

ACCOUNTS OF BLATANT RACISM AGAINST MĀORI IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Sylvia Pack¹, Keith Tuffin² & Antonia Lyons³

ABSTRACT

Racism in Aotearoa New Zealand has been shown to be modern, subtle, symbolic and understated, yet also powerfully prevalent and functional in maintaining Pākehā societal structures. These significant findings arise from a large corpus of studies of Pākehā media representation and Pākehā talk and text. In contrast, this study examines racism as recounted by Māori targets. Nineteen Māori participants were asked to describe their experiences. The data were analysed using thematic analysis informed by social constructionism, which facilitated attention to language patterns and context. Key themes in the accounts were: phenotypical identity markers, negative stereotypes, public racism, and the significant emotional impacts involved in being a target of racism. The overt nature of racist incidents challenge findings which show modern racism to be subtle, and counter the view that offensive overt racism is out-dated.

Keywords: Māori; Pākehā; subtle, racism; Aotearoa; New Zealand

INTRODUCTION

The study of accounts of overt racism as told by Māori targets is a neglected area within the field of social psychology in Aotearoa New Zealand (Aotearoa NZ). To date, investigations have focussed largely on Pākehā talk and text (Tuffin 2013). These studies have shown that racism against Māori in the twenty-first century is motivated by the hegemonic need to maintain a colonial hierarchy which privileges the majority culture (Rankine *et al.* 2014). Further, this literature suggests the language of racism is hidden in institutions, promulgated by media, and most importantly, implicit, covert and subtle (Kendall, Tuffin, and Frewin 2005; Wetherell and Potter 1992). These findings align with international research which casts modern racism as subtle and symbolic (Augoustinos and Every 2007), retractable and defensible (Durheim, Hook, and

Riggs 2009), and constructed in a way which makes accusations of racism deniable (Liu and Mills 2006; Tuffin 2013).

Studies in Aotearoa NZ have shown racist talk to be sinuous and permeable, and frequently arranged in universal terms without mention of race or ethnicity. These abstractions promote racism and are supportive of an unequal distribution of power (Nairn and McCreanor 1991). An example is neoliberal argument which ignores the marginalising effects of systemic racism and its pivotal role in creating a socio-economic gap, instead attributing blame to those who 'choose' not to succeed in what is constructed as an egalitarian society. Such arguments are supported by rhetorically self-sufficient colloquialisms which do not specifically mention Māori (Tuffin 2013) such as 'everyone gets a fair go'. When spoken in the context of a discussion around Māori people, this comment gives silent support to the 'standard story' (Nairn and McCreanor 1991) in which all ethnicities in Aotearoa New Zealand are wrongly assumed to be treated equally in a colour blind societal system. Māori therefore who cite or object to marginalisation can be categorised as trouble makers, and their non-achievement in the egalitarian system derided. The construction of Māori culture as out-dated and unnecessary is another example of racism against Māori expressed non-specifically and acceptably in common sense phrases such as 'you can't turn back the clock' and 'we all have to pull together', views which support privileging the dominance of the present majority culture (Nairn and McCreanor 1991; Tuffin 2013; Wetherell and Potter 1992).

Analytic focus on media talk and text has also underscored the subtlety of contemporary racism. Media presents no obviously racist propaganda, but repeatedly displays negative representations of Māori, for example by prolonging focus on criminal activity (McCreanor *et al.* 2011) and ignoring positive accounts (Nairn *et al.* 2012). This functions to position Māori as lesser than Pākehā (Nairn and McCreanor 1991), and contributes powerfully to the invisible maintenance of a colonial hierarchy (Wetherell and Potter 1992) by justifying the marginalisation of Māori. Such misrepresentation and negative positioning has been shown to have a detrimental effect on health and wellbeing (Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankin, and Barnes 2006). Studies of systemic racism have also brought to light powerful instances of discrimination, for example a 'glass ceiling' for Māori in employment (Robson 2008) and the greater likelihood of Māori receiving custodial sentences than Pākehā in the justice system for the same offences (Workman 2011). The gap in Māori educational achievement (Ford 2013; Robson, Cormack, and Cram 2007) has been found to be partly a product of racist bullying from other students combined with lack of teacher expectation and encouragement for Māori students (Hynds,

Sleeter, Hindle, Savage, Penetito, and Meyer 2011). Health disparities (Statistics New Zealand 2013) have been shown to be influenced by interpersonal partiality and inequity from health professionals (Harris, Tobias, Jeffreys, Waldegrave, Karlsen, and Nazroo 2006); chronic stress brought about by living with daily racism in both macro and micro forms has also been implicated in the reduced health of Māori (Harris, Cormack, and Stanley 2013), both physical and mental. The shocking statistic of Māori youth (15-24 years) suicide rate which is more than 2.5 times that of non-Māori (Ministry of Health 2015) has also been linked to the effects of racism. The effects of institutional racism are negatively interactive; poor educational outcomes and increased incarceration further decrease job opportunities, which in turn reduces socio economic status and leads to inadequate housing, another contributing factor to ill health. Little progress has been made in intervention measures to tackle disparities in health and housing (Flynn, Carne, and Soa-Lafoa'i 2010), possibly because Pākehā tend not to credit that racism against Māori exists (Human Rights Commission 2007).

