that was done on purpose to make mass incarceration boom in this country. And I'm going to pick up the Māori party and give them particular criticism for a) rolling over and supporting double-bunking, which is like a human rights crisis in prisons, and b) giving the brown-wash for the National government to privatise prisons in New Zealand. And we've all seen the fallout of Serco in New Zealand, but also what Serco have done on Manus Island and Christmas Island, and with respect to our Māori brother who was killed at Villawood, at Serco in Sydney. So thank you, it's an honour to talk today. Yesterday, Bobby Sands died after 66 days on hunger strike. So I think also prisoners aren't victims. I don't need a social worker to see me because my father went inside. I still go to see my Dad for advice, he's still my Dad. So I want to give my heart and love to all of those that are supporting a loved one inside, to people that have done time – I respect you, because I don't think I could do what they do. There's a strength there. Ho Chi Minh said when you open the prison doors, the dragon will escape. So I want to do all I can to open that door, because I believe – Māori, we never give up on each other. And like Pākehās might look at us as criminals and incarcerated, but to me, that is the revolutionary army sitting in our prisons that will liberate us one day. Kia ora.

Annette Sykes: Kia ora te whare. Kia ora e koe te tangata mai i Taranaki whakatūwhera tā tātou nei hui i te ahiahi nei, i runga i te whakaaro rangatira, me pēhea te huarahi tōtikia hei tūtaki ai i te hauhau o te rongo i tēnei whenua rangatira o Aotearoa. He tino pātai tēnei. Anā, i runga i taua tū āhuatanga – pea – ka whakahokia tērā huarahi, te tohunga nei a te ture a te Māori, a Moana. Anā, kei te tū au hoki ki te mihi ki a koe, Sina, kua roa te wā i tūtaki māua, engari ko koe tētahi o ngā wahine toa i runga i tēnei whenua, e whawhai ana, e pakanga ana mō te whenua, mō te tangata, mō ngā taonga tuku iho, mō ngā mokopuna. I te wā e ora ana a Syd, ko au tētahi hoki o [...] tamāhine, i whāngai ia a Syd me pēhea te huarahi e whai atu te iwi Māori kia tūtaki e kī ana te taniwha i moana i waenganui i te Tiriti o Waitangi. Ko tērā taniwha te tū āhuatanga e pā ana ki te mana Māori motuhake. Anā, kei te maumahara ināianei i āna kaupapa, nā te mea ko koe tētahi e hīkoi ana tērā kaupapa ia rā, ia rā. Anā ka

