– ARTICLE –

PATHWAYS TO TRANSFORM INSTITUTIONAL (AND EVERYDAY) RACISM IN NEW ZEALAND

Heather Came & Tim McCreanor

ABSTRACT

Racism has become a normalised part of New Zealand society despite the government's endorsement of human rights treaties and the founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The outcomes of racism are manifest in the significant and enduring disparities in economic and social well-being between Māori and non-Māori. New Zealand has a range of strategies that attempt to deal with inequities between population groups and is developing a national human rights plan but currently lacks a coherent national strategy to eliminate racism. In this paper we offer four pathways to this goal as a contribution to a possible national strategy which i) addresses historical racism, ii) improves the racial climate, iii) pursues equity by applying systems change in public institutions, and iv) mobilises civil society through collective impact.

Keywords: institutional racism, collective impact, systems change, racial climate, New Zealand

INTRODUCTION

Racism is a global problem (Krieger 2011, Priest *et al*. 2013),[1] but finding solutions is complex in part due to its geographic specificity (Dunn and Geeraert 2003). In bicultural New Zealand,[2] institutional racism occurs within a spectrum of discrimination that includes internalised, interpersonal, and societal forms (Paradies, Harris, and Anderson 2008) and reveals itself in chronic disparities between Māori and non-Māori in the realms of education, health, criminal justice, and employment (Ministry of Social Development 2010, Robson and Harris 2007, Pickett and Wilkinson 2011).[3] It is not a new phenomenon, and, as directed against indigenous people, it is a long-standing, wicked problem with origins in the discriminatory colonial practices of colonisation

and assimilation (Smith 2012). The persistence of systemic racism threatens indigenous culture and environments. Skilling (2013) argues that it fractures what he calls the egalitarian myth of New Zealand society and tarnishes our human rights record.

Informed by the writings of Jones (2000) and Paradies (2005), we use 'institutional racism' to refer to an entrenched pattern of differential access to material resources and state power determined by ethnicity and culture, which advantages one population while disadvantaging another. 'Institutional racism' can be used interchangeably with terms such as 'structural and systemic discrimination' and 'state racism'. Power can be exercised through policy frameworks, overt decision-making, agenda setting, shaping meaning, withholding information, prioritisation, and imposing worldviews, all of which are social practices. Far from being fixed, such features of institutional racism are amenable to change through policy development and restructuring, which are commonplace in contemporary society. Rather than focusing on the intentions and motivations of individuals as the defining characteristic of institutional racism, the target is to eliminate racial disparities and the structures that generate them. A potential indicator of the transformation of racism is therefore equity, which Braveman and Gruskin define as 'the absence of systemic disparities' (2003, 254).

'Privilege' refers to unearned advantage (which is often invisible to those who possess it) that enables differential access to societal goods and services and can be conceptualised as existing in relation to racism and other forms of marginalisation (McIntosh 2003). Moewaka Barnes, Borell, and McCreanor (2014,7) provide a structural analysis of privilege based in New Zealand society in which the institutionalised dimensions of privilege are described as follows:

> the myriad mundane actions that are utilised in the conduct of relationships between citizens and state, in domains such as commerce, law, media, education, health services, environment, religion, international issues and so on.

The success and power of the Pākehā colonial project in this country has ensured that the entrenched processes and practices of the political economy are fundamentally shaped by Pākehā culture, interests, and power.

Rage, discomfort, and denial are all legitimate responses for people targeted by and/or witnessing racism. This paper, inspired in part by Malcolm X's words, 'the future belongs to those who prepare for it today', calls for courage, action,

and leadership in response to racism and privilege. The authors, both Pākehā activist scholars, maintain that a strategic, planned approach is needed to eliminate racism permanently. The persistence of racism within New Zealand society, as manifest in inequitable social outcomes (Marriott and Sim 2014), suggests that existing anti-racism efforts have yet to be successful. Informed by the available evidence and critical analysis honed by decades of anti-racism activism, we propose four pathways to transform racism (see Figure 1).

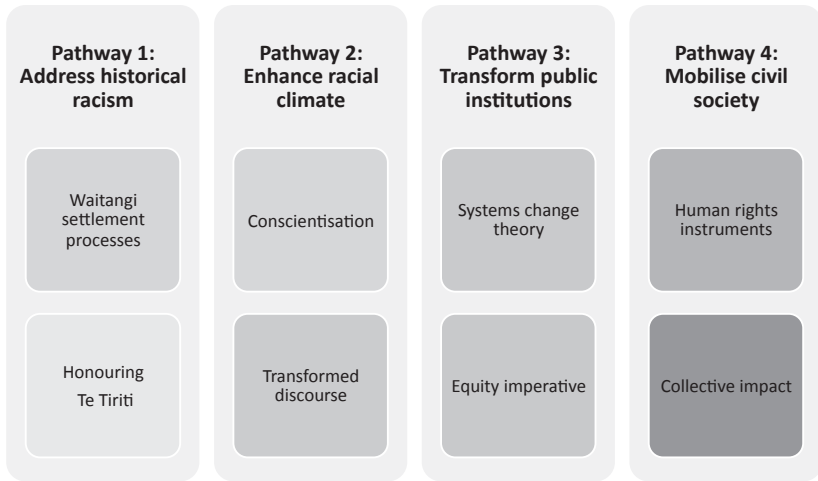| Pathway 1: Address historical racism	Pathway 2: Enhance racial climate	Pathway 3: Transform public institutions	Pathway 4: Mobilise civil society
Waitangi settlement processes	Conscientisation	Systems change theory	Human rights instruments
Honouring Te Tiriti	Transformed discourse	Equity imperative	Collective impact

Figure 1. Pathways to transform Racism.

The first pathway addresses historical racism and ensures that no further harm is done to those who Paradies (2006) argues are targeted by racism.[4] In the context of New Zealand, this pathway will involve honouring our founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi.[5] The second pathway enhances the racial climate and incites increased levels of what Freire (2000) calls conscientisation around issues of racism and privilege. The third pathway, inspired by the work of Derek Griffith, utilises systems change theory and the pursuit of equity to transform public institutions (Griffith, Mason, *et al*. 2007, Griffith, Childs, *et al*. 2007). The final pathway uses collective impact and human rights instruments to mobilise civil society to challenge racism within our respective spheres of influence.