The detrimental effects of institutional racism, racism in the media and subtle or symbolic racism against Māori have been thoroughly documented. The combined effect of such prejudice at a macro and micro-level illustrate the functioning of Foucauldian state racism (Foucault 2006). Together they create and maintain colonial social structures which privilege Pākehā culture (Consedine and Consedine 2005). These recognised findings of subtle symbolic and institutional racism in everyday Pākehā talk, text and power structures contribute importantly to the field of critical race studies in Aotearoa NZ. In contrast, there is a dearth of studies of Māori accounts of blatant interpersonal racism. This has been interpreted by Māori as indicating an indifference to the viewpoint of Māori, and the wilful ignoring of Māori perspectives by Pākehā researchers (Hippolite 2010). Other explanations include Pākehā wanting to avoid the pain of directly asking people to recall incidents; and seeking other ways to document the issues, such as studying racism in the housing market and in health providers. A small number of studies however on what Māori targets have personally experienced have provided limited academic response to contribute to this neglected field.

Webber, McKinley, and Hattie (2013) studied 66 Māori students aged 13-14, to explore feelings of self-identification, connectedness, racial-ethnic-identities, and perceived racism. Sixty-two percent reported overt mockery and negative stereotyping from media and their local school communities. Moewaka-Barnes, Taiapa, Borell, and McCreanor (2013) gathered information from nineteen Māori participants aged 20-30. Four primary levels of impact were

found: internalised racism, interpersonal racism, institutional racism and societal racism. In the first, Māori 'took on board' constant negative stereotypes and relinquished not only their Māori cultural markers but also opportunities for higher education and success. Personally mediated racism included feeling excluded, treated unfairly, disrespected, and being followed unnecessarily by shop surveillance staff. Resultant effects were anxiety, anger, and a reduced sense of health and wellbeing. The power of the media to influence public opinion by focussing on negative and erroneous Māori stereotypes was clearly described by participants. In a study which looked at Māori accounts and explanations of racism, Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons (2015a) identified four primary discourses. Racism reproduced in media and institutions aligned with existing studies; however, discourses of genuine Pākehā ignorance of their racism and Pākehā possessing an innate sense of superiority which contributed to racism broke new ground. Perpetrator studies have also previously shown that Pākehā deliberately and advantageously position themselves as ignorant of racism and Māori people or culture, because such positioning allows them to behave in a racist manner with impunity (McCreanor 1993). Māori participants instead constructed Pākehā as genuinely ignorant of Māori and racism against Māori, a theory supported by the Human Rights Commission (2007). Pākehā were also described as imbued with an erroneous sense of superiority, both culturally and intellectually, which both resulted in and justified a society in which Māori were marginalised. In another study (Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons 2015b), Māori participants expressed resistance to racism and described their challenges and successes.

The purpose of this article is to contribute to this nascent field of research by analysing the accounts of Māori regarding their experiences of overt racism, and to document and consider racism and its emotional impact. The aim is also to establish whether or not the targets' accounts agree with existing findings on Pākehā talk and text which indicate that the unsayable becomes sayable only in ambiguous and subtle retractable racist rhetoric. This will be explored by analysing interviews conducted with Māori participants.

METHOD

Epistemology is an important consideration when conducting cross cultural research. Data obtained through conventional scientific or positivist supposedly 'neutral' Western research methods has historically frequently worked to position Māori negatively as 'other' and constructed Māori as deficient compared to Pākehā without giving solutions (Smith 1997). Such research was culturally subjective (Jahnke and Taiapa 2003) and under-girded a status

quo of domination and marginalisation by Pākehā (Comrie and Kupa 1998). Māori today will take part in research if they trust and respect the researchers and are respected in turn, and can see the benefit for Māori. Relationships are key. Because this research involved personal accounts and was conducted by Pākehā, issues of trust were considered paramount. The interviewer and first author has a B.A. in Māori studies and a twenty-year history of working alongside many of the Māori participants. Those who knew the interviewer vouched for her to others, and this allowed the necessary trust and a willingness to provide valid, in-depth responses. Participants were assured they were the 'expert knowers' and that their opinions would be privileged above those of the researchers at all times.

Kaupapa Māori is highly esteemed as a research method germane to social psychology studies involving Māori (Cram 1993, Cram and McCreanor 1997; Kerr, Penney, Moewaka-Barnes, and McCreanor 2010; Pihama 2001) and was woven throughout the methodology in line in a way which observed Hingangaroa Smith's (1997) six main decolonising principles as follows. *Tino rangatiratanga*, privileged all participants' contributions, their 'Māori voices' and facilitated control and oversight to Māori through feedback opportunities. *Taonga tuku iho* allowed the inclusion of *te reo* (Māori language) and *tikanga* (customs) in interviews. *Āko Māori* led to using research methods that are preferred by Māori, for example in this case face to face interviews rather than anonymous and pre-prescribed presumptive tick boxes. *Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga*: the intention of this study was to enhance the lives of Māori by tackling racism. *Whānau*, an appreciation of the importance of nurturing relationships between researcher and the researched, was included by avoiding neutrality and lack of connection. In the sixth principle, *Kaupapa*, the Western notion of one person working alone was quashed: the research was positioned in such a way as to contribute to the overall knowledge. The proposal was approved by the Massey University's Ethics Committee whose principles are informed by the Treaty of Waitangi, a university Māori cultural adviser, and a *kaumatua* (elder) from the [name of local *marae*].

