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Racism in Aotearoa New Zealand:

Analysing the talk of Māori and their Pākehā partners

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology
at Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand.

Sylvia Pack
2016
Abstract

Previous studies on racism in the field of critical social psychology have focused on perpetrator talk and text, perpetrator personality and cognition, and in-group psychology. Research examining targets’ perspectives and responses to racism and race theory is rare. The current study redresses a little of this imbalance by exploring the accounts of indigenous Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand and their partners. The researcher, a Pākehā (B.A. Māori studies), used long standing Māori contacts to establish trust, and also sought approval from a Māori Cultural adviser, the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, and a local marae (Takapuwahia) before beginning the project. Interviews were conducted with 24 participants aged 30-74, 19 of whom were Māori (10 women, 9 men) and five of whom were Pākehā women partners. Participants were asked three open ended questions: Had they had experiences of racism, and if so, could they describe them? Why did they think the racism occurred? Was there a solution? The epistemology chosen to underpin the analyses was social constructionism, which allowed the inclusion of political and social contexts and power issues, and also acknowledged the power of language to not merely reflect reality, but actively construct it. A data driven inductive approach was employed to bring to light the uniqueness of the participants’ perceptions. Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) informed by social constructionism, was used in the first paper Resisting racism, to outline three themes: difficulties in expressing resistance due to power imbalance or stereotyping, non-vocalised resistance, and vocalised resistance, which was the most stressful and successful response. In Accounting for racism, a micro-level analysis of participants’ talk draws on the discourse analytic tradition of Potter and Wetherell (1987) to highlight four main discourses: Ignorance of racism and Māori people, media promotion of negative stereotypes, an innate Pākehā sense of superiority, and institutionalised racism. Thematic analysis is used again in Reducing racism to define four main themes: Structural racism with attention to the workplace and the justice system, education’s role in anti-racism practices, increased interaction, and becoming inclusively ‘Kiwi’ while practising mutual respect. This research contributes key insights from the targets’ perspective, and addresses a gap in current research which is focussed almost exclusively on perpetrator theory. In addition, this study holds significance for psychologists, educationalists,
researchers and policy makers as it brings fresh understanding on racism against Māori and how to best reduce it in Aotearoa New Zealand.
He mihi tuinga

Nōu hoki, e Īhowa, te nui, te mana,
te kororia, te wikitoria, te honore;
nōu nga tangata katoa i te whenua.
Nōu rātou katoa i manaaki.
Ko tāku mihi tuatahi ki a Koē,
Te Matua Kaha Rawa,
ki tōu Tama Ihu Karaiti hoki.

The first honour must go to
Jesus Christ
through Whom all things were created
and God the Father,
Creator of all things,
Who in Genesis blessed all peoples equally
and before Whom all people will stand.

Ko Raukawa te moana
Te Whanga-nui-a-tara te whanga
Ko Kaukau te maunga
Ko Kaiwharawhara te awa
Ko Ngaio te rohe
Ko te Pākehā tōku īwi
Nō Īgarangi me Koterani
ōku mātua ēku tīpuna
engari i whānau mai ahau ki konei
ki te whanga-nui-a-tara.
Ko Sylvia te ingoa.

The Cook Straits are the ocean
Wellington the harbour
Kaukau the mountain
Kaiwhara the river
Ngaio the district
the Pākehā my people.
My parents and my ancestors
came from England and Scotland
I was born in Wellington,
in Aotearoa New Zealand.
My name is Sylvia.

Èhara tāku toa i te toa takitahi,
engari he toa takitini ē.

Without the help of many people,
this thesis could never have been written.

Ngā mihi tuatahi
ki ngā tūao katoa e kōrero ana ki konei.
He Pākehā ahau, nō reira,
he iti tāku mōhio;
Na rātou nga kupu mōhio

I wish to acknowledge and thank the
participants who freely gave of their time
and lived understanding,
When they talked about their experiences
they shed light on this subject
Ngā mihi ki āku kaiwhakahaere, Ko Keith Tuffin rāua ko Antonia Lyons e hika, te manawanui o Hopa! He tino awhina a rāua whakataki, a rāua tohu katoa. My thanks to my professorial supervisors, Keith and Antonia, who showed amazing patience, gave consistently constructive feedback, positive criticism, and encouragement.