Until racism is minimised, all four pathways will need to be followed simulta-neously to maximise the reach of interventions. As anti-racism praxis becomes embedded, future efforts will need to focus on maintaining and consolidating

positive race relations. The following sections explore the proposed pathways in more detail.

PATHWAY 1: HISTORIC RACISM: HONOURING TE TIRITI O WAITANGI

Traditionally, Māori were tribally based with a range of independent hapū often with familial (and diplomatic) connections via whakapapa (*genealogy*). Māori were recognised as an independent nation within the international community in 1835 through *He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni* (Declaration of Independence). Governance arrangements and settlement were later negotiated with the British through Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which affirmed Māori tino rangatiratanga and guaranteed ōritetanga (*equity*) with British citizens. Most critical readings of Te Tiriti o Waitangi accept that it is an uncomplicated guarantee of sovereignty to Māori hapū that was usurped by the Pākehā colonial project (Healy, Huygens, and Murphy 2012, Waitangi Tribunal 2014). Over several decades after 1840, British control was secured through the use of legislation, economic exploitation, and military force along with the imposition of British systems of governance, law, land tenure, and social development (Belich 1986). Politically, these violent processes were breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and continue to be investigated by the Waitangi Tribunal and are documented in their reports. These actions and inactions by the State have been described as institutional racism (Ministerial Advisory Committee 1988, Jackson 1988).

Mowbray (2007) argues that the cumulative effects of colonisation are profound. For instance, early British interpretations of Te Tiriti o Waitangi were enacted as exclusive rights of 'pre-emption' that meant the Crown could buy land cheaply from Māori (an example of institutional racism/privilege) and sell it at large margins to fund the colonial project (Orange 2011). Later, ancestral Māori lands that had been confiscated by the State (particularly after the land wars) were sold on to private non-Māori interests. The new owners accumulated income and/or wealth from that land and passed this on to their children as an inheritance, locking out the possibility of its return to its original owners (through existing legislative frameworks) and thereby access to income and/or wealth from the land. Likewise the marginalisation of indigenous people within education systems, especially via the establishment of the Native schooling system in 1867, which required that tuition be given in English (Simon and Smith 2001), undercut Māori impetus in development and advancement. The failure of the education system to meet Maori needs subsequently affected employment opportunities, which in turn influenced earning potential leading to an entrenched cycle of disadvantage (Bishop 2003).

On an emotional and spiritual level, Farrelly, Rudegeair, and Rickard (2005) argue that the effects of colonisation manifest as profound sadness/pain (mamae), such as in the intergenerational trauma which can fracture Māori whānau and fuel risk-taking behaviours. Lawson-Te Aho and Liu (2010) argue that another expression of this pain is found in the ongoing high Māori suicide rates (Ministry of Health 2014). In each of these examples, racism and privilege combine to produce these effects.

Walker (1990) describes Māori resistance to these multiple colonial impositions as 'ka whawhai tonu mātou' (*the struggle without end*), charting historical and contemporary responses. Since the Māori cultural renaissance of the 1970s, the New Zealand government has wrestled with its relationship with Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Department of Social Welfare 1994, Durie 1993, Hindmarsh 2000, Lunt 1999, O'Reilly and Wood 1991, Short 1986). Subsequently, various government departments (and individual Crown Officials) have attempted to be bicultural. O'Sullivan (2007, 2003) and Jackson (1993) have offered damning critiques of these ad hoc efforts, arguing that, despite cosmetic changes with the introduction of Māori names for government departments and Māori specific roles, the everyday workings of government have remained unchanged. Power has not been transferred, nor is this transfer likely to occur as it is not normal, Ramsden maintains, 'for any group in control to relinquish power and resources to the less powerful' (1994, 5).

Engagement with Te Tiriti o Waitangi has been further limited by a plethora of treaty 'principles', developed by assorted Crown agencies, that effectively reinterpret Te Tiriti in favour of Pākehā (Hayward 1997). Durie explains,

> Māori, placing greater emphasis on the actual words of the Treaty, have never been entirely comfortable with a focus on principles, sometimes because the definition of principles has been left to the Crown, acting on its own. (1994, 85)

The substance of the treaty relationship is clear in the Māori text. Te Tiriti o Waitangi established the terms and conditions of British settlement and reaffirmed Māori sovereignty already recognised through *Te Wakaputanga* (Healy, Huygens, and Murphy 2012). Article one placed an obligation on the settler government to engage in 'honourable kāwanatanga' – that is, a commitment to look after the interests of Māori alongside those of other New Zealanders. Article two affirmed Māori tino rangatiratanga and guaranteed the protection of taonga such as land, health, and Te Reo Māori. Article three granted Māori ōritetanga – that is, the same rights and privileges as British subjects. As re-

cently confirmed by a landmark finding of the Waitangi Tribunal (2014), Māori did not cede sovereignty in 1840.

The most substantial structural attempts to address historical racism have been through the Waitangi Tribunal process. Established in 1975, the Tribunal is a permanent Independent Commission of Enquiry investigating breaches of Te Tiriti by Crown Ministers and/or officials and in enacted statutes. The Tribunal makes recommendations to the government, and then the Crown enters into a negotiation process with iwi to compensate for breaches of Te Tiriti such as the confiscation of land and missed development opportunities. Often settlement processes are accompanied by a formal apology from the Crown and a commitment to strengthen and reconfigure the relationship with the settling iwi. These Tribunal and subsequent settlement processes have a range of limitations that have been well documented elsewhere but have achieved some notable successes (Hayward and Wheen 2004).

Waikato River Co-Management

A promising example of historical redress is the co-management arrangements of the Waikato River. Co-management is a continuum of power-sharing arrangements between tangata whenua and the government over a natural resource. (Wevers 2013) argues that this continuum ranges from Māori veto powers to Māori having the same rights as the general public. Since 1993 the Waitangi Tribunal has recognised that the Waikato River is a taonga to the tribes of Tainui and Ngāti Tūwharetoa – a source of physical and spiritual sustenance. The evolving Waikato River co-management arrangements have gone some way to restoring tino rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga (*guardianship*). The co-management arrangements are administered by the Waikato River Authority (wRA), which includes members representing river iwi alongside equal numbers of Crown appointees. Their vision includes the restoration of the river's health, a holistic and integrated approach to management, the utilisation of mātauranga Māori (*customary knowledge*), and the restoration of iwi relationships with the river according to tikanga. Despite ongoing issues, this vision is operationalised through the Waikato Regional Policy Statement (Waikato Regional Council 2000) and council district planning processes.