The study took place in Wellington, the capital city of Aotearoa NZ. Recruitment began among Māori who had a long standing working association with the first author, which established credibility and allowed snowballing of potential participants. Nineteen Māori participants aged 30-74 ($M=53$), ten women and nine men took part. They were either retired or currently working as communications manager, counsellor, bus driver, author, foreman, electrician, cook, financial advisor, lecturer, home maker, accountant, and company director. Thirteen interviews were conducted at participants' homes, and six

at their places of work. Confidentiality and anonymity through elimination of identifying details was guaranteed, with participants opting not to have their ages specified, but agreeing to their being stated in approximate terminology. In accordance with *kaupapa Māori* principles, before the individual interviews an *awhi* (hug) was exchanged, a brief *karakia* (prayer) given if desired, and food, drink, and petrol vouchers (\$30) provided by the interviewer as *koha* (gift) and acknowledgement of the principle of *tautuutu* (reciprocity). *Te reo* (Māori language) was included in the interviews, *mokopuna* (grandchildren) or relatives sometimes arrived, and time was not of the essence. The interviewer's empathy was undisguised and her opinion given if asked. Participants chose their own pseudonyms for individual interviews where open ended questions were asked: Does racism against Māori take place in Aotearoa NZ, and if so can you describe your experience and your reaction? The interviews were between 60 to 120 minutes in length, audio recorded, and transcribed verbatim. The data were then coded, and thematically analysed using a data-driven inductive approach underpinned by social constructionism. This allowed consideration of language patterns and context as well as the highlighting of key features and common themes representative of the participants' experiences (Braun and Clarke 2006). The transcripts were then returned to participants to be checked before being signed off. The four themes were initially analysed by the first author, then discussed by all three in terms of relevance, reliability and importance. Continued transparency was practised with participants through openness to questions, the offer of continued person to person contact, and assurance of access. A copy of preliminary and final results was provided, together with opportunity for response; however no participants disagreed with or challenged the results, and feedback provided was positive.

RESULTS

All participants emphatically affirmed that racism against Māori took place in Aotearoa NZ, using words such as 'certainly', 'definitely', 'institutionalised', and phrasing such as 'experienced it in almost all areas of my life', 'every institution I've ever been involved with', and 'both in my personal life and also in my professional life'. Pre-empting New Zealanders' ignorance or dismissal of racism against Māori (Human Rights Commission 2007; Pack, Tuffin and Lyons 2015a), they rendered their accounts undeniable by using essentialist rhetoric which reified racism as a global problem. Racism was constructed as 'everywhere' throughout the world, it was 'human nature to categorise' universally present in humans, and undeniably extant in Aotearoa NZ.

Some retired participants provided an historic progression behind modern day

racism. In the 1950s and 60s they were expected to yield their seats on public transport to Pākehā, viewed public notices declaring ‘Māori need not apply’ for jobs or accommodation, and were not allowed to drink in certain bars or sit in ‘Pākehā’ parts of movie theatres (Hilliard 1960). As the analysis and data show, the experiences of racism were pervasive and the historic progression speaks to the changes that older participants witnessed. This also speaks to the contextualisation of racism: irrespective of when racism was experienced it remains a vivid memory, suggesting deep-seated negative impact. As in the interleaved self-monitoring Foucauldian state racism (Foucault 2006) these early examples of racism set during the mid-twentieth-century were at the time a part of the social fabric for most Māori and Pākehā. Abiding by them was essential for functioning in Aotearoa NZ’s colonial system. This was prior to legislation banning racial discrimination (Human Rights Commission 2006; Parliamentary Counsel Office 2013). However the historic principles of racist responses to Māori ethnic markers are shown to remain and are evidenced in participants’ accounts of modern day racism, as demonstrated in the first theme below, phenotypical identity markers. This is followed by three further themes identified during the thematic analysis: negative stereotypes, public racism and emotional impact.

Phenotypical identity markers

Participants discussed how Māori complexion was used by others to insult or reposition them as lesser, as in the quotes below of recent incidents. Sophia, who is in her forties, mentions drive-by comments and Hose, who is of the same age, a recent episode at work.

Sophia: the phrase that I remember is ‘black bitch’

Hose: he said ‘it blew up and all this carbon went everywhere over everything and it was as black as you Hose!’ and I was like ‘well (.) I’m not actually black!’⁴

In these examples, Māori complexion is mentioned in such a way as to insult or reposition the participant as lesser. Māori skin colour generated offensive disparagement without any interest in the person, as Sophia explains:

Sophia: you know it’s people who yell things at you as they drive past and ah they don’t care and they know that and they’ll target anyone who fits the description (.) it’s not personal for them but it’s very (.) out there you know they don’t care who you are or what

you've done to them (.) you could be any brown person ↓ d'you know what I mean?