tuku mihi ki a koutou: kua roa te wā kia kite i ngā Freedom Fighters o te ao. Kei te tino koa taku ngākau i te kitea i waenganui i tēnei roopū. Ngā wāhine, ngā tāne, ngā mokopuna, ngā whaea, ngā kuia, ngā koroua. E mōhio ana au i a maumahara, e pūmau tonu te wairua whakahaere o tēnei whenua mo tātou katoa. Ka huri i tēnā o ngā reo, engari kei te tū atu ki te tautoko i ngā mihi. I'm inspired today to be here with people I've always admired. I hear a lot of praise coming our way, but in 30 years of activism, one of the greatest gratitudes for the things we do, is when I see Teanau in a room. And I remember that Teanau was there when Mike Smith was getting sentence at the One Tree Hill debacle in Auckland, and then led a protest down to Foreign Affairs straight after, reminding us that shit, just cutting down a tree, is not going to actually make much ripples around the world. So off we went down, well some of us, to get arrested outside MFAT as they were developing free trade agreements that were actually attacking our sovereignty. I feel really inspired when I see Val in a room, who reminded me when I was reading a criminal law case, that you need to burn some flags on Pākehā steps to actually change the law and to actually change and challenge antiquated ideas within the judicial system, that actually acts of legitimate protest are actually acts of violence. Lovely to see Tame in a room, especially when he shares a Māori party view that I don't share anymore, and still be able to recognise that he is one of the liberators of this land, because there are very few who can walk the talk that he has, survive, and be recognised as, perhaps, the father of the Tuhoe nation that has never, ever forgotten landlessness, homelessness, the struggle of being a refugee, and racism. And I just want to remind people in the early part of the coloniser's entry into our territory, they called us 'hauhau'; they were calling us 'niggers'. And still they call us niggers, I believe, in a lot of the way they deal with us, and that language doesn't get recorded, but it gets spoken quite a lot. I've been inside quite a lot, and nothing's changed after 200 years sometimes. The people that were incarcerated in great numbers when the invaders came were Māori. The people that were raped were Māori. The people that were denied our rights to our own systems of reconciliation, were Māori. And as someone who has struggled in the law for 30 years, try and confront those things, it's been a difficult time, but it's been a great ride. My first case was a rustling case, on the 1984 hikoi, when a few of the brothers had decided we needed some sheep to feed the whanau. And they got busted. So that was a good case. Another case that soon came after that was burning down the Town Hall in Tauranga by activists who were concerned that they were selling a colonial symbol, which was actually erected on stolen lands. They were real freedom fighters for me, they went to jail for 18 months. Their story rippled certainly in the Bay of Plenty, but didn't ripple too many other places. Another case I was involved in early in my career was Dun Mihaka who I actually see as the father of the Māori language movement. He was the one who broke his arm trying to deny being taken back to jail because he wanted to be recognised as a Māori agent in the right of interpretation, in a court system. When Māori activists, language activists, now they very rarely remember him and [Dianne Prince], but we all know it was them that paid with judicial incarceration for their right to stand up and speak our own language in this nation. And that was 30 years ago. There's been some interesting cases since then. There's been some really bad losses. I cry every time I lose a murder trial, and someone goes away for an indeterminate time. Quite often the circumstances invoked in any altercation involving the loss of life are not simply about causation, it's always quite often about consequences and moments, and sometimes how moments can change life's histories. And those things tend to get forgotten. The legal aid debacle that Sina has just talked about, it means that there are fewer and fewer people being properly represented. More and more being self-represented; another contribution to the incarceration rates. I am with Moana: I have long been a prison abolitionist. I think it's because of my name. The personal is political. My mother was at training college in Auckland in the 60s, and her brother was convicted and spent two years in jail. And there were a number of Māori at training college at the time, but nobody wanted to go with her to Mount Eden to visit her brother. And there was a French woman called Annette in her class who drove my mother every week up to the Mount. Waited at the end for the shy Māori girl from Ngāti Pikiao up to visit her brother and come home and go back to the training college hostel. So she named me Annette. 'Great Māori name', she said. Because it reminded her of the manaakitanga that somebody gave her when most of the Māoris didn't want to know her because she was visiting her brother doing time. The second part of my name is an interesting one too, [Teimaima]; it was a comet they say that came here that led the Te Arawa waka to venture into our territories, and its marked where I live by a white Tīkouka. But the woman I'm named after was an activist following the invasion of our territories in Ngāti Pikiao. She occupied land, was arrested, went to the Native Land Court at that time, punched the judge a few times, did those kinds of things and advocated for her people to prevent the individualisation of our land. So one of the things I carry when I go into a justice system, is the reality of those naming. Those names. Those reminders that you've given those opportunities to struggle against oppression. And I think that's what I really wanted to bring here to this session, is that I found it interesting that here we are talking about one of the most fundamental issues that I see confronting this nation, and its not in the law school. It's actually been organised by some sociology department, when 20 years ago when we started these kinds of things I thought these were cutting edge legal issues. And I haven't been invited to talk on these kinds of things in the law school in a long time. They prefer to speak about Treaty settlements and how to get out of grievance mode, into development mode, and how we can develop capitalist structures to make more profits, and blind trusts to avoid but not evade tax. That's the kind of transformation that's occurred in 30 years of law schools for the Māori graduates of legal systems. So it's a bit of an eye opener for me, here today, and I thank the organisers for it, that we're having to confront the reality of a legal system that is unjust to Maori outside a legal space. And that says a whole lot about where we are as a nation. So we need to transform the debate. But the debate should happen, and we should not get paralysed as armchair revolutionaries, which we often do. We need to actually develop action. And if we're talking about shutting down the privatisation of prison, we have to shut down Serco. It's really simple for me. If we're talking about avoiding privatisation, well we have to ask Whānau Ora, why are they developing privatisation models which actually are just about a brown

