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South African immigrants constructions of Māori-Pākehā relations in Aotearoa-New Zealand

A thesis

presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Psychology

at Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.

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2021

Abstract

Discursive studies of Māori-Pākehā relations in New Zealand (NZ) have typically contemplated the everyday talk of Pākehā, although more recently, a small number of studies have considered the discourse of Māori in relation to racism. This investigation contemplates a unique perspective of bicultural interactions in New Zealand by examining the discourse of South African immigrants concerning Māori-Pākehā relationships. The data for this analysis was gathered as part of a larger research project at Massey University concerning immigration and settlement of South African immigrants to New Zealand. Semi-structured interviews were completed with 16 participants. Questions were raised regarding identity and belonging, displacement, prejudice, Māori-Pākehā relations, as well as te Tiriti o Waitangi and the data for this project was analysed by way of discourse analysis. Four core themes were identified: neoliberal aspirations, racism concealed under the guise of te Tiriti o Waitangi, naturalised whiteness, and cultural affiliation. This study contributes insight into Māori-Pākehā relations in Aotearoa-New Zealand from the unique perspective of South African immigrants. Moreover, this research uncovers some alternate and unique interpretations of Māori and Pākehā relationships, as well as several typical constructions that support the current literature. This will add to the rich array of literature regarding indigene-settler relations globally and within Aotearoa-New Zealand. This study is of value for educationalists, researchers, psychologists, and policy makers.

Mihi whakatau - Welcome

Tēnā tātou katoa.	Greetings all.
He mihi tēnei ki a Io Matua Nui I Te Rangi, tēnā koe.	I thank God, the creator of all that is.
Kia whakahōnoretia au i te whenua nei. Ko Aotearoa.	I honour the land that is Aotearoa-New Zealand.
Mia i Te Moananui a Kiwa,	From the Pacific ocean,
ki Puketapu, tēnā koe, tēnā koutou.	to Bell Block I give my regards.
Ko Taranaki te Maunga,	Taranaki is my mountain,
Ko Waiwhakaiho te awa,	Waiwhakaiho is my river,
Nō Taranaki Ahau	I am from Taranaki,
Ko Wheeler tōku whanau,	Wheeler is my family,
I whānau mai au nō Ngāmotu,	I was born in New Plymouth,
ki te tai hau-ā-uru o Aotearoa,	on the west coast of Aotearoa,
Ko Kylie tōku Ingoa.	My name is Kylie.
Ehara taku toa I te toa takitahi Engari, he toa takitini.	*Success is not the work of one, but the work of many.*
Nō reira tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.	Greetings to all.

Mihi - Tribute

Mum and Ryan, you continue to inspire me each and every day. You are the stars that guide me, the sun that rejuvenates me, and the grass, the plants, and the trees that revitalize and ground me. You are a part of me and I feel your presence in everything I do.

Whakamihi - Acknowledgements

Firstly, I acknowledge the participants who gave their time and their lived experience, and without who this research would not have been possible.

To my supervisor, Clifford van Ommen, your patience, time, enthusiasm, and understanding throughout this project have been greatly appreciated.

To my family, thank you for the love that you send my way.

This journey has at most times been a struggle, and one that wouldn't have reached completion without the unyielding love, support, and encouragement of Auntie Glenys.

Thank you Dad for the fun adventures that we have had over the years. And Auntie Janet and Uncle Lloyd for your dinners and sage advice.

And my cousins in Australia and New Zealand: Taryn, Brett, Shelley, Nicole, and Julz. Thank you for your love, acceptance, and belief.

To all my dear friends who have unconditionally supported me with absolutely no judgement. Thank you for your love, healings, dinners, and meditation sessions. Your uncompromising belief in me is treasured: Tracey, Di, Deb, Lisa, Anne, Nicky, Vic, and Miranda.

And, of course, to my ever-faithful and loving animals… you are the best.

Whakaaro huritao - My reflections

As a fifth generation New Zealander, I am unaware of the hardships and sufferings of my forebearers. However, the presence of my ancestors, particularly those who descended from Ireland and who faced colonial oppression in their homeland, are forever with me. My great great great grandfather, Patrick Alexander Bourke, left Ireland for Australia and then Aotearoa-New Zealand, to reside in Patea, Taranaki, where many of his descendants still live today. I often speculate, was the farmland purchased by my forebearers done so in deceit of Māori landowners. Whatever the case, the land was certainly misappropriated within a colonial structure of deceitful processes. What I do know is that my forebearers were welcomed to this country thanks to te Tiriti, which provided them with the privilege of making a life here for themselves and their families in what should have been equal relationship and shared sovereignty with Māori.

Whilst sorting through cupboards during the Covid-19 lockdown, I found photos of my Grandad and Uncle who lived in Patea, where strong Māori and Pākehā populations resided. In these photos, I noted that the Patea rugby team of 1938 had just one Māori gentleman in the photo. Also, the cricket team photo, from the 1940s, didn't include a single Māori person. I was interested at this apparent demonstration of the segregation that is constructed in the talk of participants in this project. According to my inquiries, it was an unspoken norm that Māori and Pākehā did not interact or connect socially. Although it was not spoken about, my Auntie knew not to ask if a Māori friend could come over to play. In the movie theatre, Māori sat on the left, and Pākehā on the right. History has seen comparable segregation all over the world, particularly in relation to indigene-settler relationships. I consider the recently published book, "*No Māori allowed: New Zealand's forgotten history of racial segregation*", by Robert Bartholomew, that brings attention to the racism and prejudice that has been a brutal part of Aotearoa-New Zealand's history. And I reflect on the realisation that much of Aotearoa-New

Zealand's population still believe in the fabrication of the nation's exemplar inter-ethnic relations.

I grew up in a small town called Bell Block, in Taranaki, oblivious of the freedom and advantage I held by virtue of being Pākehā. The marginalization of Māori was not something that I ever considered. Because of the colour of my skin, I didn't see it, I didn't feel it, I didn't experience it. I thought we all had the freedom to be accepted and acknowledged for the person that we are. I held many great friendships with Māori, and I don't remember any conversations or acknowledgement of them experiencing racism or disadvantage. To my untrained and unknowing eye, we all seemed to be on the same level playing field. I believed in the anecdote of Aotearoa-New Zealand's prototype inter-ethnic relations that is depicted on the world stage. I remember being shocked and disappointed at the change of name of 'my' maunga, from Mount Egmont to Mount Taranaki. In my outrage, I certainly didn't consider how colonisation had almost obliterated the Māori language, and steered Aoteoroa-New Zealand to becoming a monolingual country. Despite having many great Māori friendships, it wasn't until I began my psychology studies at Massey University that I really started to consider the historical effects of colonisation and the ongoing subjugation of Māori. In my ignorance, it was the first time I had questioned the impact of the misrepresentation of the media regarding Aotearoa-New Zealand's exemplar inter-ethnic relations reputation and the first instance that I had acknowledged the enduring marginalisation of Māori. It was the first time that I had considered structural and institutional racism and the part I played in Māori subjugation in my silent privilege.