Hose talks about a recent dinner party with strangers where the host greeted other guests with physical affection but when she saw him, pointedly refused to shake his hand.

Hose: and she wouldn't touch my hand (.) she wouldn't touch me (.) you know I went to put my hand out and she was just like (.) nope ↑

Poto (aged in his late fifties) who has Māori phenotype, but whose Māori wife is of Pākehā appearance, notes that she does not experience the racism he does during face to face encounters.

Poto: I might ask a question ↑ (.) the answer will be directed back to my wife ↓ but those are the sorts of things that I believe we do get confronted with as a husband and wife ↑ ahm(1) it is sometimes better for the paler member

The participants' accounts constructed Māori complexion as socially less advantageous than paler skin, due to some people's tendency to react to them negatively based on their appearance. The tendency to associate Māori phenotype with invalid and unfavourable traits is looked at next.

Negative stereotypes

Participants noted that erroneous negative stereotypes were commonly resorted to by perpetrators who encountered Māori phenotype. Pākehā who employed negative racist stereotypes linked them to the visual markers of a darker skin tone and Māori features: such Māori were less intelligent, illiterate, inarticulate, unemployed, or criminal, all of which constructed Māori as lesser and relegated them to the side-lines of society. Participants with Māori phenotype talked about being assumed to be dirty as children, and Poto noted this still happened. Some talked of sensing Pākehā friends' parents watching them in their home in case they pocketed items. In the excerpt below, Bill who is in his sixties is Māori but has Pākehā skin tone and features. He gives an example of how the external identity markers worked in his favour when he was a teenager in a group of his Māori peers.

Bill: if there was anything you know untoward happening they would use me because they would speak to me in a different way

Sylvia: because you look Pākehā

Bill: yeah! So they expected me to be above I guess my mates! You know? and yet I was the dumbest in the whole bunch of us you know! ((laughs))

Sylvia: ((laughs))

Bill: you know all my mates were pretty sharp characters!

Sylvia: yeah

Bill: but they weren't perceived to be that way

Bill observes that the Pākehā who questioned the group assumed he was Pākehā, and therefore more intelligent and articulate. In a visual representation of colonial positioning, he says the Pākehā assumed him to be 'above' his friends. Others talked about situations where they were assumed to be 'dumb' and the expectation was that they would have had a low level of education, or only be interested in playing a guitar and singing. With this came the stereotype of Māori unemployment and inadequacy.

Hose: you know when I was younger? Lots of people used to be always saying oh (.) Māoris (.) always on the dole! you can get a job on the dole! And I've never gone on the dole (.) I never will ↑

'Lots of' implies this was a common stereotype which ignored Māori potential or achievements. An important consideration here is the age related positioning: as a teenager considering the workforce during the late 20th century, Hose is being actively discouraged from seeking employment. He takes strong offence to the suggestion of being on the dole, resisting the stereotypical positioning.

Enduring stereotypes of Māori as alcoholic or criminal were commonly cited. Fred provides volunteer work in prisons; his age is not given for confidentiality reasons. It is routine for volunteers to encounter security measures similar to those at an airport when entering the prison; however, Fred perceives that the attention he is given by some officers is excessive. He finds he receives a more investigative approach than Pākehā volunteers.

Fred: they actually treat me like I'm a prisoner and they are white

(.) (.hh) for me a visit to the prison can range almost from a strip search to walk on through (.) I know a strip search is a bit extreme but you know it is sometimes it is like that and I'm questioned about how why are you going to see them? you know why are you going? you know why

Fred notes the automatic suspicion of some Pākehā officers that he has criminal intentions which must be checked, an assumption based on their perception of his distinctly Māori features and complexion. Possibly more sinister is the account below from Hose, who lives in a small township. A spate of robberies had occurred in the previous year, and some people collectively decided that it must be Māori who were the perpetrators.

Hose: this area's a predominantly rich↑ white area↓ there is a Māori element there↑ a small Māori element↑ but it was on our main [newspaper] news 'if you're brown (.) and you're in town (.) you're a thief↓' and that's what one of the newspapers (.) it was printed.....and I was like (.hhh) what? How can they get away with printing that sort of stuff...it's not everyone↓ but there is an ahm yeah a big group that (.) they say if you're brown and you're in town you're a thief

Hose does not specify whether the racist statement was published as observation, query, or fact. This underscores the immediate power of media (McCreanor *et al.* 2011) to create and re-establish racist stereotypes, which were in this case picked up and vocalised blatantly by local people.

The theme throughout this section has been the racist tendency to focus negatively on Māori phenotype, either to denigrate it or to associate it with fallacious negative stereotypes. The fact that these associations were suggested openly and in public without apparent fear of reprisal is enlarged on next.