bureaucracy delivering private service, rather than actually transforming a service to ensure that there's no repeating of the wrongdoing that has caused the harm to either the individual or the perpetrator of that harm at any time. It requires us I think if we're looking at the transformation approach, asking myself as an apparatus of the state – I get paid off them. Let's be really clear on it: whether I should be continuing in that role. It's confronting those deep, dark, hard issues. But I've stayed at it a long time, I've tried to get out a couple of times. Because there's no one else now that wants to do free work for the poor. Or free work for Māori. Or certainly, free work for activists that are getting their asses locked up. And that's been a real worry for me. And I always look to Pākehā and Pacific island allies when we're having a mass incarceration of our people in protests. There aren't that many Maori lawyers that look up and say, 'Hey, dog, can I help you?' Or are we going to be staying together? It's always a Pākehā and Pacific Island brethren that I see as allies that I go to first. And I think if I was looking at collaboration, I think this morning the language was 'in solidarity', those are the spaces of participation and support that we as tangata whenua have been greatly assisted by. And its those great Pākehā too when I was charged with sedition, that offered me free legal advice. People you might be surprised about, because there's quite bastards in the law. Mike [Bungay] offered me an open chequebook when I was being charged with sedition. Why? Because he'd made his money off defending 80 Maoris and getting most of them off murder charges, and are either convictions of manslaughter or not guilty verdicts. So he felt an obligation to try and protect us. And those are small steps in transformation, but they're real steps. And sometimes when we come to these things, we can talk in an intellectual paradigm that is so far removed from the realities of our people in jail. That I don't know in the long term if that's going to be helpful. I've noticed huge changes in the last ten years. I get a 40 minute visit in jail now. I used to be able to go in at night and stay there till 10 o'clock. Take a kai. Take a boil up for the brothers. Can't do any of that anymore. It's not unusual for a pat-down now. And going through those metal machines. Because I've got a hip replacement, the machines go off. So I normally have to go for a search all the time in case I'm taking something else inside. That's just the reality. And all of us lawyers are being subjected to that, and even though we have the complaints, we put up with it - because what's more important is I think having a face-to-face contact with a client. Because that's not encouraged anymore. You don't get paid for it under legal aid. You're encouraged to use the – what I say – the distance of an interactive video or a telephone. And the literacy of our people means they can't even understand most times what the nature of the charges are, and that's a very un-Māori way to communicate. So we all know the problems, I think Moana's outlined the solutions, but I would like to see the next ten minutes asking us how we can work together to effect those solutions. I've been at hui since the Roper report. Justice Roper said 'Close down prisons, build habilitation centres, co-locate them against maraes, allow those marae to actually have in their counselling programs, because a vast number of those incarcerated are in family situations where there's been an overflow of family violence that has caused distance between partners and children, and I don't see that being effected in solutions by long