I recognise and acknowledge my position of white middle-class Pākehā privilege, a position that is presented to me by virtue of my ancestry. I am conscious that I can only appreciate Māori experience from the limitedness of an outsider. That from this place, my words are a colonising form of white superiority – am I reproducing colonial authority by

fulfilling this research process? Throughout this project I remained aware and receptive to how my position has an influence on the results. I acknowledge the concern and the battle that I have had with producing a project that has resulted in the reproduction of negative constructions of Māori – it was often confronting. I often deliberated would my research still be valid if these adverse discourses were omitted. At times it was overwhelming. I gave up several times, confused, bewildered, wondering if this research was virtuous and if it could contribute at all to Māori, or to the development of enhanced Māori-Pākehā relations. Perhaps, the contribution of this project will involve an endorsement of awareness, and maybe even wisdom for Pākehā from Aotearoa-New Zealand, as well as settlers from other colonial nations. As a nation, what strategies can we take to increase settler peoples' awareness of indigenous peoples' ongoing trauma and injustice that has ensued since colonisation? Currently in Aotearoa-New Zealand we are guided by standards, structures, and systems that white men have created. How do we adjust structures and transform systems to make way for Māori systems and approaches? I look to Aotearoa-New Zealand decolonisation researchers, who provide inspiration for change and a commitment to strengthening Pākehā responsibility to biculturalism.

I am also aware of my outsider status to the participants in this study, who are South African immigrants. It is with recognition of this status that I rely on my supervisor, Clifford van Ommen, for his sage advice, knowledge, and wisdom as a South African immigrant himself. Despite not having personal involvement in the interview process, after multiple readings of the transcripts, I certainly feel a connection to the conversations. Despite this, I remain aware of my non-involvement in this process and have been well-supported by van Ommen when any matters arose regarding my understanding of the transcripts.

During the research process, a major difficulty I had was with separating out the themes. All of the themes are somewhat interrelated, particularly the first three. My feeling is that they could all reside under one broad umbrella of white domination and colonial values of

individuality and self-reliance. I struggled in the discussion also, with the crossover between themes. The interconnection between all the themes is that they each incorporate a prevailing colonial ideology of superiority. It is in bringing awareness to this ideology that patterns of change can occur.

In line with the ethos of this study and in my mindfulness of colonial reproductions of knowledge, I have chosen to use the abbreviation A-NZ for Aotearoa-New Zealand, to recognise the partnership of Māori and Pākehā that was anticipated by Māori upon signing te Tiriti o Waitangi document.

E Rangi, e Papa, e Te Whānau Atua,	**Sky Father and Earth Mother and the**
whakatōhia to koutou manaakitanga ki	**family of gods infuse your blessings**
roto I tenei mahi o mātou	**upon this work**

Glossary of Māori words

Te Reo Māori words are translated into the most appropriate English word for the purposes of this project. It is not to say that the English translation chosen below is the only English word for each Māori word outlined below.

Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face engagement
Māori	Indigenous New Zealander
Ngati	Tribe or clan
Pākehā	New Zealander of principally European descent
Rangatiratanga	Sovereignty
Taonga	Culture
Tauiwi	Foreigner
Te Reo Māori	Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori	Māori language Act
Tohunga	Māori healer
Tuakana	Older siblings

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Chapter One: Providing context

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore the talk of South African immigrants and the constructions that they employ on the subject of Māori-Pākehā relations in Aotearoa-New Zealand (A-NZ), as expressed in conversations from both one-on-one interviews and focus groups. Data for this analysis was gathered as part of a larger research project at Massey University regarding immigration and settlement of South African immigrants to A-NZ. A social constructionist epistemology was adopted and, accordingly, data was analysed using discourse analysis methodology, with particular consideration given to how the normalised authority of whiteness operates to maintain power differentials between Māori and Pākehā. This inquiry aims to add to the growing expanse of literature concerning indigene-settler relations worldwide, as well as bicultural relations specific to A-NZ. Furthermore, it seeks to contribute to the current literature attending to societal norms of whiteness, colonialism, and racial discrimination. The distinctive value of the current project lies in the unique race relations context that participants experienced in their homeland of South Africa (SA) prior to their migration to A-NZ. Because of this background, it is expected that they would hold exclusive experience and knowledge regarding inter-ethnic relations, which is different from those who were born in A-NZ. Typically, discursive studies of Māori-Pākehā relations in A-NZ have considered the talk of Pākehā, and more recently, of Māori. Thus, the intention of this research is to uncover alternative understandings for living outside of racism in A-NZ and to find ways to move forward from racism and inequity.

Research shows that racism can have negative influences on many lifestyle determinants including physical and mental health (Harris et al., 2012), education, crime, housing, poverty, and employment (Paradies et al., 2008). White colonial ideology permeates

A-NZ society, paving a path for entrenched interpersonal, institutional, and societal racism (Black & Huygens, 2016). The Human Rights Commission asserts that all New Zealanders are entitled to freedom from racial discrimination, and to be fairly regarded and respected (Human Rights Commission, 2017). They reinforce the tenets of te Tiriti o Waitangi (te Tiriti) of partnership, participation, and protection (Network Waitangi, 2008), which are also ideals that the New Zealand Psychological Society uphold (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2011).

As this project employs a social constructionist approach, it is vital that attention is paid to context and social environment; talk does not exist independently from the influences of an everchanging and dynamic society (Burr, 2003). Accordingly, this chapter first considers colonisation from an A-NZ perspective. Secondly, te Tiriti and biculturalism in A-NZ are considered. Next, immigrant group identity in A-NZ will be evaluated, and the impact of racism on Māori will be explored. Following this is a review of colonisation in SA, and research concerning South African immigrants in A-NZ and other colonised nations. Lastly, some important definitions will be clarified.