If Te Tiriti o Waitangi was being upheld, honoured, and implemented fully by Crown agencies, institutional racism should not be present. The New Zealand government needs to invest resources into strengthening public sector management, systems, and processes to ensure that no further breaches of Te Tiriti occur while continuing to negotiate the timely resolution of historical breaches.

Settlement processes need to acknowledge and apologise for past injustices and provide fair reparations (Wheen and Hayward 2012, Gibbs 2006). These actions entail a realignment of the relationship between the Crown and Māori which will help to change entrenched disparities in governance, decision-making, and control.

PATHWAY 2: IMPROVING THE RACIAL CLIMATE: CONSCIENTISATION

Racism does not exist in a vacuum but rather is embedded within a complex of psychological, interpersonal, and societal forms of discrimination. Racism is contiguous with other patterns of marginalisation (gender, class, age, sexuality, and disability) that ensure the naturalised maintenance of power for middle-aged, male, Pākehā hegemony. The fabric that constitutes institutional racism consists of sedimented social practices (Bourdieu 1993) of discourse, policy, regulation, and law that are deeply oriented to the common sense, ideology, and culture of the Pākehā colonial project. The breaches of Te Tiriti, the plain evidence of imposed dispossession of land and culture, and the deeply repressed guilt engendered by the genocidal injustice of the Pākehā social order combine to make constructive conversations about institutional racism between Māori and Pākehā difficult to manage.

Together these social dynamics constitute and animate what we will refer to as a changeable but patterned 'climate' of race relations. The contemporary patterns and continuities are inflected with the contested, unequal, often unjust interactions of our shared histories and shaped by and refracted through daily events, interactions, and tensions, both deliberate and incidental. Longer patterns, seasons perhaps, come and go around political cycles, efforts for redress, and moments of protest. Most citizens, directly or vicariously through mass media constructions and maintenance of particular climatic conditions, are aware of these dynamics. Without overt instructions, children by early school age know where they fit in these flows and fluxes, whom to befriend, what counts as fun, how to be safe and comfortable. With experience, adults come to articulate complex, multivalent discourses that express to themselves and others who they are and where they belong in our thoroughly racialised society (Nairn and McCreanor 1991, Wetherell and Potter 1992). The stigma attached to racist talk and practices in a context of ideological egalitarianism adds layers to the politics of representation of self and others. The flexibility of these discursive resources means that personal prejudice and presentation are readily managed (Wetherell and Potter 1992), perhaps as we would dress appropriately for the weather of the day, to minimise discomfort. They mean that, rather than risk a direct challenge through overt discrimination, Pākehā

prejudice can be diverted into passive aggression, micro-assaults, and subtle processes of exclusion of difference, with inevitable negating and damaging impact on its targets.

The point that Pākehā identity and ideology have long been wound into self-congratulatory articulations of fair-mindedness and egalitarianism only serves to redouble what is at stake for Pākehā as we attempt to grapple with the colonial present in contemporary society (Wetherell and Potter 1992). However, grapple we must if the nation is to build a genuine sense of social justice and since, as various authoritative commentators (e.g. Cingano 2014, Anaya 2011) have pointed out, inequalities of various kinds, including racism, place deep strains on our social and economic sustainability.

A new climate that can support reforms is needed. Such a climate will require an interweaving of the discursive and structural dimensions of these dynamics so that an 'atmospheric' change is created in the ways we talk and think about race relations. This national conscientisation will require investment in anti-racism education from pre-school to tertiary level and systematically challenging racism in political and economic rhetoric and in media coverage to account for the past, reconceptualise our present, and reconstruct our futures around a respectful and genuine biculturalism (Came and Zander 2015). This work will build on the significant efforts of both Māori and non-Māori to transform such racism.

Critical to this approach is an understanding that discourse, as a fundamental domain of the exchange, transmission, and production of culture, is inherently flexible, innovative, and changeable (Wetherell, Taylor, and Yates 2001). Where realities are socially constructed out of shared norms and practices, they can be re-constructed to meet new conditions and imperatives in the evolution of our social orders. Language and discourse are tangible platforms to enhance the racial climate; actions to be worked on include the critical 'denaturalising' of hegemonic forms and the creation and promulgation of alternatives to anti-Māori discourse (Moewaka Barnes *et al*. 2012).

The mass media (themselves deeply inscribed with racialised practices) are a prime example of how relatively simple changes can contribute to the rapid displacement of long-promulgated patterns and stereotypes that marginalise Māori people, enterprises, and achievements (Moewaka Barnes *et al*. 2013). A study by Nairn *et al*. (2012) examined representations of Māori in a representative sample of television news bulletins collected in 2007–2008. Mass media news shows on tv1, tv3, and Prime showed seventeen discrete stories about

Māori a total of twenty-eight times (through repeats in different bulletins), and analysis of the content revealed that these stories were primarily 'bad news' stories: death, crime, failure, incompetence. Māori-language bulletins, Te Kāea (Māori Television Service) and Te Karere (TVNZ), in the same sample-frame yielded 250 stories made up of a broad spectrum of negative stories mixed with mundane and positive accounts of success, achievement, happiness, and strength. Exploring these data further, the authors found multiple stories of national and even international salience that were inexplicably given no coverage on mass media news shows, reflecting the marginalisation of Māori in the mass media. This particular analysis is nested within a series of studies of media samples by Kupu Taea that show that Māori issues are covered at a rate of between 1 and 2% in the items sampled and that the content of such coverage is overwhelmingly negative 'bad news' stories (Rankin *et al.* 2008). Further, the literature records that this pattern has existed from early contact between Māori and Pākehā (Ballara 1986, Abel, Moewaka Barnes, and McCreanor 2012), through the established colonial era (Thompson 1953), and into the contemporary setting (Rankine *et al.* 2014).