lags and distancing children from their fathers or their mothers. And not even family connections - whanau connections - reinstituted. I was on that committee, I think I was a sweet young princes Sina, back in 1984 when that committee was doing its thing. I've been on a whole range of committees that have looked at alternatives to prisons but inevitably they become exercises in white guilt. The government lets you do the exercise, come up with the solutions, but never follows through on the practice. And I think I'm sick and tired of white guilt; I don't want white guilt to do that. I want to do it because it's the *right* thing to do. It's not that I feel embarrassed that we have these incarceration rates, it's because prison is inhumane. And I always say, the original prisons were dungeons. Let's start calling them dungeons! Cos that's what they were designed as, and that's what they were. They were called dungeons. And the name 'correction' is a whole... You know, who are we 'correcting' people to be like? The white image of those that have oppressed them to send them to dungeons. Its this whole languaging again that I think we need to be discussing. Finally, I can't help but have a real worry about the Treaty industry. I've never negotiated a Treaty claim because everything goes really well in the Tribunal, we start off asserting mana motuhake, but then they come up with the mana moni motuhake, and out goes the mana Māori motuhake! Sorry! Everyone forgets who the main fighters for the uncovering of history, they set up a capitalist structure of who benefits in the largess. Very little trickle down going into the communities that have actually had the most dispossessed, and after 10 years of conflict with the Crown, inevitably there's been 10-20 years of conflict within the iwi. And people don't talk to each other anymore because one brother got money, and the other brother missed out. And one sister got completely invisiblised altogether. That's what's happening. So I find the Treaty settlement process a misnomer: it's a Treaty un-settlement process. It is about assimilation. It's been the best process of forcing us back into the structures of the coloniser's capitalist beliefs. And without little rigorous challenge. Very few Treaty settlement entities have actually tried to do anything except a capitalist model of development, because they've accepted money - and not resources - from the beginning. Very few of them maintain a philosophy that they can only invest within the mana whenua of their own lands; most of them are buying, you know, coming to Rotorua. Ngāi Tahu's buying in Rotorua, Taranaki's buying in Rotorua, Tainui's buying in Rotorua. If that's real tribal development, that's another form of capitalism and colonialism in the modern context. They don't ask Māori in Rotorua to be the joint venturers either, they ask for Pākehā tourist operators to be their joint ventures. So there's a whole lot happening in it, I think you might want to call it the Treatycapitalist opportunity, if you really want to get down to it. People know it, the sad thing is, even when you have positive findings of sovereignty – of tino rangatiratanga as in the Tūhoe claims, they settle their Urewera park in a co-governance model. That's not a sovereignty model. When you get a finding of positive sovereignty in the Te Arawa settlements, we don't get a sovereignty model over our lakes, we get a cogovernance model with the district council and the regional authority. And sadly, Ngāpuhi, I heard someone say this morning: 'I fought like hell to get the... we never ceded sovereignty, but as soon as they had the money dangled around settlement,

Sonny Tau and his mates have said its sovereignty.' Because they all want to be the best mates of the person that's going to confer authority on them, no matter what the tribe might think. And that's the sad reality of the corruption of the Treaty settlement process; it corrupts Māori values. Kia ora.

TK: This was amazing, definitely I think the point of the discussion was to open up and get some questions and debate going and definitely when we see political rivalries clashing among old peers, it's really about setting the boundaries again, and ensuring this discussion we have here is actually normative. That we reject an idea. And we don't risk allowing the poverty of imagination to mitigate any kind of possible solution, because the time is now, and its great to hear that I think we're inspired, definitely, by some of these situations that you've presented to us, all three speakers have made. And so we're going to open it up now for some questions.

Audience Participant 1: Kia ora koutou, this is absolutely astonishing, thank you all. Close the prisons tomorrow! I think its one of the major things. There is no... for me, the prison abolitionist stance is the only stance you can be. I can't imagine that we can go through a reform thing. As you know, I go into the prisons every single week. I have never had one sent from Corrections. I agree that the problem with the settlements ties us in to the settler state. Never accept money. Only accept the land and resources, not accept that we take back... and I think Taiaiake Alfred's work is really important there, in terms of not accepting compensatory models, because of the way it ties us to the settler state. Of all the incredible things that you've said, Moana, is around the imagination. Cos one of the things that incarceration does, is it locks the imagination. I go into my very first class, my sociology of incarceration, and I say to them exactly what I've said; we close the prisons tomorrow. And then I just watch the response. People can't imagine a landscape without prisons, and yet prisons are invisible in our landscape. That's what Angela Davis says - it's amazing given that we can't imagine a society without them, and yet they're completely invisible to us, even when they're right in the middle of our city, like in Auckland. We still can't see them. They're our flesh and blood, the possibilities of extinguishing whakapapa occurs in prisons, is occurring in our prisons as we speak. So that thing around imagination is a really important element about imagining - the imagining of the world. At the moment, the prisons colonise our landscape, and they colonise our futures. So that imagination - that thing - this is what discourse does; it means it limits. We get this cognitive restriction to use the academic terms – the narrowing of thought. We can't imagine a society without prisons. The language of crime and punishment is a false language that locks us into things that are not there. When you talk about hara, when you talk about social harm, if we address a social harm, we don't have to have any of this structure. And I think that's the thing about creating spaces of imagination. What the women have taught me, particularly the women, and men as well that I work with, the women -a lot of them are girls - what they have taught me is just astonishing in terms of experiencing in terms of philosophies, in terms of ways of being. But it's around what get lost in terms of imagination that is

completely fettered and constrained and locked. But the possibilities of thinking beyond it... I go back to the rehabilitation things, I think when we take our land and our people are there and on it. But it's the imagination, it's the space of imagination, its coming together with all of those things that I actually think is one of the most important elements that we must go back to. So the world of your mokopuna is that incredible place. What are our imagination places? Kia ora.