Public racism

Participants commonly cited blatantly racist incidents which occurred in public places: educational institutions, the workplace, retail, accommodation, banking, streets with police patrols. Again, the accounts are both historic and present, of racism appearing in childhood and metamorphosing in different forms today. Within schools, some retired participants provided spine-chilling accounts from their childhoods in the 1950s, of corporal punishment administered daily for letting slip a Māori word; one showed fingers which were still

misshapen from being broken. Corporal punishment in schools was abolished in 1987, but the historical precedence participants cited of teacher prejudice, or being targeted by Pākehā children who bullied them or called them ‘nigger’ was still extant. Many teachers, apparently, still judged intellectual potential according to phenotype. Tu recounted an incident which took place 15-20 years ago when he was at high school and automatically assigned to ‘practical classes’ rather than a more academic stream. Hose cites a clearly illustrative incident in the same era.

Hose: Yeah I went to a big school but there were a lot of people who would (indistinct) you niggers you dumb niggers

Sylvia: wow!

Hose: dumb Māoris Māoris Māoris you know but just even not saying things properly you know↑ just to antagonise you

Sylvia: [indistinct] yeah yeahup

Hose: you’re too dumb you know? yeah guys are going what are you doing? often it would be like(.) what’re you doing in a class like I’d be doing science you know

Sylvia: mm hm

Hose: and it’d be what’s the point in you even trying mate

Sylvia: really

Hose: you know? ‘cause you’ll end up pushing a broom

This example of Foucauldian racism bears significant hallmarks of colonial racism. Firstly, the word ‘Māori’ is given an inflexion that turns it into what is tantamount to an obscenity, and positions it below Pākehā. Dominant members of society use the words ‘black’ and ‘nigger’ to denigrate Māori because those words are deemed offensive and carry distinct implications of servitude. ‘Dumb’ functions firstly to imply that Hose is intellectually challenged and education is therefore lost on him, and also as an implicit demand that he remain silent. The word ‘mate’ implies that this advice is being given as friendly informative advice by someone who knows society’s laws and can also predict the bleak occupational future. ‘What’s the point in even trying’ outlines the supposed

futility of trying to get qualifications and rise in a colonial society, and the final destination ‘pushing a broom’ blatantly positions Hose at the lowest end of the occupational hierarchy, suggesting that any effort put into education is wasted.

Historically, some participants cited a precedence in which Māori were frequently guided into manual work in the 1950s and 60s. Sixty years later, participants currently employed in firms where there are both manual and white collar positions, also cite continuing incidents of people expecting Māori to be in manual jobs. This is an example of a social positioning necessary for the maintenance of a colonial hierarchy, as in Hose’s account below.

Hose: I work for [identifying] organisation↓ and there’s definitely racism in there↓ I’m working in [technical occupation] and predominantly it’s it’s a white (.) place (.) it’s a predominantly a white industry (.) I was actually there to fix up what they’d done wrong

Sylvia: yeah

Hose: and the smart comment was ‘what the hell’s a Māori doing in [occupation]’ and that whole assumption of if you’re brown (.) then you’re going to be doing (.) this sort of job (.) You can tell they’re straight away thinking ‘you must be one of the [manual workers]’ you know? that’s their assumption straight away↓

Despite his demonstrable competence, he is still assumed by Pākehā to be better suited to manual labour. This attitude of ‘Māori inferiority’ was also cited by participants who found themselves passed over for promotion when faced with a Pākehā applicant with the same qualifications. Bill, who is Māori, highly qualified and Pākehā in appearance and usually known by his English first name, told of being offered a job, then later receiving a mailed rejection after using his Māori first names on the job application. This was an exception in the participants’ accounts; most did not speak of racist responses to other racialised markers such as Māori names, attire, speech patterns, accent or where they grew up. The overt or blatant racist reactions took place during face to face encounters, where phenotype and facial features plainly indicated Māori ethnicity.

Some participants noted that it was expected that the boss would be a Pākehā, as in Fred’s account below of his current work situation:

Fred: people tend to arrive and ahm (.) they will approach and rather than asking me they will assume that (.) the white fellow in the group is the team supervisor or team leader and um (.) approach them

Recent racist comments in the workplaces of some participants also took the form of racist slurs ranging from mild to extreme offensiveness. One talked of a worker joking that fried chicken was ‘Māori roast’ and another cited a supervisor who enjoyed likening a Māori worker in another division to a black *kunekune* pig. The comments were public and overt. The same supervisor when asked for *tangi* leave shocked the applicant by saying to the group of workers that ‘Hitler had the right idea of just dumping all the bodies in a hole’. Worse somehow was racism from a ‘mate’.

Hose: a friend of mine who’s a Pākehā↓ ahm he’s a good friend of mine↑ but for some reason when he came down to Wellington↓ I got him a job with us↑ and one day↓ I don’t know why (.) I really don’t know why↓ he he said to me ‘oh come on nigger let’s go and do this’

Sylvia: and this is recent?

Hose: oh yes very recent! and so I was ‘oh just a little less of that!’ And we’re working through til the end of the day and ... he said it again↓ he said ‘come on nigger let’s get going.’ I thought about afterwards and I thought (.) now why would he even be saying that to me (.) if he’s my mate↓

To Hose, his friend’s use of the word ‘nigger’ is inexplicable. The concept of colonial political power structures is not mentioned in his deliberation, nor the notion of his Pākehā mate testing his part in this majority power structure and assuming impunity and entitlement.