Colonisation in Aotearoa-New Zealand

An appreciation of the history of A-NZ is essential to this study as it sets the scene for how history shaped the current context of Māori- Pākehā relations in New Zealand. The colonisation process set in place the systems for unfair and inequitable relationships between Māori and Pākehā which still dictate racial affairs today. Additionally, it provided a framework for the development of the colonial ideology of white superiority that currently exists within A-NZ. Historically, indigenous peoples have been oppressed, enslaved, slaughtered, and dominated across the world (Power, 2003). In A-NZ, the indigenous Māori were overpowered by the English colonisers who fought battles with superior weaponry and greater numbers of soldiers, leading to the depletion of the Māori population via European-born disease, war, and

starvation (King, 2003). As the population of colonisers increased, they dominated in all aspects of society, deceitfully taking land and resources, and marginalising Māori by controlling the legal, education and health systems, language, and government. Ranginui Walker (2004, p. 146) articulates the profound effect of colonisation in this declaration, "the process of colonisation is total, in that it involves cultural invasion and colonisation of the minds of the invaded as well".

In 1850, A-NZ Parliament was created and under the law of the time, people had to own land individually to be permitted to vote (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017). Owing to Māori ontology and traditions, land was owned as a community, or Hapu, hence, the majority of Māori did not meet the requirements to vote (King, 2003). In the mid-1800s, the British Government bought the majority of the South Island at less than 1 cent per acre, with the promise that 10% of the land would stay Māori-owned, an arrangement that the government subsequently reneged on (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2016). From the 1860s on, the underfunding of Mission Schools assisted in their decline under the Native Schools Act 1867, and Government day schools controlled by Pākehā became the norm (Parr, 1963). English developed into the accepted language for teaching, as policy functioned to Europeanise Māori children (Parr, 1963). As a solution to the requirement of more land for the growing Pākehā population, the Government attacked Māori in the land wars and subsequently took the land as Māori communities fought back. In 1865, the Native Land Court was set up in order to certify Māori landowners (King, 2003), yet the financial cost of certifying the land was excessive. Many Māori sold their land under disproportionate certification costs, and the laws limiting the certificate to only hold ten names restricted Māori whose land was traditionally owned by the Hapu (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017).

Another way of controlling resources was with the Fish Protection Act 1877, which allowed the Government to regulate fishing and, to extend this law, the Fisheries Conservation Act of 1884 required Māori to acquire a licence to collect fish, except for personal or family consumption (Jackson, 2013). Furthermore, the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 forbid Tohunga (traditional Māori healers) to practice or to operate using various other forms of traditional knowledge (Stephens, 2001). Other inequitable Government policies included: Pākehā soldiers being gifted land on return from World War I, whilst Māori soldiers were not; Government relief being unfairly distributed to Pākehā at almost twice the rate that Māori received during the Great Depression (Auckland Workers Educational Association & Human Rights Commission, 2006). By 1975, Māori owned just 3 million acres of land, compared to 66 million acres owned prior to the signing of te Tiriti (Walker, 1984).

The numerous laws that were introduced by the Crown throughout A-NZ's history have enabled prejudice and the unjust treatment of Māori (Bull, 2004), and these controls have contributed to the inequity and racism that is evident in society today (Waretini-Karena, 2014). Despite commonly-held beliefs of Pākehā today, Māori had a strong economy in A-NZ prior to colonisation (Waretini-Karena, 2014). The process of colonisation and the subsequent deceitful appropriation of Māori land meant the Māori peoples were at the mercy of Pākehā, and the deprivation of land and resources experienced by Māori at the hands of the colonisers still contributes to their social struggles today (Rashbrooke, 2018).

Despite the clear evidence of these historical injustices against Māori by the British, conflicting constructions of colonisation exist today. Such representations include: the colonisers arrived peacefully, only warring with a faction of hostile Māori; te Tiriti was a fair and democratic agreement between two parties in which the stronger Europeans would lead the nation and facilitate its growth and development; and a peaceful existence between Māori and

Pākehā endured. In such constructions, historical wrongdoings are vindicated by the perpetrators and their descendants and justified by an attitude of power and superiority (Pack et al., 2016c; Tuffin, 2008; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Another claim used to justify colonisation is that Māori were not the first people to arrive in A-NZ and that Moriori take that claim (King, 2000). According to historical transcripts, the Moriori of the Chatham Islands had made a pact of peace, so did not resist when Māori invaded, conquered, and savaged the Moriori land and people. Hence, akin to Pākehā, in this narrative, Māori are constructed as foreigners to this land, who do not believe in any special rights or entitlements for indigenous people. Also, the commonly held belief that Māori conquered a weaker Moriori people, has given justification to the Eurocentric construction held by the colonisers of 'survival of the fittest' (Walker, 2004).

Despite A-NZ's history of unfair domination by white colonisers, fraudulent appropriation of resources, and unjust relationships, Māori culture, language and identity has been slowly making a recovery, and there has been an increase in consciousness and consideration of Māori rights (Glover et al., 2005). Māori knowledge that had previously been stifled, unseen, and concealed is now coming to the fore (Smith, 1999). Three principles, extracted from te Tiriti; partnership, protection, and equity, are utilised as a tool for change by government agencies, and within organisations and communities. The principles of te Tiriti are an essential measure of working ethically under the guidelines of the New Zealand Psychological Society (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2012). According to Smith (1999), acknowledging and understanding an alternate history to that constructed by the European is crucial for moving forward towards decolonisation. The retelling and relearning of history is important for Māori in order to reclaim empowerment and self-determination. This relearning is also essential for Pākehā and Tauiwi (immigrants) if A-NZ is to move further towards equity

and decolonisation (Glover et al., 2005). For a real shift in Pākehā mindset of power and white domination, a critical viewpoint of the history of A-NZ and colonisation is essential.

Despite such positive shifts towards decolonisation, there is still a long way to go in the process of the revival of Māori culture and equity for all ethnicities. In order to explore this, this research included interview questions which paid particular reference to te Tiriti and biculturalism, which are discussed below.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi and biculturalism

Te Tiriti o Waitangi and biculturalism provide the systems and framework for A-NZ's inter-ethnic relations policy today. They are also the basis for some of the interview questions in this study, so of the history and tensions around te Tiriti and biculturalism are provided here. A-NZ is unique amid settler civilizations in its bicultural policy and identity. The nation's founding document of 1840, te Tiriti, set the grounds for this bicultural relationship that theoretically upholds equal partnership of Māori and Pākehā in A-NZ (Veracini, 2001). However, historically, and still today, there is contention over the interpretation of the two versions (English language and te Reo Māori) of te Tiriti (Orange, 2021). The Māori version of te Tiriti was endorsed by more than 500 Māori Rangatira (chiefs) with the purpose of the pursuit of security and protection for their peoples and resources (Rasanathan, 2005). This document, scripted by the Crown, undertook to secure the protection of Māori Taonga (culture), including all valued resources and cultural assets, fair partnership amongst Pākehā and Māori, and equitable governance. But the British failed to honour te Tiriti and assurances of Māori rangatiratanga (chieftainship) (Evans, 2008); Māori philosophy was disregarded and European ontology and dominance ruled (Black & Huygens, 2016).