MJ: Kia ora Tracey, and not sure if I did it before, but acknowledge the work that you do. And my whanaunga Kim, and many others who are here. One of the things, you quite rightly said prison shuts the imagination. Well colonisation does too. The only thing it teaches us to imagine, is what the world is like as seen by others. It takes away our ability to imagine what the world is like when we define it for ourselves. The whole idea of whakapapa, that people are interrelated, gets redefined, and we become these isolates, these individuals, and so it's easy then to demonise someone who does wrong. And one of the most damaging changes that has occurred I think since we did the report on Māori in the criminal justice system in the 1980s is the rise of groups like the Sensible Sentencing Trust. Which I think has corrupted and abused the position of victims to pursue a political ideology. And they're philosophy really is to set the wrongdoer over there, as this isolate, that we should not care about or have no responsibility for, but the moment you do that, then you reinforce the breakdown of whatever relationships might be there. So I don't envisage that imagining something different will be easy, but everyone has the potential to imagine. And it's just... in our people's case, to imagine that it was only 170 years ago, there were no prisons in this country. There was no notion of imprisonment. There was no notion of locking people away in isolation. And 170 years in terms of the human story, is nothing. Whatarangi Winiata talks about colonisation as being a mere blip in our history. That in the long history of our people, it's just this tiny aberration. And prisons are the same. And I think if we commit to imagining something different, argue and debate among ourselves, what we are imagining, but its absolutely possible to find other ways. And one of the biggest barriers its put in our way, is when people say, and politicians say to our people all the time, 'oh that's unrealistic.' What one of the most offensive phrases I've had Pākehā say to me is 'get real. Get real.' Well to say 'get real', or 'its unrealistic', is not an argument. It's a restatement of power. It's a perception of what is. And its possible to change realities, because they are made by humans. And so imagining something different to me, is just creating a different reality. And the consequences of that imagination will be profound. And so out of this little hui, this little group here, I really do hope we might imagine something different.

SB-D: I dream of being free, I dream of me, Māori woman, on my own land. Yeah I want to dream, but I want to stop shit. I wanna work together. Some of my favourite trouble makers of all time are here in this room. We need to shut shit down. We know what we need to. Our African community gave us a clear indication of where we need to start. The point of entry into the criminal justice system of mass incarceration is the racial profiling by the police of our young people. We gotta stop it. We got to work