Ngā mihi hoki ki ngā kaimahi O te whare pukapuka o Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa mo ngā pukapuka me ngā pūrongo atikara, he mea nui māku. He āwhina a rātou i ngā wā katoa. My thanks also to the librarians for their helpful communication and inexhaustible supply of articles and books, and the occasional kindly waiver of overdues.

Ngā mihi nui rawa atu ki tōku hoa rangatira, me a māua tamariki pai tokotoru, (mo tou mōhio hangarau, he rawa) toku whaea kēkē Marion. Waru teku ma waru ona tau, he kaiwhakaako tonu ia. Nā koutou te whakaapono, te tumanako, te aroha. Nō reira, kua oti te mahi. From my heart, I would like to thank my wonderful husband, our three equally wonderful adult children, (thanks especially for the technical expertise) and my amazing, supportive Aunty Marion who at age 89 is still teaching To all of you, your unfailing belief in me and telling me I can do this, your love and support and prayers, have made this journey possible.

Ngā mihi hoki ki āku hoa katoa! He mea tino pai rawa atu ō koutou aroha, tautoko hoki. Ka whakatenatena ahau a koutou kupu whakahauhau; nā koutou te kaha, te toa, te manawanui I wish to thank the many friends who expressed encouragement, affirmation, and love, throughout this project. How could I have got through this, particularly during times of family illness, without those coffee breaks, the phone calls, the meals,
Nā to koutou aroha, atawhai hoki,
Ka tautohe au ki te whai mai ki tēnei māhi
Ngā mihi nui ki a Pani,
toku tino hoa Māori
kia ora mo tou mōhio ki a Sheryl raua ko Julie
ngā kaitautoko tino pai, ki a Kath rāua ko Shelley
ki tatou katoa kei PFNZ, nā koutou ngā kupu ‘Ka taea e koe…’

Ka tautohe au ki te whai mai ki tēnei māhi
Pani (for not only being my dear friend, but
for sharing understanding of te ao Māori, and
for encouraging me in te reo),

Hei whakamutunga
And finally, to all of you

*Kia hora te marino,*

May the seas be calm,

*Kia whakapapa pounamu te moana,*

May the shimmer of summer,

*Kia tere te kārohirohi i tōu huarahi.*

Glisten like the greenstone,

*Ma Ihowa koutou e manaaki, e tiaki, i nga wa katoa.*

And dance across your pathway.

May God bless you and protect you
for all time
My journey

I grew up unaware of my privilege as a Pākehā Kiwi, and totally unaware that Māori might be marginalised. Culture wasn’t something I thought I had; the fact that New Zealand as a whole was English in orientation was something I took for granted. I remember in Secondary School years beginning to sense that French might not be much use to me, and asking a teacher if I could learn Māori instead, but when he said it wasn’t on the curriculum, I wasn’t surprised, and it didn’t seem to warrant protest. After all, this was an English speaking nation. The years passed, I trained as a teacher, and it seemed to me that New Zealand was a world wide example of racial harmony and equal opportunity for all. This was the accepted, taken for granted assessment of the status quo among my Pākehā peers. I had a musician friend who was Māori, but she and I were focussed on promoting our music and racism was never discussed. It wasn’t until much later, when I took up voluntary prison ministry work on inter-denominational church teams, and found myself meeting regularly with fellow workers who were Māori, that I began to hear things that made me question my assumptions about Aotearoa New Zealand.

The first of these was when a close friend, a Māori married to a blonde Pākehā, told me that her equally intelligent, healthy children had been treated differently by teachers at school. They had assumed that the child who was phenotypically Māori would be interested in rugby, and the child who was of Pākehā appearance, would be academically inclined. Their teachers had constructively encouraged them in these directions, without mentioning the supposed ethnic orientation. This shocked me, not only that it had happened, but that I, an ex-teacher had had no idea. From older Māori, I heard accounts of their childhoods, including beatings from teachers for letting slip with a Māori word, having to give up their seats on buses for Pākehā, and sitting separately in the cinema. Others told me quite bluntly that Māori were still discriminated against today, especially in the legal system, and the fact that many Māori were overly represented in prisons was a miscarriage of justice. This I baulked at; after all, everyone in prison had a record, and I knew nothing of aversive racism manifesting in biased sentencing practices. No relevant statistics ever made the papers.
Seeking bridges, I began to learn *te reo* and Māori studies. I was endeared by the hospitality and friendship, and always felt challenged by accounts of racism, however mild. I began to wonder if it was possible to look deeper, to understand more about the lived experience of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, and to focus the light of academic research on what was being said to me. It occurred to me that what they were telling me was not generally known, and sat outside the parameters of existing studies written by Pākehā; that if I hadn’t expected their statements, then maybe other middle class Pākehā would not expect them either. This melded well with the concepts of social constructionism, in which a researcher might create their own reality, by composing a questionnaire which limited the answers to what they expected to find. I considered the idea that if Māori constructed their embodied experience with their own words, instead of trying to fit Pākehā created frames, it might be possible to understand things which did not currently exist in a Pākehā ontology. This was an exciting thought. Although I didn’t realise it, my journey towards the doctorate had irrevocably begun.