Despite this, te Tiriti has been commonly portrayed by the colonisers and A-NZ governments as an informed manuscript and an icon for A-NZ's reputed indigene-settler relations success throughout A-NZ's colonial history (Hill, 2010), which veils the reality of the marginalisation and subjugation of Māori (Walker, 2004). The misrepresentation of te Tiriti by successive governments, finally resulted in the reassessment of A-NZ's monocultural policy in the 1970s and 1980s fortified by Māori protest and activism (Veracini, 2001). Subsequently, breaches of the te Tiriti agreement were investigated and recommendations and settlements formulated under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2021). Whilst entitlements for Māori under te Tiriti have not been fully honoured, te Tiriti underpins the Māori-Pākehā relationship (Hill, 2010) and biculturalism encapsulates the partnership between the two founding cultures of A-NZ, Māori and Pākehā (Durie, 2005). Activist Ranginui Walker argues that it is Māori who are the bicultural party, as they are the sole culture that is forced to function and learn in two different cultures, as opposed to the Pākehā (Walker, 2004). Debates around biculturalism are ongoing, and of particular relevance to discussion of the national identity of A-NZ immigrants, with regard to a bicultural framework verses a multicultural framework. Consequently, these ideas will be examined next.

Immigrant identity in Aotearoa-New Zealand

Discussion around the topics of biculturalism, multiculturalism, and immigrant identity within the context of A-NZ are a feature within the current study, hence, perspective of this matter is provided here. A-NZ has a unique social environment in relation to immigrants, who are effectively invisible in the bicultural framework. Ethnic minorities speak of failing to experience a sense of meaningful connection to either group (Māori or Pākehā) and hence, are effectively left out of social policy and national identity discourse (Bartley, 2010). On the other hand, it is argued that the demand for an overriding multicultural policy would perpetuate the

colonial oppression and persistent disadvantage of Māori (Bartley & Spoonley, 2005; DeSouza, 2011; Durie, 2005; Hill, 2010). At the forefront of the promotion of Māori redress, Ranginui Walker (1987) considers the push for multiculturalism over biculturalism as a strategy to effectively uphold the mono-culture and Pākehā supremacy that relentlessly controls A-NZ . In support of this, Mok (2004) argues that, as an Asian migrant to A-NZ, the answer is for immigrants to adopt a commitment to te Tiriti and biculturalism, rather than rejecting biculturalism in order to take a multiculturalist stance. Consequently, by supporting biculturalism they would be disrupting the colonial status quo (Mok, 2004).

Whilst A-NZ's population consists of four main groups, Pākehā (European), Māori, Asian, and Pasifika (Simon-Kumar, 2019), it is unique amongst other colonial nations in relation to its commitment to a culturally plural society (Bartley & Spoonley, 2005). The marginalisation of A-NZ's migrant populations has been largely disregarded throughout the history of the country. During the period of early European settlement in A-NZ, Chinese and Indian newcomers were exposed to discriminatory laws and racist procedures (Ip & Pang, 2005). Although constraints were lessened in the 1950s, A-NZ was one of the most racially standardised nations of European settlement (Brooking & Rabel, 1995).

Invigorated by a government push for procuring semiskilled and unskilled industrial personnel in the 1960s and 1970s (Hill, 2010), A-NZ sustains the largest Pasifika migrant population in the world (Spickard et al., 2002). Pasifika have experienced discrimination and low socio-economic standings in A-NZ, with Grainger (2009) declaring that they have inherited a reputation of 'misbegotten' New Zealanders. Spoonley (1990) detailed negative representations of Pasifika in the media during the 1970s which depicted them as 'overstayers', and who were incriminated for the increase in crime and weakening economy.

In the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, immigration policy changed so that expertise became the yardstick for permanent residency applicants over ethnicity, allowing for an expansion in Asian immigration (Leong & Ward, 2011). The precipitous development of cultural diversity in A-NZ since then, has created challenges in accommodating for a varied multicultural society whilst still fulfilling Māori claims and rights under te Tiriti. Durie (2005), former chair of the Waitangi Tribunal, regards policies addressing multicultural enhancement and bicultural advancement as two separate entities that attend to distinct considerations. His understanding is that multiculturalism relates to the acknowledgement of broad cultural disparity, in contrast to biculturalism, that relates to Māori-Pākehā affairs as the nation's originating cultures.

Teaiwa and Mallon (2005) described the relationship between Māori and Pasifika as 'ambivalent kinships', stating that mutual histories, cultures, and values bring them together, whilst strains and tensions around economic issues and bicultural aspirations creates a level of uncertainty. Despite this, Māori have at times been recognised as tuakana (older siblings) of Pasifika (Teaiwa & Mallon, 2005), or 'cultural siblings', as was constructed by a Pasifika psychotherapist in A-NZ in relation to cultural acceptance between Māori and Pasifika (Salpitikorala, 2015). Nonetheless, Pacific peoples' acknowledgement within the national identity of A-NZ is unsettled Grainger (2009), as is the case for other immigrant communities in A-NZ, as national identity and belonging is still constructed against a hierarchy in which the euro-cultural Pākehā enjoy the top position (Grbic, 2010). These power differentials between different ethnic groups will be examined below.

Inequality and racism in Aotearoa-New Zealand

In this section, attention is given to the prevailing inequity and racism within A-NZ. This provides a rationale for the importance of this research as a contribution to the current

literature attending to racial discrimination within A-NZ. In A-NZ, like other colonised nations, inequities between the indigenous peoples and the colonisers have existed since colonisation began, and still ensue today (Rashbrooke, 2018). The deep spiritual connection that Māori have to the land is a vital feature of their culture (Higgins, 2012). Hence, the confiscation of land by Pākehā has had a lasting and detrimental effect on Māori health, socioeconomic status, and access to land and resources (Reid & Cram, 2005). This loss of land has also had a harmful effect on individual and community identity of Māori, the psychological effects of which are unrelenting (Durie, 1997). Māori experience social disparities in education, employment, income, and housing, as well as higher crime rates, in comparison to Pākehā (Robson & Harris, 2007). The life expectancy of Māori is 7.1 years lower than that of Pākehā (Statistics New Zealand, 2015) and Māori experience poorer health outcomes than Pākehā (Robson & Harris, 2007). International research supporting the link between racism and health disparities and social inequalities has increased in recent years (Williams & Mohammed, 2009). In A-NZ, however, the literature is still sparse.