with communities, we got to talk our young people, we've got to listen to them. We gotta give them apps to film the police brutality, because nobody's going to believe it nowadays, unless you put it on YouTube or the internet. We've got to start watching the cops. The cops are an occupying force in Mangere and South Auckland; we have to start monitoring our neighbourhoods in Mangere, in Otara, by human rights standards. We have to give the power back to our communities to keep those Police accountable. The Police were very different back in my day when I grew up in Mangere. He lived on the same street as us. If somebody played up, he went to tell their Aunty or their grandmother. He didn't drag them inside, or lock them in jail, because it's like he lived with us. He also knew that we knew his family. And things have changed. So there are concrete things we can do - racial profiling's the big one. The Police are racist. They're always going to deny it, but we know that they are. We can take concrete measures. I think the inquiry into racial profiling in Melbourne was a really good model that we can use to change institutional practice, because it's a learnt thing. The prosecutor, it's the prosecutors that hold the key to the jailhouse door. It's the prosecutors that pile the charges on. So I want to find the prosecutor now to get funded like the same way as the Public Defender's Office. And the Public Defender's Office should get funded like the Crown prosecutor's. And what a change that would make and the representation that our people can get. So those are three things. The police, the prosecutors, we need more money. They incarcerate our people, people are being incarcerated for stupid things! Parole. And I'm really angry at our people who are complicit in systems of oppression. The worst time I've had in three trial hearings to do with my Dad, have been the house niggers - sorry I'm not going to mince my words - the house niggers who are trying to do a harder job on their own people than the ex-Pākehā retired judge, who was actually listening to us. Was really hurtful! To give your pepeha, because you're there to support your loved one in prison to, move your whole family over, and the Māoris just sit there and they're like 'Nah nah nah, we don't care that you're here for your father, he's staying in jail.' So the people that sell us out, you know the Treaty settlement process - it wasn't these bureaucratic-lawyer-capitalist now that were marching the streets 40 years ago, 30 years ago, that were getting arrested, they were putting their asses on the line to put the Treaty, Syd Jackson was one of the foundational activists that put the Treaty on the political agenda. And I think he'd be spinning in his grave to see how that work had been pulled away. That all the hard yards that'd been done for a bunch of capitalist wankers to share the fruit of it. The so-called Māori economy's worth what? 40 billion dollars? Is that going to trickle down? It's not trickling down. So yea, go cuz, go and grow a crop of marijuana, but don't get caught, cos that's a cash crop so you can feed your family. People have no idea that when you're locked out from the mainstream economy, crime is all you have. And if you're going to steal to feed your family, kei te pai, don't get caught, don't leave any fingerprints, DNA, and cover your face so the camera doesn't see you.

AS: In imagining, I want a continuity of consciousness. When they criticised Roper, they said it was an idealist thing, and that the people that they had on the committee

weren't real criminologists, or real psychologists, or real lawyers, but they were real people who had real whanau that had been incarcerated. I want some continuity of consciousness so that people understand what Sina's talking about. When you're trying to get out on a parole hearing, it's just hard. If you've murdered your mother, or your father, who is the whanau support you've got on the outside? If you've raped a neighbour down the road, where is your whanau support after an 11 year lag? There is very little resources in constructing the support network outside - heaps of resources going on in the inside. But one of the things I like to say is visits - basic stuff, it's really important. I go to see a lot of men, mainly. Because I'm closer to prisons where men are housed. But I go to see people just because they haven't seen someone for five years. They haven't had a visit. I send calendars every year to people I know who have no whanau support. And I do it, and sometimes they take those calendars away from them as a form of correction's discipline. One was because I had red, black and white, which are the tino rangatiratanga colours, on my calendar. It was a Robyn Kahukiwa, an original for God's sake, that I'd got printed up for all the boys inside. But those things, those basic human things, they make all the difference. It gives hope. What Syd used to say to us, 'Educate, activate, organise, and then they will feel that liberation.' And that little action of love, cos it's a sense of aroha, is sometimes the seed that activates. And I just say that those really important things are getting lost at the time, as we try and think the big things that need to happen. But I reckon its those small steps that are actually going to bring the system down. Cos once we start reconnecting with whanau and then demanding them back into our communities, and relocating them into our own kainga, with appropriate facilities that we have developed, there won't be prisons. We have to start doing that. You can't keep asking the state to do that; we have to initiate that.

Audience Participant 2: Kia ora tātou. Kind of carrying on from what we were just talking about, the small human gestures for incarcerated peoples. I'm part of a group called No Pride in Prisons, and we're trying to get a prisoner correspondence project going for Aotearoa. I know that there are other groups doing mahi. So we're definitely not some bolt in the darkness. But it would be really cool if you have the time or energy to write to an incarcerated person, our specific kaupapa is for queer and trans people, so if you're queer, if you're trans, then that'll be cool because you have shared experience with them. If you're not, that is also cool, because we are also human beings. But you'll see me round, I'm the girl with the big hair. Just say hi and let me know if you want to give me your contact details, and I'll get in touch with you as soon as I get back to my hotel. Because our whanaunga are really really suffering, and the women I've been talking to on the internet are really really suffering, and like Annette just said, any little gesture that acknowledges that you are a human, and people inside are also humans, I think kind of makes a huge difference. Kia ora.