Relatively minor shifts in the visibility and representation of Māori in our news-making, entertainment, and documentary coverage and programming can painlessly reconfigure social tectonics for widely felt societal gains in our race relations. Resourcing alternative media outlets, such as Māori radio and Māori television, provides an object lesson in how media can tell constructive stories about national identity and well-being (Moewaka Barnes *et al.* 2012). Exposing citizens to diverse Māori people, issues, and experiences via the media is a form of conscientisation that, in the complex ways in which race relations operate, could bring about the kinds of patterned changes that are needed to support us in understanding and changing the discriminatory climate that currently exists and in addressing the historical injustices that exacerbate current tensions.

To enhance the racial climate in the first instance, New Zealanders require access to accurate information about the Pākehā colonial project and to balanced coverage of Te Ao Māori. Anti-racism/diversity education needs to be embedded at all levels of the education system. Investing in independent anti-racism education will nurture conscientisation and strengthen citizen-led anti-racism praxis.

PATHWAY 3: TRANSFORMING PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Government departments and/or agencies have considerable influence over

the lives of New Zealanders, through the administration of the public sector and control over information and resources. Although held up as politically neutral (Palmer and Palmer 2004), the public service historically has been party to developing, overseeing, and implementing policies and practices that advantage the Pākehā colonial project while disadvantaging Māori (and others). Jackson (2000) and Hill (2004, 2009) maintain that this historical collusion with the colonial practices of assimilation continues to shape the relationship between Māori and the state.

The good news is, as with all human behaviour, racism can be modified, it can be detected, prevented, minimised, and eliminated. This modification is possible even within large public institutions. Racism can be mediated by human rights controls, government mandates and/or directives, leadership skills and political will, quality assurance systems, and the professionalism, competence, and integrity of staff. A single well-written memo from someone in a senior management team, with relevant training and monitoring in place, could potentially end a particular racist practice. Likewise a council, as in the recent New Plymouth District Council example, can make a decision to develop Māori wards, thus opening up the structural possibilities of Māori voice being heard. Within the public sector there is a plethora of concrete entry-points for micro-, meso-, and macro-level anti-racism interventions.

Over the decades research has uncovered specific sites of institutional racism in the social welfare system, criminal justice system, education system, and within 'mainstream' media (Ministerial Advisory Committee 1988, Morrison 2009, Wetherell and Potter 1992). Knowing sites of racism allows for a more targeted intervention and provides answers to Jones's (2001) critical strategic question, Where does racism reside? Lukes's (Hayward and Lukes 2008) three-dimensional analysis of power is another tool for examining the cultural and institutional roots of policies. The first dimension is the processes and outcomes of overt decision-making. The second dimension is the process of shaping or framing an issue so that certain ideas are considered, discussed, and esteemed while others are not. Finally, the third dimension is characterised by the ability to define or determine what is considered to be a relevant issue for discussion through setting agendas and determining priorities. Locally, these dimensions were identified in Came's (2014) study of racism within the public health sector.

We suggest that, in the current racial climate, there may be support for anti-racism initiatives framed as i) strengthening continuous quality improvement systems and ii) reducing social inequities. Politically, it is hard to oppose a

commitment to either unless it is prohibitively expensive. Part of the challenge therefore is promoting anti-racism as cost effective, cost neutral, or even more powerfully business as usual.

Quality Assurance: Utilising Systems Change Theory

The New Zealand government is currently committed to a significant body of work, *Better Public Services* led by the State Services Commission (2011). This programme of work is attempting to strengthen the performance of the public sector in relation to a range of concrete social, environmental, and economic outcomes. This commitment to quality is at odds with the prevalence of structural racism within the administration of the public sector as documented by the Human Rights Commission (2011).

Systems change theory underpins quality assurance systems across much of the public sector and is a constructive process of problem solving (State Services Commission 2011). It is a holistic approach that Midgley (2006) recommends for institutions that face complex problems, such as structural racism, that require systemic multi-level change. The method relies on the redistribution of (informal and formal) power and increasing accountability and monitoring of racism/equity (Griffith, Childs, *et al.* 2007). Applied systems change work in the United States has addressed the unique characteristics, organisational settings, and environmental factors that directly and indirectly contribute to racial disparities (Griffith, Mason, *et al.* 2007). Such approaches assist organisations to identify where and how they should alter formal and informal organisational policies and practices as well as potential factors in the social, cultural, legal, or physical environment in which services are provided (Blankenship, Bray, and Merson 2000). A key element in successfully working with systems change theory is what (Watts, Williams, and Jagers 2003) call socio-political development, where throughout the intervention there is a strategic investment in developing workforce capacity and critical competencies.

An example of applying systems change within the health sector is the Tai Tokerau Ischaemic Heart Disease (IHD) Project which was designed to provide greater equity in tertiary interventions for IHD. Analyses of existing data from within the local District Health Board (DHB) showed that Māori had consistently lower rates of surgical procedures than non-Māori (Penney, McCreanor, and Moewaka Barnes 2006). Interviews were conducted with clinicians and separately with patients and whānau, revealing major differences in the ways these two groups experienced and understood their encounters over IHD. Clinicians saw the patients as non-compliant with advice and treatment, and

Māori with IHD struggled to make sense of the complex, often fragmented, and hard-to-follow instructions as they sought high-quality health care (Penney, Moewaka Barnes, and McCreanor 2011). These findings were fed into a kaupapa Māori action research framework that brought the two groups together to discuss possible solutions to problems of fundamental miscommunication and inflexible policy. A number of new arrangements were put in place, including changes to the booking schedule for specialist appointments, that almost immediately produced equity gains. A cluster of other changes, such as the placement of defibrillation equipment in ambulances and the installation of fibrinolytic equipment in remote communities with local people trained to use it, saved lives and improved survival and rehabilitation rates for Māori with IHD (Kerr *et al.* 2010).

Reducing Social Inequities: the Equity Imperative

Social inequities are complex and difficult social problems that often have deep colonial roots fuelled by racism. Braveman (2014) defines 'equity' as the principle underlying a commitment to reduce – and ultimately eliminate – social inequities. Inequities are a metric used to measure progress toward achieving equity. The reasons to address inequities extend beyond a moral imperative to address racism. The seminal work of (Pickett and Wilkinson 2011) has presented compelling evidence that countries in which the degree of inequity is smallest are the healthiest and happiest societies. Starfield (2011) argues that inequity is built into public sector systems and manifests as entrenched disparities of social outcomes between dominant and marginalised groups. To address inequities, she argues, one needs to embed and sustain equity in organisational culture, practice, policies, and systems. Both Sheridan *et al.* (2011) and Cram (2014a, b) have investigated how equity can be enhanced within the context of the health sector.