Racism includes "a mix of prejudice, power, ideology, stereotypes, domination, disparities and/or unequal treatment" (Berman & Paradies, 2010, p. 228). Similarly, Harris et al. (2012, pp. 408-409) describe racism as, "a complex system, based on an ideology of inferiority and superiority, that drives the categorization of people by race/ethnicity and structures opportunity according to those categorizations, resulting in the inequitable distribution of power, goods and resources in society". By this definition, colonial ideology and domination is racist. It brings with it the conviction that one group is superior to another, and the privilege to act on that belief in order to advance the interests of the dominating group (Bhopal, 2006). As Waretini-Karena (2014) asserts, historical land displacement and devastation of the Māori economy, has led to intergenerational poverty. Colonisation has necessitated that social systems be grounded in European ontology. Economic, educational, and

legal systems have all been based on a European paradigm. Social ideals and customs are based on a colonial mindset, whilst Māori culture and principles have been dismissed. Accordingly, racism functions at several interrelated levels including: social, internalised, societal, and institutional (Barnes et al., 2013, p. 64).

Examples of institutional racism are evident in public health policy (Came, 2014), the justice system (Jackson, 1987), and the education system (Hynds et al., 2011). The literature has established Māori peoples' constructions of systemic disempowerment within the current system where Māori are overrepresented within the justice system and police bias is seen (Fergusson et al., 1993; Jackson, 1987; Tauri, 2005). Statistically, Māori have a higher risk of offending than Pākehā (Marie et al., 2009). Julia Whaipooti, Māori lawyer, Senior Advisor at the Children's Commission, and spokesperson for Justspeak, speaks of systematic racism in the justice system: "Māori people are not inherently criminal people, unwell people. It's not inherently because of us, it's the systems. They don't enhance our mana as a people" (Kai Tiaki Nursing New Zealand, 2017, p. 27). For example, Hynds, Averill, Hindle, and Meyer (2017) found evidence of lower expectations of Māori by teachers and students, along with adverse stereotypes of Māori in the A-NZ education system. Research shows that teachers utilising culturally responsive teaching methods can increase their expectations of Māori, and that of their Māori students (Bishop, 2011).

Māori have the highest rate of self-reported racial discrimination incidents, compared to other ethnic groups in A-NZ (Harris et al., 2006). Additionally, Harris et al. found that Māori reported experiencing occurrences of discrimination at a volume that was almost ten times more than those classified as European-other (Pākehā). Research shows that racism can have a negative influence over many lifestyle determinants including physical and mental health

(Harris et al., 2012), education, crime, housing, poverty, and employment (Kingi, 2006). A growing body of research argues that perceived occurrences of racism can lead to negative health effects and low self-esteem (Talamaivao et al., 2020). In the context of A-NZ, research has found strong associations between several aspects of physical and mental health, and measures of racial discrimination (Harris et al., 2012; Harris et al., 2006).

Bhopal (2006, p. 1959) explains in regard to this work; " researchers are aware that their data, alone, do not yield cause and effect but the interpretation they favour is plausible; i.e., racism contributes importantly to socioeconomic deprivation, and together these play a major role in causing health inequalities". Harris et al. (2012) conclude that further studies are required to understand the heterogenous complexion of racism and its effect on many aspects of health. However, they found that there was an association between experiences of racism and a variety of health consequences. These variables include physical health (including cardiovascular disease, SF36 physical functioning scale, and self-rated health); mental health (including SF36 mental health scale, psychological distress, and doctor diagnosed mental health condition); and health risk (including hazardous drinking and smoking). Harris et al. (2006), found that socioeconomic inequalities along with racism accounted for a numerous health inequalities between Pākehā and Māori. These outcomes were replicated in a subsequent study by Harris et al. (2012), where self-reported incidents of racism were significantly associated with cardiovascular disease and mental health, as well as deficits in physical health in all ethnic groups. However, because Māori experience significantly more incidences of perceived racism, the possibility for health liability is increased.

Research from the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK) have found that regions with a high proportion of ethnic minority inhabitants display protective health effects in some, but not all, groups of ethnic minority residents (Bécares, Nazroo, et al.,

2012; Bécares et al., 2009; Bécares, Shaw, et al., 2012; Shaw et al., 2012). In A-NZ, Bécares et al. (2013) were the first to study this association within an indigenous population. They investigated the relationship between Māori ethnic density and reports of racism, as well as three health outcomes (self-graded general health, diagnosed mental conditions, and psychological distress). They also investigated whether any associations found endured once the consequences of area deprivation were accounted for. Area deprivation is a calculation based on levels of deprivation over nine variables (welfare receipt, income, home ownership, unemployment, family structure, qualifications, overcrowding, telephone access, and car access) (Bécares et al., 2013). They observed that area deprivation concealed the effects of ethnic density on both experiences of racial discrimination and protective health outcomes. And, once area deprivation was accounted for, the association for both variables with ethnic density reached statistical significance. Bécares et al. (2013) found area deprivation to be independently associated with experiences of racial discrimination and poor health. This outcome upholds previous assertions that land dispossession and exclusion, which instigated the relocation and urbanisation of Māori, has had a long-term effect on the health of Māori, and on their experiences of racism.

The experiences of racism for Māori in A-NZ on several levels are undisputable and ingrained in a society grounded in a history of white, colonial domination. However, the revival of Māori culture and knowledge is strengthening (McIntosh & Marques, 2017). Māori academics are playing a big part of this resurgence, using Māori ontological and epistemological frameworks to critically challenge and examine the principles and ideologies of their chosen field (Rata, 2013). The Kaupapa Māori research model evolved in opposition to the stifling colonial dominance within A-NZ's universities and other institutions (Rata, 2013). This paradigm has promoted a culturally responsible alternative to western approaches to knowledge and ontologies in research and higher learning. As Sonn and Green (2006, p. 12)

relate, “to know an Indigenous social world is to have experienced it from within, while to know about an Indigenous social world is to impose a conceptual framework”.

Further, the opportunity that every New Zealander has the chance and assistance to learn te reo Mäori within education, the home, and the community, has come about in the adoption by the A-NZ Government of Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori 2016 (Māori Language Act 2016) (New Zealand Government, 2016). This recognition of Te reo Māori as an irreplaceable original surviving language and an essential element of Māori culture and the national identity of A-NZ is significant (O’Toole, 2020). The encouragement and promotion for Māori and Pākehā communities to learn and maintain this unique language is vital and indicates a shift forward in the development of Māori and Pākehā affairs in A-NZ (Spolsky, 2003). Also, a reappearance of Māori crafts, arts, and film, has resulted in economic expansion for Māori, akin to the successful and prosperous pre-colonisation trade (Williams, 2006). Despite this reawakening of Māori culture, there still is an array of grievances and injustices to be attended to in order to uphold te Tiriti (Ward & Liu, 2012). Notwithstanding sharing much in common with the colonial history of A-NZ, colonisation in SA has many distinguishable features. The next section will delve into colonisation in SA and its many complexities.