It is worth noting that Hose’s shocked surprise focuses on the fact that his friend used the ethnophaulism (ethnic slur). The fact that this blatantly racist incident took place openly in the work place is not questioned.

Participants who were phenotypically Māori cited three racist incidents commonly encountered in retail: disrespectful service, being ignored at the counter or in a shop queue, and being followed unnecessarily by store security. Sophia describes shopping with her Pākehā partner, and experiencing all three examples of racism in the same instance.

Sophia: we'll go into a shop together and they'll ignore me and they'll ask him ↑ they'll serve him (.) I might be standing in front of him and they'll look right over me and they'll ask him if they can help him ↓ they'll serve him ↓ and they'll follow me round the shop (.) but not him

Her experience of all three after a face to face encounter places the racism beyond subtlety; it is recognisable and identifiable as obvious overt racism. Some participants also observed that those with a Māori phenotype were less likely to be granted rental leases or home ownership, accounts supported by a recent study by Houkamau (2015) which found that 'looking Māori' predicted decreased rates of home ownership.

Participants also talked of situations where they found that regardless of their employment status, being phenotypically Māori was a liability when dealing with banks and financial institutions. Sophia told of trying to cash cheques her Pākehā partner made out to 'Cash' for her, and being refused, then permitted after her partner vouched for her. Another participant talked about the different reception received in recent years by a young Pākehā relative who was alcohol and drug dependent, and a young Māori relative of the same age, when they both applied for credit at the bank. Both approached the bank with the same guarantor, but the Pākehā relative was extended credit, and the Māori denied.

Participants also commonly recounted that the automatic assumption of criminality was present throughout the entire justice system. Most believed that judges handed down heavier penalties to Māori, a view supported in the literature (Fergusson *et al.* 2003; United Nations CERD 2007; Workman 2011) and that police assumed Māori guilty when apprehending them. Most participants constructed excessive and unwarranted scrutiny by police as inevitable, whether driving or walking. Accounts were given which indicated police over-surveillance began early in life. A mother talked of a group of children apprehended by the police after school, the Pākehā children being sent home and the Māori children taken to the station. Another mentioned the police stopping him when out on his birthday bike, taking temporary possession of it and inspecting it meticulously in case he had stolen it. In the following example of open prejudice, Hoa, whose age is not given here for reasons of confidentiality, talks about a relative of Pākehā phenotype who is taken to the police station along with her friends of Māori phenotype after they had all been caught sniffing glue.

Hoa: the cop said to her she was really naughty she smoked you know glue and all the rest of it and um she was FAIR you know she was a Māori kid she was the fair one↓ and he thought she was Pākehā and he went off at them and he said to her and especially you! and she said why me? he said well you know he said to her well you're Pākehā! you shouldn't be doing this this mixing with all this crowd!

The policeman openly voices the stereotype that criminal behaviour is normal for the group of Māori children but not Pākehā; the phrase 'this crowd' implies a 'them and us' negative positioning in which the Māori children are separate from law abiding society. He goes on to warn her against 'mixing with' the Māori crowd.

Participants also speak of the impact of such encounters, for example in generating feelings of fear or mistrust towards police from an early age which continues into cynicism in adulthood. The impact of overt incidents of racism in terms of the feelings engendered are considered next.

Emotional impact

At times, participants hesitated in their recollections of the precise details of incidents. However as one said 'I can't remember what I said at the time I just remember how I was made to feel'. The feelings had been remembered to the present day, regardless of whether the incident took place recently or decades previous. These were: initial shock, upset and confusion, followed by awareness of hurt, degradation, anger and sometimes alienation.

Keto remembers clearly the impact of an incident decades previous. Coming from a rural college where he was honoured as head boy and best all round student, he was shocked when his Pākehā girlfriend's parents turned him away after learning he was Māori.

Keto: yeah so that was a big shock ((laughs)) my first big shock in my life ahm I realised that there were people who didn't like me because of my ah(.) my colour↑ I guess my ah my heritage↑ my(.) ethnicity↓ yeah↓

The couple had been dating for several months, and the decision made to introduce him to her parents. Her parents refused for him to continue seeing their daughter, and said they should both only have relationships with their

own people. The unexpectedness of the rejection created 'shock', with Keto later describing the situation as 'a big hit' 'nasty' 'very upsetting'. Other participants also described the immediate emotional turmoil of racism as 'not a nice feeling' and feeling 'terrible', 'awful', 'very upset'. Alongside this was confusion, particularly if the racist comment was from a friend, relative or fellow worker. Another expressed confusion at school bullying and racial taunts 'I thought we (Māori) were nice people'. Hose expresses his bafflement at a relatively recent experience of a workmate who asks him what a Māori is doing in his position.

Hose: ... and I think well does he not know that that's insulting? Is he that ignorant that he doesn't know that's insulting? This is a guy who thinks he's better than me! so he's supposed to have a bit of intelligence! And yet he can't see that that's a ((laughs)) direct insult to me?