Pursuing Equity in Health

Sheridan *et al.* (2011) carried out a national survey of DHBs and key informant interviews to examine macro approaches to managing chronic conditions. The authors identified gaps between policy rhetoric and operational practice and argued that systematic measuring, monitoring over time, and action to support a policy is needed to close equity gaps. These findings were reinforced in a recent Auditor General's Report (2014) which found that only one DHB was compliant in their Māori health reporting. Sheridan *et al.* also observed the slow translation of equity policy into practice, a pattern of ad hoc unsustainable practice that relied on individuals and inaction in the face of known

inequity. They recommended that those making funding decisions should focus on equity, strengthening cultural competencies and changing attitudes and behaviour. Formal requirements to address inequity, such as the mandatory use of equity tools (see Ministry of Health 2004), were welcomed within the health sector.

Cram's (2014a, b) recent work focuses on the contribution health services could make to reducing inequities, focussing on cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and cancer. At an organisational level, Cram argues that a commitment by leadership is a key driver of organisational responsiveness. Echoing Sheridan's findings, she maintains that investing in culturally competent staff and relevant training and organisational changes enhance compliance to guidelines and improve access for Māori. Organisations benefit from regional networks with other agencies interested in improving equity. Cram advocated for the articulation of a broad-based commitment to the elimination of disparities via universal Māori-specific targets. She recommended developing localised equity plans, strengthening engagement with Māori, and reviewing health funding formula. Cram's (2014a) equity framework is informed by Te Tiriti o Waitangi. It is framed around the domains of i) leadership, ii) knowledge, and iii) commitment. She maintains that the health system requires accurate information in order to monitor health inequities and needs to commit to reconfiguring services to meet the needs and aspirations of Māori.

Public institutions wielding significant power are environments in which institutional racism has been allowed to thrive and are therefore prime sites for anti-racism interventions. In the current neo-liberal environment, the framing of anti-racism practice needs to be strategic and contemporary to secure buy-in whilst it works for systemic and political change. Quality assurance, systems change, and reducing inequities are all potentially politically acceptable framings of anti-racism work that can be promoted from various standpoints within and outside public institutions.

PATHWAY 4: MOBILISING CIVIL SOCIETY

Across civil society a range of individuals, networks, and organisations find racism abhorrent and are interested in working towards a society free of discrimination. This human goodwill and capacity presents an enormous resource and opportunity to transform both everyday and institutional racism. Individuals can engage in bystander intervention, whereby individuals challenge racism when they witness it (Nelson, Dunn, and Paradies 2011). Individuals and groups can engage in solidarity action in support of indigenous people

and others targeted by racism as allies (Margaret 2013). More traditional action might include letter writing, phoning talk-back radio, visiting decision-makers – all of these ripples have the potential to transform racism. Kania and Kramer (2011) say that there is scant evidence that isolated initiatives are the best way to solve complex social problems. Two promising ways of mobilising civil society around challenging racism are pulling together disparate individual anti-racism efforts through collective impact and promoting awareness and the utilisation of human rights instruments.

Collective Impact

Collective impact is a paradigm-changing approach which brings together disparate agencies and community groups to work for a shared purpose (Kania and Kramer 2011). It is informed by the notion that one single agency, however innovative or powerful, will never have the capacity to deal with complex systemic problems, rather it is through the organised and collective efforts of agencies that social transformation can occur. Collective impact requires five key conditions: i) a backbone organisation; ii) a common agenda; iii) a shared measurement framework; iv) agreement to engage in mutually reinforcing activities across organisations, and v) continuous communication. This approach is a deliberate move to embrace a systemic approach to social change.

A collective impact coalition might contain some unlikely alliances but can negotiate a common understanding of a problem and then a joint approach to solving it through agreed actions. The project stays on track through a consistent form of data management which keeps the collective focus on the shared kaupapa rather than the points of difference. The role of the backbone organisation is to maintain continuous communication and to solidify collective efforts. United by a clear social mission, competition for scarce resources fades away and champions emerge ready to share their learning in order to strengthen and motivate the collective. The energy generated through collective success fuels further activity.

In New Zealand for the last decade, the Human Rights Commission (2005) has facilitated Te Ngira: Diversity Action Programme. The focus of this network of one-hundred-plus agencies is to:
- recognise and celebrate the cultural diversity of our society
- promote the equal enjoyment by everyone of their civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights
- foster harmonious relations between diverse peoples
- fulfil the promise of the Treaty of Waitangi

This network, supported by additional partners, seems a powerful foundation for a collective impact intervention focussed on ending racism in New Zealand. The network is diverse, has a wide geographic spread, and has access to cyber technology which could solidify the network beyond a national gathering, an e-newsletter, and autonomous initiatives.

Human Rights Instruments

Human rights approaches affirm that human beings are born free and equal, and policies in this domain create a safety net to catch all people and protect and promote their well-being. Two key instruments in relation to protection from racial discrimination are the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (ICERD) (United Nations 1966) and the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (DRIP) (United Nations 2007). The performance of state parties in relation to ICERD is formally monitored by the Committee on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), while DRIP will not be monitored until it is developed into a convention. In the CERD monitoring process, state parties periodically report on their progress towards implementing the ICERD, and parallel Non-Governmental Organisational (NGO) reports are also submitted by interested civil society networks. CERD considers both viewpoints and writes a report on progress in eliminating racism. Since New Zealand began reporting in 1974, CERD has recommended that remedial action be taken in a broad cross section of areas, including changes to legislation, ratification of international agreements, addressing disparities, and some sector-specific concerns.

Peace Movement Aotearoa

During New Zealand's most recent engagement with the CERD process in February 2013, a number of national NGOs participated in the monitoring process. Among these NGOs was Peace Movement Aotearoa, which is a national networking peace organisation with over 150 affiliated peace, human rights, social justice, faith-based, and community organisations. Peace Movement Aotearoa frequently submits to the CERD process, and their most recent submission focussed on, among other things, constitutional issues, privatisation of state-owned assets, the foreshore seabed legislation, and deep sea oil exploration (Peace Movement Aotearoa 2013). With limited financial resources at its disposal, Peace Movement Aotearoa drew on the collective expertise of its networks to challenge the government's race-relations/human-rights discourse by presenting alternative evidence. Such scrutiny of the government's performance and active participation in government submission processes across a

broad range of issues is critical to challenging racism.