Colonisation in South Africa

A background of SA’s distinctive history is provided here in order to demonstrate the unique context that participants of the current study grew up in and resided in prior to immigrating to A-NZ. This outlines the unique race relations history that participants experienced having grown up in SA, which differs from the history experienced by A-NZ born people, and consequently provides important context for the current study. The utilisation of a social constructionist epistemology in this study requires that the context of participants is imparted, as knowledge constructions are bound by time, social context, culture, history,

philosophy, and politics. SA has a complicated history with all sectors of society including political, legal, cultural, national identity, language and the economy containing complexities which are unique to SA.

The aboriginal tribes of southern Africa were the San, who were hunter-gatherers, and the Khoikhoi, who were nomadic herders (Barnard, 2011). These two groups have been collectively referred to as 'Khoisan' people since the 1920s. The 'Bantu' people migrated to southern Africa from the Congo basin as early as the first century AD and white settlement started at the Cape of Good Hope in the mid-17th century with the formation of a refreshment posting by the Dutch East India Company (Schrire, 2014). The Cape Colony differed from North and South American colonies of the era as it was established solely for commercial function (Terreblanche, 1988), and the financial decline of the Dutch East India Company soon after founding the refreshment station meant population growth was slow. Those that settled were commonly Dutch farmers who were also joined by German and French immigrants. The isolation that came from both the harsh geographical landscape and the disregard of the Dutch East India Company, fostered the occurrence of a unique cultural identity, 'Afrikaners', or 'Boers', and a new language, 'Afrikaans' (Terreblanche, 1988). Perhaps a consequence of the tough environment and geographical isolation, the Afrikaners acquired a uniquely determined quality. They held an inimitable culture, of which SA was the only land to which they belonged. Hence, according to du Toit (1970) they possess a particular loyalty to their homeland of SA.

Tensions arose with the arrival and subsequent colonisation of the British to the Cape in 1814. Like A-NZ and other countries colonised by the British, the colonials were deliberate in their approach to conquering SA, and in turn, claiming it as their own. Like the aboriginals of A-NZ, the black and brown peoples of SA were dislocated and their right to land ownership supressed (Dubow, 2006). English became the official language of the Cape in the early 1800s.

As with other colonised nations, colonial knowledge was used as an instrument to gain power over others. Knowledge production was dominated by the colonisers, presented in the English language, and constructed from a British perspective. Conflict between the British and the Afrikaners stimulated the Great Trek of approximately 15,000 Afrikaners north to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, a mass-exodus which was motivated by a rebellion against British imperialism, as well as an attempt to find improved farm land (Etherington, 2014).

In the mid-1860s, SA was experiencing an economic depression (Hamilton et al., 2010), nevertheless, the detection of diamonds and then gold in the ensuing years created considerable European investment, and economic respite. Mass-movement of both domestic and immigrant labour to work in the mines transpired. Large and powerful corporations developed the mines and held extensive control over the workers who had limited rights (Innes, 1984). They were often segregated by ethnic group and their progression within the mines was stifled by ethnicity and skin colour (Lang, 1986). The late 1800s were marred by war, including two Anglo-Boer wars which were settled with a peace treaty in 1902. 1910 saw the establishment of the Union of SA, uniting the Boer republics and the English colonies. The Natives Land Act of 1913 brought further restrictions to black peoples' ownership of land (Beinart & Delius, 2014). In 1925, Afrikaans became a second official language of SA, with the English language maintaining the position of first official language (Raidt, 1997).

Beginning in the late 1940's, Afrikaans nationalism generated an alternative dialogue, and, in 1948, apartheid became the official term for the structure of control, which cemented social division and segregation in SA (Dubow, 2014). The broad aim of the nationalist movement was to obtain and uphold nationalist rule by creating societal division between communities based on colour (Willemse, 2017). Under this historical system, communities were classified as Black, White, Coloured, or Indian. Furthermore, the Afrikaans nationalist

movement, maintained control by stifling any resistance to their worldview, both within and outside of their own community and the Afrikaans language was exploited by the Afrikaans nationalist movement in order to fabricate a perception of loyalty to the movement (Dubow, 2014). Additionally, the Afrikaans language was utilised to dominate Black South Africans, many of whom were unable to read, write, or converse in the language (Alexander, 1989). The Bantu Education Act 1953 made the segregation of schools based on colour into law, increasing inequality in education (Christie & Collins, 1982). In the early 1970s, schools were required by law to teach in Afrikaans which led to the Soweto Uprising in which police shot and killed at least 176 people on the first day of protests (Brown, 2016). Today, 11 official languages are acknowledged in SA (Raidt, 1997). Despite this, English is seen by many as the language of educational and economic progression (Conner, 2004).

Despite a black majority, South African society has been unequivocally influenced by white power and privilege (Steyn, 2004). However, South Africans recent history has altered greatly with the collapse of apartheid, and economic and political instability are the norm in the new SA (Cilliers & Aucoin, 2016). Hence, many South Africans are choosing to immigrate in order to separate from the ongoing struggles and incongruities that continue in SA (Van Rooyen, 2000). The following section will examine South African migration.

South African immigration

Providing a background to the dynamic South African diaspora is of significance in the current study as it gives consideration to the potential experience of South African immigrants. This brings valuable contextual information to the participants of the current study as their talk does not occur in isolation and is influenced by social environments and time, as well as culture, philosophy, history, and politics. Due to the nature of apartheid, South Africans' life course have been shaped by their race and colour (Simone, 1993). And, despite the demise of apartheid

(Lowenberg & Kaempfer, 1998), the transition has not terminated distinctions based on colour and race, nor has it halted concern and emotion around racial differentiation. Many have chosen to migrate to mainly colonial nations as a response to ongoing anxieties surrounding their future in their home-country (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010). Statistics show that A-NZ was the fourth most popular overseas destination for South African immigrants during the period of 2006 to 2016 (Statistics South Africa, 2016). Australia and the UK were the top two destinations, followed by USA. In the 2013 census of A-NZ, South Africans were the fifth highest immigrant nation, with over 54,000 South African-born people living in A-NZ (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). This primarily white South African diaspora to largely settler nations, has comprised a substantial quantity of Afrikaans first-language speakers from the 1990s (Louw & Mersham, 2001; Walrond, 2015). Studies investigating the effects of immigration on South African migrants in A-NZ are limited. However, research is more extensive in other migrant countries, such as Australia, the UK, the USA, and Canada. Therefore, this section will draw on research from within A-NZ, as well as other nations.