Hose feels perplexity and confusion that an intelligent person who is also a co-worker would make a racist remark. His tone expresses his incredulity in repeated word emphasis and questioning; he had previously equated intelligence with the ability to understand the offensiveness and unacceptability of racism. He had also expected that someone who worked alongside him would treat him with respect, but this had not happened.

In a manner analogous to physical injury, once the initial shock and confusion receded, pain was felt, defined by participants as 'hurt'. Ruihi, a retiree, talked about 'tears of hurt'. Sharlee (late fifties) who is Māori and looks Pākehā, recounts her reaction to a fellow worker's hurtful comment.

Sharlee: when she said 'Māoris marry Māoris and Pākehās marry Pākehās' that really hurt me and

Sylvia: m:::.....m

Sharlee: you know when people say that sort of thing (.) they most probably don't even know how bad it's hurting that person

Sharlee's construction of the perpetrator as ignorant regarding the hurtful racism inherent in her statement on interracial marriage is typical of those who considered Pākehā ignorant regarding racism (Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons 2015a). She goes on to inform her fellow co-worker the deep hurt inflicted by the racist comment, and tells them not to talk like that. The notion that the perpetrator may be unaware and need educating is the latent driver for her

vocalised resistance (Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons 2015b).

Some participants said that the feeling which came was one of degradation. Bill talked about feeling degraded after Pākehā men voiced to him that all Māori women had looser morals; others associated it with racist incidents in front of others at work or school. Degradation was an insightful and apt choice of a word which refers to depriving or reducing one's rank, a construction that describes the attempt of Pākehā to position Māori as inferior.

By far the most common emotion felt at the time of the incident was anger or irritation. Jessica (aged in her early thirties) talked of the sense of injustice fuelling her anger when she was at university and unnecessarily apprehended by a police officer, anger which was 'further exacerbated once he started actually talking' because of his erroneously superior attitude. Poto (late fifties) echoes the irritating nature of the racist assumption of superiority which he still encounters.

Poto: ...when you're addressed in this manner you feel so inferior ↓ it's making you feel inferior (.) that there is someone who is superior to you that should be addressed rather than you the individual (.) it is wrong! (.) and it is a source of of irritation

Poto clearly identifies the perpetrator's attempt to reduce his position to one who should accept Pākehā superiority. Being unable to express the irritation created frustration; one participant talked about 'carrying a chip' for an unspecified length of time, another of frustration regarding the social unacceptability of becoming angry, for example when being unnecessarily followed by store security in a store filled with families and children. Female participants recounted expressing their hurt to perpetrators to facilitate change. Male participants talked also about learning to control unwise anger responses 'I trained it out of me'.

Others found that the incidents made them feel alienated from Aotearoa NZ society. Sophia talked about feeling alienated after school incidents pinpointing her ethnicity, and Poto talked about it making him feel, albeit temporarily, like a stranger in 'the system'. Others described feelings of alienation when unjustly targeted by police in what became a 'Pākehā' justice system. Significantly, hopelessness and other associated feelings such as despondency and despair covered in other studies were not mentioned by these participants. Once the initial shock and pain of the incident was over although not forgotten, most decided that racism was undeserved, unmerited and required justifiable resist-

ance (Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons 2015b). Participants' reflexivity throughout their accounts of emotional impact was significant. Emotional impact was constructed in such a way that the participants achieved agency by retrospectively examining the emotions and stating their nature clearly. They also expressed their justified irritation at and resistance to the notion that anyone should feel they had a right to inflict on them unwarranted and negative prejudice. Their resilient accounts of how they tackled racist encounters at a micro-level and succeeded in 'teaching' Pākehā anti-racism despite the challenges of vocalising resistance, are further explored by Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons (2015b).

DISCUSSION

This study has presented a sample of overt racist incidents targeting Māori, gathered from participants' accounts which range from the 1950s to the present. The time span indicates that this is a historic, continuous and current problem. The examples of blatant racism have been structured in four themes: phenotypical identity markers, negative stereotyping, public racism, and emotional impact. The first two provide details of the apparent bases on which racism pivoted, the third documents the public nature of where comments took place, and the final theme deals with the psychological impact of racism. Together the accounts and the themes weave a disturbing picture of racism in Aotearoa NZ society. The participants recounted being targeted according to their phenotype, an integral representation of themselves presented publicly on a daily basis, a presentation they could justifiably expect to be met with equal regard and respect. However, instead it generates racist responses based on negative stereotypes of educability and criminality. This often takes place publicly, with perpetrators apparently unconcerned with the fact that the racism is not covert or concealed from others of the dominant majority. The emotional impact is immediate and enduring; however, perpetrators are not called to account for the incidents. Māori targets are left to try and make sense of and live with a racism which can be described as positioning Māori as lesser, inferior to Pākehā in attributes, and as second class citizens in their own country.