The role civil society can play in transforming entrenched norms and practices is vital in efforts to eliminate institutional racism. Crucial contributions can be the ongoing monitoring of government performance and the collaborative action of citizen-led movements for change. Encouraging, supporting, and co-ordinating such diverse initiatives can work in synergy with other actions.

CONCLUSION

If it was easy to end racism, humankind would have achieved this landmark well before now. Racism is complicated, pervasive, but modifiable. We welcome a time when New Zealand can boast to the world about our race relations and equity across important social outcomes, for actual gains and genuine justice rather than the lies and bluster which have for decades covered this space. New Zealand has been a signatory of the ICERD since the 1960s, yet racism has been allowed to thrive and expand under all stripes of political leadership.

In this paper we have outlined four achievable pathways to transform racism within this country. We call on our government to address historical racism and to commit to honouring its Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations. More realistically and potently, we ask that the people shake off their tired and negating discourses about Māori, to look at ourselves honestly and courageously. We need to ask the question, 'What kind of society do I want to live in?' then begin to make the changes we need in everyday contexts for justice and social equity. We have argued that we need to focus attention on improving the racial climate and to strengthen our efforts to conscientise New Zealanders around our colonial history and contemporary expressions of racism. Alternative media have a critical role to play; mass media need to analyse the damage they are doing and to adopt progressive ideas for more equitable coverage of race relations. We have outlined two possible approaches to transforming racism in public institutions: focussing on equity and utilising systems change theory. Finally, we have advocated the use of collective impact to pull together diverse anti-racism action and the use of human rights instruments to influence international focus on our progress in eliminating racism.

NOTES

1   While we acknowledge that 'race' is a contested and problematic term in scientific epistemology, it is useful as a commonsense understanding of the multi-level, entrenched practices and institutions of discrimination against groups of

identifiable ethnicity and/or culture in many societies.

2 New Zealand has citizens from all over the world and from diverse ethnic backgrounds. The use of 'bicultural' in this context refers to the Te Tiriti relationship between Māori and Tauiwi (non-Māori).

3 Similar to our definition of racism, we acknowledge the complex and contested nature of these categories and retain them because they are entrenched in commonsense understandings of culture, justice, and aspiration in our society.

4 Although various ethnic minorities experience institutional racism within New Zealand, the focus of this paper is racism targeting Māori.

5 Te Tiriti o Waitangi refers to the Māori text of the Treaty of Waitangi as signed by Governor Hobson and the majority of Māori rangatira (*chiefs*) on behalf of hapū (*nations*) on 6 February 1840 at Waitangi (and in many other locations around Aotearoa over the succeeding seven months), not the English version signed later (Healy, Huygens, and Murphy 2012).

REFERENCES

Abel, Sue, Angela Moewaka Barnes, and Tim McCreanor. 2012. 'Reporting Te Tiriti: Producing and performing the colonial state.' In *The Politics and Power of New Zealand Journalism*, edited by M Hirst and S Phelan, 65–79. Auckland, New Zealand: AUT Press.

Anaya, James. 2011. 'Report of The Special Rapporteur on The Rights of Indigenous Peoples: The Situation of Māori People in New Zealand (A/HRC/18/35/Add.4).' UN, Human Rights Commission, accessed 28 October 2015. http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/IPeoples/SR/A-HRC-18–35-Add4_en.pdf.

Ballara, Angela. 1986. *Proud to be White? A Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand*. Auckland, New Zealand: Heinemann.

Belich, James. 1986. *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Bishop, Russell. 2003. 'Changing Power Relations in Education: Kaupapa Māori Messages for 'Mainstream' Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.' *Comparative Education* 39 (2): 221–238. doi: 10.1080/03050060302555.

Blankenship, KM, SJ Bray, and MH Merson. 2000. 'Structural Interventions in Public Health.' *AIDS* 14 (Suppl 1): S11–21.

Bourdieu, P. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art And Literature*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Braveman, P. 2014. 'What are Health Disparities and Health Equity? We Need to be Clear.' *Public Health Reports* 129: 5 8.

Braveman, P, and Sofia Gruskin. 2003. 'Defining Equity in Health.' *Journal of Epidemiology Community Health* 57: 254–258. doi: 10.1136/jech.57.4.254.

Came, H. 2014. 'Sites of Institutional Racism in Public Health Policy Making in New Zealand. *Social Science and Medicine* 106 (0): 214–220. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.01.055.

Came, H, and A Zander. 2015. 'State of the Pākehā Nation: Collected Waitangi Day Speeches and Essays 2006–2015.' Whangarei, New Zealand: Network Waitangi Whangarei.

Cingano, Federico. 2014. Trends in Income Inequality and its Impact on Economic Growth. In OECD *Social, Employment And Migration Working Papers No. 163*. Paris, France: OECD.

Cram, F. 2014a. *Equity of Healthcare for Māori: A Framework*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Health.

———. 2014b. *Improving Māori Access to Healthcare: Research Report*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Health.

Department of Social Welfare. 1994. *Te Punga: Our Bicultural Strategy for the Nineties*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

Dunn, Kevin, and P Geeraert. 2003. 'The Geography of 'Race' and 'Racism'.' *GeoDate* 16 (3): 1–6.

Durie, Mason. 1993. 'Māori and the State: Professional and Ethical Implications for a Bicultural Public Service.' In *Proceedings of the Public Service Senior Management Conference*, 23–35. Wellington, New Zealand: State Services Commission.

———. 1994. *Whaiora: Māori Health Development*. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Farrelly, S, T Rudegeair, and S Rickard. 2005. 'Trauma and Dissociation in Aotearoa (New Zealand): The Psyche of a Society.' *Journal of Trauma Practice* 4 (3/4): 203–220.

Freire, Paulo. 2000. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Gibbs, M. 2006. 'Justice as Reconciliation and Restoring Mana in New Zealand's Treaty Of Waitangi Settlement Process.' *Political Science* 58 (2): 15–27.

Griffith, Derek, Erica Childs, Eugenia Eng, and Vanessa Jeffries. 2007. 'Racism in Organizations: The Case of a County Public Health Department.' *Journal of Community Psychology* 35 (3): 287–302. doi: 10.1002/jcop.20149.