South African migrants are unique in that, despite not being classed as refugees, many have experienced trauma in their native land, similar to that of refugees of war (Harrison & Nortje, 2000). Often, South African immigrants have fled their home-country to keep themselves and their family safe from violence, crime, and political and economic unrest (Small, 2015). As there is a need to migrate for safety reasons, their decision to leave their home-country can be seen as not entirely voluntary (Harrison & Nortje, 2000). On settlement in A-NZ, South African immigrants enjoy a level of freedom and safety not previously experienced in post-apartheid SA (Bennett et al., 1997). Despite this, immigration brings with it both challenges and advantages to both the host-nation, and to individuals and immigrant communities (Baubock et al., 1996). Research reveals many difficulties for immigrants relating to acculturation, adaptation, and individual and group identity (Berry & Sam, 1997).

There is often a degree of invisibility for the South African immigrant in A-NZ, who are frequently white and, therefore, physically similar to A-NZ Pākehā (Duxfield, 2013). Meaning that cultural, social, and language differences may not appear on the surface. Despite appearing to assimilate well, South African immigrants to Australia reported experiencing low self-esteem, psychological distress related to experiences of violence in SA, as well as grief and loss at leaving their country, friends and family (Nigar & Lesleyanne, 2008). South African immigrants to A-NZ perceive the top three stresses when both leaving SA and on settlement in their host country to include relationship losses, adjusting to the different cultural norms, and financial adjustments (Bennett et al., 1997). Duxfield (2013) also cited leaving close family and friends behind in SA to be a major source of stress for immigrants. According to Trlin (2012), settlement struggles can also include a decline in job status and career opportunities. In contrast, in a study by Meares et al. (2011), underemployment was not identified as a problem of immigrants who had been in A-NZ for more than five years. However, difficulties associated with finding employment were located in both of these studies (Meares et al., 2011; Trlin, 2012). Meares (2010) found that professional women settling in A-NZ may have to endure adjustments from their previous identity as career-women due to diminished job opportunities (Meares, 2010). Accepting lesser positions, unemployment, and retraining is a reality for many migrant women, as is becoming a homemaker and being financially dependent on their spouse.

According to Pernice, Trlin, Henderson and North (2000), South African immigrants to A-NZ are at an increased risk for poor mental health. These findings were echoed in a study of Southeast Asian, Pacific Island, and British immigrants to A-NZ (Pernice & Brook, 1996). They found that experiencing discrimination, including negative stereotyping, put immigrants at an increased risk of suffering anxiety and depression. Psychological difficulties, including depression, were also experienced by South African immigrants struggling with adapting to life in A-NZ in a study by Small (2015). Studies of South African migrants to Canada, Australia,

A-NZ and the UK have revealed some experience difficulties in negotiating a new social identity in their adopted nation (Crush, 2013; Duxfield, 2013; Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010; Sonn et al., 2017; Waite & Cook, 2011).

Many South African migrants identify strongly with their South African identity and seek to maintain cultural and emotional bonds with their South African uniqueness (Crush, 2013). Language is also strongly connected to identity for many Afrikaans migrants who expressed grief that their children would miss out on speaking Afrikaans and may lose the language completely (Duxfield, 2013). Loss of identity was also connected to feelings of disputed belongings, exclusion, and "inbetweeness" (Waite & Cook, 2011) in immigrants to the UK. These sentiments were echoed in a study of immigrants to Australia (Sonn et al., 2017). In the analysis by Sonn et al., one participant highlights loss of social position, as well as loss of privilege and identity, loss of community spirit, and feeling like a stranger in his new country. Some of the many difficulties that South African immigrants face in their adopted country have been highlighted above. Next, some central definitions to the current study are explained.

Important definitions

Māori

Prior to the British settlers arrival in A-NZ, Māori had no word to describe themselves (Auckland Workers Educational Association & Human Rights Commission, 2006). Within Te Aka dictionary, Moorfield (2005, p. 98) translates the stative verb of the word 'Māori' to: "be native, indigenous, normal, usual, natural, common, fresh (of water), belonging to A-NZ, freely, without restraint, without ceremony, clear, intelligible". As a noun, Māori is translated as an aboriginal inhabitant, indigenous person/New Zealander, or native. However, anyone can self-identify as Māori, rebuffing the Eurocentric notion of 'race'. Therefore, there is enduring discussion over what constitutes being 'Māori', and who is able to label themselves 'Māori'.

Due to te Tiriti claims for past injustices, resource distribution based on statistics, and research requirements, the need for an appropriate definition of who is Māori increased (Callister, 2004). The rhetoric that there are no full-blooded Māori in A-NZ gathered momentum with te Tiriti claims (McCreanor, 1989). The debate over who is Māori is largely due to a large volume of intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā throughout A-NZ's colonial history. Indeed, "there are some who consider that ancestry cannot be separated from ethnicity" (Callister, 2004, p. 134). However, in A-NZ, people are able to declare more than one ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand, 2014), and to decide their ethnicity based on cultural membership, not ancestry, genotype, or phenotypical characteristics. Next the categorization of Pākehā is deliberated.

Pākehā

Although the specific beginnings of the word Pākehā, as debated in (Baker, 1945), are inconclusive, the word 'Pākehā' has its origins with Māori, hence, the title only has significance relative to Māori (Wevers, 2005). A simple definition is, "a New Zealander of European decent" (Moorfield, 2005, p. 133). A more comprehensive interpretation was made by Michael King (1985) who proposed the idea of a distinct Pākehā identity and culture. He framed the word Pākehā as referring to an inhabitant of A-NZ who is non-Māori, recognises Māori culture and historical grievances, and has a robust affinity with and a feeling of belonging in A-NZ and its land. In a second book exploring Pākehā identity, King (2013) proclaims that Pākehā relationship with the land signifies the source for a second indigenous people in A-NZ; a 'white native'. Bell (2004) views this assertion by King with censure, as an expropriation of the indigenous position of Māori. Discourse around the label will continue to evolve and transform. As Wevers (2005) argues, Pākehā identity is an illustration of a fluid and dynamic discourse that occurs within the sphere of the characteristics and history of te Tiriti and relative to Māori.