Audience Participant 3: Kia ora. I just wanted to comment on your comment about racial profiling at the front end of the system. And one of the things we need to watch out for is racial profiling at the end of the system. And I'm really talking about the

legislative move towards increased surveillance of offenders after they leave the prison. I heard a number of comments over the last month that electronic monitoring is a great idea because its an alternative to incarceration. And its actually not. Its an extension of incarceration. Over the last 5-6 years, there have been 9 pieces of legislation which have extended the criminal justice system into the lives of people after they've finished their sentence. And extended supervision orders, public protection orders, a whole increase in electronic surveillance. There's one bill now before the House which aims to apply electronic monitoring to people after they leave the prison, who have served less than two years in prison. And they've targeted three groups. And one of those groups is gangs, people who have family connections to gangs, and people who are associated with gangs. And there's no evidence for its effectiveness, or that it's necessary. And part of that process is a risk assessment process which rates people, not only on their history of criminal offending, but on where they live, their socio-economic status, their educational status. These are things that can't be changed. And the evidence the Attorney General of the United States, former Attorney General, Eric Holder, has come out strongly against this because he said what it's doing, is discriminating against people of colour, and people form marginalised communities. Now that's happening now. It's racial profiling which is not public and identifiable, but its insidious. And its done under the label of a scientific process, so we're now having risk-based assessments and the scientific rationalisation of discrimination. What is happening now is that the numbers of Māori who breach those conditions and are imprisoned, has risen from about 55% 5 years ago, to 62% today. So there are a couple of characteristics about that. The legislation is always put to the Select Committees on the basis that it's a public safety measure, but its in fact an extension of punishment. The other feature is that every piece of legislation that has gone before the House has breached the Bill of Rights, in one respect or another. And to give the Attorney General credit, he has protested on that basis, most of the time has been ignored. And what we're seeing is this significant gap between Māori and Pākehā in terms of... we know that when the system gets tough, offenders are disadvantaged by it. But Māori are disproportionately disadvantaged. So the gap is growing steadily. And I think its an issue that if you're looking at decarceration, not prison, be careful, not saying that because we have electronic monitoring and public surveillance, its an improvement, because its not. And I think its something that perhaps we need to look at more closely. Kia ora.

SB-D: Kia ora. I think dismantling the prison-industrial is not only decarceration, but it's dismantling all those systems of social control.

Audience Participant 4: Kia ora anō. This probably feels like a more personal question, going to your imagination space, Moana, and as a roia Māori, Annette and Moana, is there, as a Māori lawyer, or someone that's gone through that and has...

AS: You're a great Māori lawyer. You are. So no need to go further than that. You're a great Māori lawyer.

AP4: ... just whether being in the system is, whether that stops our ability to find an imagination space for our people, is there a role for Māori lawyers? Is there a role for me?

MJ: Kia ora Julia. I don't know if you can recall the korero I give every year to Maori law students. That for me, the test for how you best serve our people is when you graduate, can you say 'I'm a Māori who happens to be a lawyer, or a lawyer who happens to be Māori.' If you are a lawyer who happens to be Māori, you do not serve our people, you serve the interests of those who control that legal system. If you are a Māori who happens to be a lawyer, which you are, then you use the particular skills that you have learned to serve our people. And what necessarily goes with that, I think, is the constant awareness which a group like JustSpeak manifests, for example, is a constant awareness of how that system works. When we lose sight of how that system works, then we have been co-opted by it. And I'm proud of the association I have with JustSpeak, I admire the work that you and others do, and there are moments of doubt in every struggle. Even we look at someone like Tame and we think he's never doubted anything, but he's had moments I'm sure, of doubt and concern. And that's fine. Cos we will have support around us that will help us through that time. And I don't know if this story will help. But when I finished work that I did a few years ago, in the Navajo justice system, and they have their own justice system, they don't have prisons, but they have peace-maker circles and courts and so on. And they gave me a sand painting, probably know their sand paintings? They live in the Painted Desert, in Arizona, and multi-coloured sands. And they put glue on pieces of wood, and then they paint, they trickle the sand through their hands and paint these amazing pictures. And they gave me one when I left, and at the bottom there was a Navajo whakataukī. And they wrote the translation on the back. Which says, 'In the struggle for freedom, you may depressed, but you should never succumb to pessimism.' So we all get depressed. Just never get pessimistic.