Griffith, Derek, M Mason, M Yonas, E Eng, V Jefferies, S Pliheik, and B Parks. 2007. 'Dismantling Institutional Racism: Theory and Action.' *American Journal of Community Psychology* 39: 381–392. doi: 10.1007/s10464–007–9117–0.

Hayward, Clarissa, and Steven Lukes. 2008. 'Nobody to Shoot? Power, Structure, and Agency: A Dialogue.' *Journal of Power* 1 (1): 5–20. doi: 10.1080/17540290801943364.

Hayward, Janine. 1997. The Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. In *Rangahau Whanui National Overview Report*, edited by Allan Ward, 475–494 Wellington, New Zealand: Waitangi Tribunal.

Hayward, Janine, and Nicola Wheen. 2004. *The Waitangi Tribunal: Te Roopu Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.

Healy, Susan, Ingrid Huygens, and Takiwai Murphy. 2012. *Ngāpuhi Speaks*. Whangarei, New Zealand: Network Waitangi Whangarei, Te Kawariki.

Hill, Richard 2004. '*State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: Crown-Maori Relations in New Zealand Aotearoa 1900–1950.*' Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

———. 2009. *Māori and the State: Crown-Māori Relations in New Zealand/ Aotearoa, 1950–2000*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Hindmarsh, Jennie Harre. 2000. 'Biculturalism (and Antiracism) in Education in New Zealand: An Overview.' In *Systems of Education: Theories, Policies and Implicit Values*, edited by Mal Leicester, Celia Modgil and Sohan Modgil, 126–144. London, England: Falmer Press.

Human Rights Commission. 2005. *New Zealand Diversity Action Programme*. Auckland, New Zealand: Author.

Human Rights Commission. 2011. *A Fair go for All? Structural Discrimination: The Need for Systemic Change to Achieve Racial Equality*, Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

Jackson, Moana. 1988. *The Māori and the Criminal Justice System: He Whaipānga Hou: A New Perspective*. Wellington, New Zealand: Department of Justice.

———. 2000. '*Steven Wallace: An Analysis of the Police Report.*' Accessed October 28, 2010. http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/smoana.htm#abs.

Jackson, Syd. 1993. 'The Sham of Biculturalism.' In *Te Ao Marama: Reclaiming Aotearoa: Maori Writers Speak Out*, edited by Witi Ihimaera, 252–256. Auckland, New Zealand: Reed.

Jones, Camara. 2000. 'Levels of Racism: A Theoretical Framework and a Gardener's Tale.' *American Journal of Public Health* 90 (8): 1212–1215. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.90.8.1212.

———. 2001. 'Invited Commentary: "Race", Racism and the Practice of Epidemiology.' *American Journal of Epidemiology* 154 (4): 299–304. doi: 10.1093/aje/154.4.299.

Kania, John, and Mark Kramer. 2011. 'Collective Impact.' *Stanford Social Innovation Review* 9 (1): 36–41.

Kerr, Sany, Liane Penney, H Moewaka Barnes, and Tim McCreanor. 2010. 'Kaupapa Māori Action Research to Improve Heart Disease Services in Aotearoa, New Zealand ' *Ethnicity and Health* 15 (1): 15–31. doi: 10.1080/1355850903374476.

Krieger, N. 2011. *Epidemiology and the People's Health: Theory and Context*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Lawson-Te Aho, Keri, and James Liu. 2010. 'Indigenous Suicide and Colonization:

The Legacy of Violence and the Necessity of Self-Determination.' *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 4 (1): 124–133.

Lunt, N. 1999. 'The Discipline of Social Policy and Biculturalism.' *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand* 12: 1–15.

Margaret, Jenn. 2013. *Working as Allies: Supporters of Indigenous Justice Reflect*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland Workers Educational Association.

Marriott, Lisa, and Dalice Sim. 2014. *Indicators of Inequality for Māori and Pacific People* [Working paper 09/2014]. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University.

McIntosh, P. 2003. 'White Privilege and Male Privilege.' In *Privilege: A Reader*, edited by MS Kimmel and AL Ferber 147–160 Cambridge, MA: Westview Press.

Midgley, G. 2006. 'Systemic Intervention for Public Health.' *American Journal of Public Health* 96 (3): 466–472. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2005.067660.

Ministerial Advisory Committee. 1988. '*Puao te ata tu (Day break)*.' Wellington, New Zealand: Department of Social Welfare.

Ministry of Health. 2004. *A Health Equity Assessment Tool (Equity Lens) For Tackling Inequalities in Health*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

———. 2014. *Suicide facts: Deaths and Intentional Self-Harm Hospitalisations* 2011. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

Ministry of Social Development. 2010. '*The Social Report 2010*.' Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

Moewaka Barnes, A, B Borell, K Taiapa, Jenny Rankin, Raymond Nairn, and Tim McCreanor. 2012. 'Anti-Māori Themes in New Zealand Journalism; Toward Alternative Practice.' *Pacific Journalism Review* 18 (1): 195–216.

Moewaka Barnes, A, K Taiapa, B Borell, and Tim McCreanor. 2013. 'Māori Experiences and Responses to Racism in Aotearoa New Zealand.' *Mai Journal* 2 (2): 63–67.

Moewaka Barnes, H, Belinda Borell, and Tim McCreanor. 2014. 'Theorising the Structural Dynamic of Ethnic Privilege in Aoteaora: Unpacking "This

Breeze At My Back"". *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Scholarship* 7 (1): 1–14.

Morrison, Bronwyn. 2009. *Identifying and Responding to Bias in The Criminal Justice System: A Review of International and New Zealand Research*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Justice.

Mowbray, Martin. 2007. '*Social Determinants and Indigenous Health: The International Experience and its Policy Implications: Report on Specially Prepared Documents, Presentations and Discussion on the International Symposium on the Social Determinants of Indigenous Health*.' Adelaide, Australia: Commission on Social Determinants of Health. World Health Organization, Commission on Social Determinants of Health

Nairn, Raymond, Tim McCreanor, A Moewaka Barnes, B Borell, Jenny Rankin, and A Gregory. 2012. '"Māori News is Bad News": That's Certainly so on Television.' *Mai Journal* 1 (1): 38–49.