In the course of the research, I found myself challenged. There were many occasions on which I found myself reflecting on my own situatedness as a middle class Pākehā, in a bi-cultural Aotearoa New Zealand, trying to understand what I was reading. It became clear to me that my background and goals had created an ontological blindness. Why had I chosen to trust a certain epistemology? Had that worked to screen out Māori constructions? Throughout, my Māori friends guided and steered me, kindly, joking, sympathising with the hard work involved, but always bringing me back to what they saw to be self evident: Pākehā do not see things the way Māori do, and they are generally ignorant of Māori experience. It needed explaining, and they were glad I was listening. I realised it was therefore my honour, and my academic challenge, to analyse and present themes and discourses of the Māori experience of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand, as told by Māori participants and their partners.
## Glossary of Māori words

Māori words in the text are italicised, except for ‘Māori’ ‘Pākehā’ and ‘Aotearoa’ which are in common usage. The translations relate to the Māori words or phrases as used in the context of the thesis and the excerpts from participants’ interviews.

<table>
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<th>Māori word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>aroha</td>
<td>love, caring, compassion, empathy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ako Māori</td>
<td>to learn the Māori way of doing things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āta</td>
<td>A <em>kaupapa Māori</em> principle relating to the building and nurturing of relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haka</td>
<td>Māori war dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He aha te mea nui?</td>
<td>What is the most important thing in the world?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He tangata, he tangata, he tangata.</td>
<td>It is people, people, people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hongi</td>
<td>to press noses in greeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwi</td>
<td>a people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kānga</td>
<td>sweetcorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karakia</td>
<td>prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaiwhakamana</td>
<td>respected elder in authority, who empowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanohi ki te kanohi</td>
<td>face to face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapahaka</td>
<td>Māori culture performing group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karakia</td>
<td>prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaumatua</td>
<td>old man or woman, a person of status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaupapa Māori</td>
<td>Māori approach or methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga</td>
<td>A <em>kaupapa Māori</em> principle relating to Socio-Economic Mediation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiwi</td>
<td>New Zealand citizen regardless of ethnicity (coll.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koha</td>
<td>gift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohanga Reo</td>
<td>Māori language immersion schools for children aged up to six years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Kunekune
fat, short-legged, feral pig

### Kura Kaupapa Māori
Māori language immersion schools

### Mana
authority, influence, prestige, power

### Marae
*(Māori)* village common

### Manuhiri
visitor

### Māori
Person of the native Polynesian race, New Zealander

### Mokopuna
grandchild

### Moriori
Chatham Island Māori

### Mōteatea
poetry, lament

### Ngāti
Prefix or separate word meaning tribal group

### Paiheretia
unity and connectedness

### Pākehā
a New Zealander of predominantly European descent

### Poroporoaki
traditional farewell ceremony

### Pōwhiri
welcoming ceremony

### Rangatiratanga
evidence of breeding and greatness; chieftainship

### Reo, Te Reo
Māori language

### Tangata
human being

### Tangi
Māori funeral

### Tauiwi
European or New Zealander of non-Māori descent (literally ‘other people’)

### Tautuatu
the principle of reciprocity

### Takapuwahia
An area between Porirua and Titahi Bay

### Taonga Tuku Iho
the principle of cultural aspiration

### Te Ao Māori
the Māori world, Māoridom

### Te Reo
Māori language (literally ‘the language’)

### Tikanga
rule, method, customs

### Tino Rangatiratanga
the principle of self determination

### Whaka
prefix/particle: to cause something to happen
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<th>As a principle or value: Humble oneself so that the message can be heard</th>
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<td><strong>whakamā</strong></td>
<td>to be ashamed, shy, bashful, embarrassed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>whānau</strong></td>
<td>family, extended family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>whakatauki</strong></td>
<td>Māori proverb</td>
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