Audience Participant 5: Kia ora. I think its only fitting that the last question comes from me. World began in the Carribean. Look, I'm not Māori, I'll just put that out there, and I'm not Pacific, I'll put that out there too. But you know, I've been hearing for so long for Pacific peoples, 'Your academic achievement is less than.' So many Pacific peoples are on the benefit or on welfare or whatever. And I've heard for so long that the prisons are more than 50% are Māori. And I'm not saying we need to hide that. But I tell my Pacific students, change the narratives. Those are grand narratives. But what you don't want the Pacific child coming out of the womb to hear is that 'you're going to go on the dole.' What you don't want a Māori boy to hear coming out of the womb is that he's going to likely end up in prison. Because a small percentage of Māori are in prison. And I'm not saying that these things, this isn't a reality. So I say to my Pacific students, when they tell you that you have a long way to go, you tell them in spite of the low teacher expectations, in spite of the low resources, in spite of the Dawn Raids, look how far you've come. Because in the 28 years I've been in New Zealand, when I first went to Pacific meetings, I would see one or two Pacific academics. Now there's a whole classroom full of them. And 28 years ago when I came to Aotearoa, you see very few Māoris. So I would say when our youth are born, tell them, in spite of the genocide, in spite of colonisation, in spite of alienation, in spite of discrimination, look how far you've come. We know what the reality is, but I think we need to change our narratives for our young people. We know the stories – I'm not saying let's hide them. But we need them to hear something else. Let them know how far they've come in spite of what was done to them. I'm just saying. And I say that because this is a narrative given to us, not in the Carribean, but when we migrate to places like the United States or the U.K., and I look at Māori and I see so many prominent Māori academics and I've seen people today whose books are read, and I think to myself 'You guys have come so far in spite of what has happened.

TK: Tēnā tātou e te iwi, kua toa te rā ki runga i ngā korero o tēnei rā. Kei mua i te aroaro, ko tātou hikipapa, ana ka hūnuku atu ki te whare kai Itāriana, Etrusco. Ki reira rongo i te mana kuranui o noa. Ana āhua tapu ngā korero o tēnei rā, ka tika hoki kia rongo hoki i te heketanga o te roimata. Kaare e huri he aha o te ngākau ki te kore e whakaiarohia te pāparinga me te hekenga o te roimata. Tēnā koe taku tuahine e whakatūwherahia ana te ngākau, ki tō tātou hui. Me ō tātou tohunga e arataki ana ki te hunga rangatahi, ki roto i te ao o te ture. Tō tātou whaea, e tangi apakura tonu nei mō tātou ngā uri i roto i ngā whare herehere. Kua pātūtūhia ngā hinengaro, kua pātūtūhia te tinana. Ana, pērā anō ki ngā mouhere o Parihaka i tae mai ki Ōtākou nei, kāore au e whakaaro ake tā rātou hē. Engari tā rātou tika ki te haere tōtika i roto i te whare herehere. Pērā ki tō tātou papa a Tame. Kei waho noa ake tana wairua i ngā pātū o te whare herehere. So just to summarise, it's been a wonderful day, and really welcome all the comments, questions, the discourse, and the wonderful leadership shown by our presenters today, and I'm really glad that its' kicked off with emotion, and challenged the rationality of the state. And definitely setting a standard for tomorrow and all the other speakers to come. And we've got three days of this, and so I'm really thankful that we're going to finish off tonight with our conference dinner, at the Etrusco Italian restaurant, and hope, tēnā tātou, haramai. Mehemea kua utua e koe te utu, engari, āe. Ngā mihi ki a tātou katoa. Heoi anō, hei whakakapi ake. Unuhia, unuhia mai te rūtapu nui, kia wātea, kia mama te ngākau, te tinana, te wairua. Koia rā e Rongo, whakairihia ki runga kia wātea, kia wātea, āe rā, kua wātea. [...], pai marire. Tēnā tātou.