Nairn, Raymond, and Timothy McCreanor. 1991. 'Race Talk and Common Sense: Patterns of Pakeha Discourse on Māori/Pākehā Relations in New Zealand.' *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 10 (4): 245–262. doi: 10.1177/0261927X91104002.

Nelson, Jacqueline, Kevin Dunn, and Y Paradies. 2011. 'Bystander Anti-Racism: A Review of the Literature.' *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 11 (1): 263–284. doi: 10.1111/j.1530–2415.2011.01274.

O'Reilly, Tom, and David Wood. 1991. 'Biculturalism and the Public Sector.' In *Reshaping the State*, edited by J Boston, J Martin, J Pallot and P Walsh, 320–43. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

O'Sullivan, Dominic. 2003. 'Philosophical Foundations of Māori-Crown Relations in the Twenty First Century: Biculturalism or Self Determination?' *Australasian Political Studies Association Conference*, Hobart, Australia, October.

O'Sullivan, Dominic. 2007. *Beyond Biculturalism: The Politics of an Indigenous Minority*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia

Office of the Auditor General. 2014. *Health Sector: Results of the 2012/13 Audits*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

Orange, Claudia. 2011. *The Treaty of Waitangi*. 2nd ed. Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.

Palmer, Geoffrey, and Matthew Palmer. 2004. *Bridled Power: New Zealand's Constitution and Government*. 4th ed. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Paradies, Yin. 2005. 'Anti-Racism and Indigenous Australians.' *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 5 (1):1–28. doi: 10.1111/j.1530–2415.2005.00053.x.

———. 2006. 'Defining, Conceptualizing and Characterizing Racism in Health Research.' *Critical Public Health* 16 (2):143–57. doi: 10.1080/09581590600828881.

Paradies, Yin, Ricci Harris, and Ian. Anderson. 2008. *The Impact of Racism on Indigenous Health in Australia and Aotearoa: Towards a Research Agenda*. Darwin, Australia: Cooperative Research Centre for Aboriginal Health.

Peace Movement Aotearoa. 2013. NGO *Information on the 82nd Session of the* CERD [Submission]. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

Penney, L, H Moewaka Barnes, and Tim McCreanor. 2011. 'The Blame Game: Constructions of Māori Medical Compliance.' *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship* 7 (2):123–136.

Penney, Lianne, Tim McCreanor, and H Moewaka Barnes. 2006. *New Perspectives on Heart Disease Management in Te Tai Tokerau: Māori and Health Practitioners Talk*. Auckland, New Zealand: Te Rōpū Whāriki, Massey University.

Pickett, Kate, and Richard Wilkinson. 2011. *The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equality Makes Societies Stronger*. New York: Bloomsbury.

Priest, N, Y Paradies, B Trenerry, S Karlsen, and Y Kelly. 2013. 'A Systematic Review of Studies Examining the Relationship Between Racism and Health and Wellbeing for Children and Young People.' *Social Science and Medicine* 95 (115–127).

Ramsden, Irihapeti. 1994. A Challenge to Education. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand* (3).

Rankin, Jenny, Raymond Nairn, A Moewaka Barnes, Mandi Gregory, H Kaiwai, B Borell, and Tim McCreanor. 2008. *Media and Te Tiriti o Waitangi 2007*.

Auckland, New Zealand: Kupu Taea: Media and Te Tiriti Project.

Rankine, J, A Moewaka Barnes, Tim McCreanor, Belinda Borell, and A Gregory. 2014. 'Content and Source Analysis of Newspaper Items About Māori Issues: Silencing the 'Natives' in Aotearoa?' *Pacific Journalism Review* 20 (1): 213–234.

Robson, Bridget, and Ricci Harris, eds. 2007. *Hauora: Māori Standards of Health 4. A Study of the Years 2000–2005*. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare

Sheridan, Nicolette, Timothy Kenealy, Martin Connolly, Faith Mahony, Alan Barber, Mary Anne Boyd, Peter Carswell, Janet Clinton, Gerard Devlin, Robert Doughty, Lorna Dyall, Ngaire Kerse, John Kolbe, Ross Lawrenson, and Allan Moffitt. 2011. 'Health Equity in the New Zealand Health System: A National Survey.' *International Journal for Equity in Health* 10 (1).

Short, Murray. 1986. 'Biculturalism and Goverment Administration: Suggestions for Change.' In *The Pakeha and the Treaty: Signposts*, edited by Church and Society Commission, 46–50. Auckland, New Zealand: National Council of Churches of New Zealand.

Simon, J, and LT Smith. 2001. *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the Native School System*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Skilling, Peter. 2013. 'Egalitarian Myths in New Zealand: A Review of Public Opinion Data on Inequality and Redistribution.' *New Zealand Sociology* 28 (2): 16–44.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.

Starfield, B. 2011. 'The Hidden Inequity in Healthcare.' *International Journal for Equity in Health* 10:(15).

State Services Commission. 2011. *Better Public Services Advisory Group Report*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

Thompson, RHT. 1953. 'Maori Affairs and the New Zealand Press Part 1.' *Journal of Polynesian Society* 62 (4): 366–383.

United Nations. 1966. 'International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination ' In. New York, NY: Author. http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cerd.htm , accessed 28 October 2015.

United Nations. 2007. 'Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.' In. New York, NY: Author. http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf , accessed 28 October 2015.

Waikato Regional Council. 2000. *Waikato Regional Policy Statement*. Hamilton, New Zealand: Author.

Waitangi Tribunal. 1993. *The Pouakani Report 1993*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

———. 2014. *Te Paparahi o te Raki [Wai 1040]*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

Walker, Ranginui. 1990. *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou: Struggle Without End*. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books.

Watts, Roderick, Nat Williams, and Robert Jagers. 2003. 'Sociopolitical Development.' *American Journal of Community Psychology* 31 (1–2):185–194. doi: 10.1023/A:1023091024140.

Wetherell, M, and Jonathan Potter. 1992. *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Wetherell, M, S Taylor, and S.J Yates, eds. 2001. *Discourse Theory And Practice: A Reader*. London, England: Sage.

Wevers, S.G. 2013. 'Recognising Rangatiratanga through Co-Management: The Waikato River Settlement.' *New Zealand Law Review* 4:689–714.

Wheen, Nicola, and Janine Hayward, eds. 2012. *Treaty of Waitangi Settlements*. Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books New Zealand Law Foundation.