The accounts also create a challenge to current theory which states that because racism has become unacceptable, the language used to express it has moved from the blatant to the implicit, from specifics to deniable, and from blunt to symbolic abstractions (Augoustinos and Every 2007; Obeng 1997; Pettigrew and Meertens 2001; Tuffin 2013; Wetherell and Potter 1992). Scholarship has shifted to focus more heavily on 'subtle modern racism', but it is important to remember overt racism still exists and is harmful. A possible conclusion to be drawn from the phrase 'subtle modern racism' is that overt blatant racism

belongs to a previous era. However, it is rather that subtle modern racism has arisen alongside overt racism which, although less public, is still extant. Participants' accounts of blatant racism today align with research exploring the accounts of other indigenous targets in Australia (Mellor 2003), Canada (Wieman 2006), Chile (Merino, Mellor, Saiz, and Quilaqueo 2009), Hawaii (Keawe'aimoku Kaholokula *et al.* 2012), and in Aotearoa NZ (Moewaka-Barnes *et al.* 2013; Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons 2015a; Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons 2015b; Weber, McKinley, and Hattie 2013). These studies specifically refer to indigenous accounts of obvious racism rather than the subtle and symbolic. Admittedly the law has changed to disallow past apartheid-style racism cited by some participants, for example with regard to separate theatre seating in the 1950s and 60s. However participants' accounts of overt modern-day micro-level racism indicate that other blatant examples still exist. It is concluded that while racism may have moved in the direction of subtlety it still retains a blatant and damagingly brutal face. This does not undo the claim that modern racism is symbolic; however it does raise questions about the extent to which the symbolic has overtaken the blatant, if at all. The move to abstraction has not meant the elimination of the brutality of explicit racist assumptions and comments.

It is considered possible that focussing solely on modern subtleties in racist Pākehā talk and text, although vital, has distracted Pākehā researchers from addressing and exposing overt racism which Māori experience in everyday life. Pākehā reluctance to conduct research with Māori (Tolich 2002) may have also contributed to the very small number of studies of Māori perspectives. The responsibility of social psychologists to research and disseminate findings on explicit racism is paramount in light of the consequences of silence. Practical implications from this study include the counterproductive growth of a negative attitude to police and law enforcement, with Māori feeling alienated from the justice system at an early age. Participants cite teachers as being unaware of the equal intellectual capability of Māori students, a finding supported in the literature (Fitzpatrick 2013). Failing to encourage Māori in academic pursuits and failure to actively discourage students' disparaging racism within schools may in turn undermine academic progress. These findings have significance for educationalists endeavouring to understand why Māori find themselves in the 'long tail of underachievement' in the education system (Clark 2013). For industrial psychologists, the frustration noted by participants regarding the social unacceptability of becoming angry when experiencing overt racism in the workplace suggests that hypothetically, being able to talk the situation through with an intermediary might bring some understanding and resolution. The emotional impact of blatant racism also has serious health consequences; racism has been linked to high blood pressure (Krieger and Sydney 1996) and

poorer health outcomes for Māori in all areas (Harris *et al.* 2006; Harris, Cormack, and Stanley 2013).

This study contributes to highlighting the importance of this very under-studied area of racism, and carries some limitations. The average age of participants was 53; themes and ages were found to be unrelated, as also noted in studies by Paradies (2006) and Sigelman and Welch (1991). However, other studies have shown younger targets are more likely to perceive discrimination (Broman, Mavadatt, and Hsu 2000). Such sensitivity to racism suggests younger participants could have produced different findings. The participants were also from one geographic location, and it is possible that participants from other locations, or who were unemployed, might have given different responses. The sample was also snowballed among those thought to be interested in contributing to the study of racism rather than denying it. Further studies of Māori targets' accounts could include these dynamics and bring to light further unacknowledged Māori perspectives and experiences.

There is a wealth of Pākehā research of Pākehā text and talk which highlights the subtlety of modern racism, still this does not mean that the blatant, blunt and brutal version of racism has necessarily receded. Rather it indicates that the targets who can recount these incidents have not been the focus of research. The fact that analyses of Māori target's perspective are largely unrecorded in modern critical studies on racism suggests their perspectives are being disregarded or not taken seriously by Pākehā (Human Rights Commission 2007). To privilege rather than marginalise their perspectives would constitute crossing a broad field in which the diverse negative psycho-social effects of racism have largely been documented without Māori input. Such work could be *hei matakīrea*, a spearhead or driving force to expose blatant racism, and may help to improve relations between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa NZ.

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NOTES

- 1 Sylvia Pack's research interests focus on the behavioural, psycho-social and cultural effects of racism against Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand. Discourse analysis and other qualitative methods have been used to study context, racism,

marginalisation and privilege.

Email: sylviaipack@gmail.com

- 2 Keith Tuffin is Associate Professor of Psychology at Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand. His research interests include social constructionism, discursive psychology, critical psychology and the language of racism.
Email: k.tuffin@massey.ac.nz
- 3 Antonia Lyons is Professor of Psychology at Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand. Her research interests are on the social and cultural contexts of behaviours related to health and wellbeing, and implications for subjectivities, gendered identities and embodied experiences.
Email: a.lyons@massey.ac.nz
- 4 Notation used in transcriptions: (.) indicates pause, ↑ or ↓ indicate rising or falling inflexion, underlined words indicates emphasis, ! indicates an animated tone, double brackets indicate paralinguistic features, ::: indicates extended word.

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