Furthermore, Wevers (2005) considers that as an identity that only has meaning in reference to Māori and te Tiriti, this realisation could frame a collapse of the prevailing monoculturalism and dominant assumptions of Pākehā. Research suggests that people who identify themselves as Pākehā do recognise their identity in relation to Māori and te Tiriti. One study of Pākehā found that this group does acknowledge the influences of colonisation on Māori and agree with Māori Tiriti claims (Spoonley, 1995). Conversely, the label still conjures up opposition from some (Mitcalfe, 2008), as is shown in a study by Sibley et al. (2011). They found that Pākehā preferred to be identified as 'New Zealander', 'New Zealand European', or 'Kiwi', rather than Pākehā. Furthermore, those who preferred the identification marker of Pākehā, expressed more positive attitudes towards Māori than those who chose the label of 'New Zealander', 'A-NZ European', or 'Kiwi'. With the latter seemingly failing to acknowledge a relationship with Māori at all. These outcomes grounded the decision to use the word Pākehā throughout the current research to indicate a New Zealander of principally European descent. The term Tauiwi is considered next.

Tauiwi

The Māori term Tauiwi means foreigner (Moorfield, 2005), foreign race or strange tribe (Williams, 1971). Whilst Tauiwi has been utilised in some research to describe all non-Māori of A-NZ, (McCreanor & Nairn, 2002), the term has been used in the current study as a definition of new migrants, as Pākehā do not relate to being strangers of this land (King, 2013). Next, South African immigrants' cultural identities are considered.

South African identifiers

'Afrikaners' chiefly emanated from Holland, Scandinavia, France and Germany to settle in SA in the seventeenth century (Henkes, 2016; Louw & Mersham, 2001). This group have

their own language, ‘Afrikaans’, which is unique to the European languages of the nations from which they migrated. Traditionally, ‘English-South Africans’ are those who descended from England.

Summary

This chapter considered the contextual circumstances relevant to this project in order to provide a framework for the next chapters. Whilst the colonial histories of SA and A-NZ have their similarities, they are also remarkably unique. Nonetheless, white domination has reigned in both nations, and western ontology has dictated the lived realities of the majority. In A-NZ, Māori have been marginalised throughout its colonial history, and this continues today. Racism exists on several levels and the effects on Māori are far-reaching. With the resurgence regarding working within te Tiriti’s three principles, many in A-NZ are attempting to move forward towards a fairer system. However, white power still reigns, and inequity is still a reality. In the next chapter, an evaluation of the history of race and the psychological study of race and racism over the years will be discussed. Following this, a change in the study of racism to social constructionist epistemology and how it relates to this study is considered. White ideology will then be deliberated, followed by a review of indigenous-settler relations. Finally, racism research within A-NZ will be examined.

Chapter Two: A history of race, racism research, and whiteness

Introduction

The study of race and racism has evolved tremendously since the conception of race in western epistemology around 1800. Examining the study of racism within Psychology over time is significant to this study in order to ensure the development of a sound knowledge foundation and to assist with choosing an appropriate epistemology. Firstly, this chapter considers the concept of race and the study of racism in psychology over time. Next, is an analysis of how the study of racism has changed in recent years and how such contemporary strategies for studying racism have influenced my choice of theoretical framework and research methodology. Next, will be a review of whiteness, power, and domination. Following, indigene-settler relations will be reviewed and, finally, racism research within A-NZ, Australia, and SA is examined.

Race, racism, and the study of racism

The notion of race developed in western philosophy around 1800 (Richards, 2012). At that time, the acceptance of race theory was largely based on the concept of cultural differences rather than scientific evidence of genetics (Richards, 2012). Darwin's evolutionary theory inspired the concept of racial-hierarchy and classification (Desmond & Moore, 2009). His theory strengthened prejudice based on economic status and colour by positing that genetic differences were the reason for differing rates of advancement of distinctive groups (Konotey-Ahulu, 2011). Despite race theory being disputed in the late 1930s by genetic scientists, racial prejudice remained, and the advancement of white ideology persisted (Richards, 2012).

Many a scholar have defined the complex construct of racism. Jones (1997) described racism as the acceptance of racial hierarchy, and the establishment and continuation of behaviours required to uphold hierarchical positioning. Miles and Brown (2003, pp. 10-11)

suggest that "racism is a denial of humanity (substituting, as it does, 'races' for 'the human race') and a means of legitimising inequality (particularly inequality explicit in class structures)". Similarly, Tuffin (2005, p. 122) expresses that traditional descriptions of racism involve "the belief that external characteristics (for example, skin colour or particular facial features) mark essential features that are negative characteristics not possessed by members of the dominant group". This fixation with outer features has aided in creating the idea that such characteristics reveal fundamental traits amongst members of different ethnic groups that are innate and inflexible (Allport, 1979; Miles & Brown, 2003). Essed (1991) reflects that contemporary theories of racism tend to focus more on a cultural hierarchy, accounting for social differences, rather than a racial hierarchy, which emphasises biological disparities. Accordingly, she argues that traditional descriptions of racism are limited.

The study of racism in the field of psychology has evolved steadily, encompassing various theoretical perspectives and differing methods of analysis (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001). Historically, many scholars of psychology have promoted racism. Sir Francis Galton's eugenics theory, which supported racial superiority was at the forefront of scientific racism in the late 1800s and early 1900s (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001; Richards, 2012). Galton considered that there was an innate evolutionary racial hierarchy that endorsed European dominance. These opinions were accepted by numerous scientific fields of inquiry including psychologists, biologists, anthropologists, and ethnographers (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001). 'Race psychology' was the prevailing concern of psychologists in the USA between 1910 and 1940 (Richards, 2012). 'Negro education' inquiry coupled with concerns regarding immigration matters prompted and encouraged the field of psychology to undertake empirical studies based on race differences, particularly in intelligence test scores (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001). In the 1930s, geneticists discredited the concept of race as unscientific. Wetherell and Potter (1992, p. 17) explain, "geneticists…argue that the genetic variation within

any population is usually greater than the average difference between populations". The decade that followed saw the demise of race psychology and scientific racism. Adolf Hitler adopted eugenic reasoning to gain political support for Ayran superiority and to defend the persecution of millions of Jews. Subsequently, an attenuation of race psychology ensued for many decades after the Holocaust (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001).

Lewin (1936) provided an alternative from the essentialist principles that prevailed during that era. His hypothesis focused on the mutual effect of personality and environment on behaviour. Gordon Allport and Henri Tajfel were also advocates for the importance of social context in the processes of racism. Allport (1979) presented a cognitive interpretation of ethnic prejudice in which he described two fundamental components of racism as being a generalised (and, therefore, flawed) belief, coupled with hostility. He argued that the inescapable cognitive process of categorization is responsible for prejudice and prejudgement, whether it be rational or not (Allport, 1979). This theory has been criticised for being individualistic and not accounting for complexities of social interactions (Gough & McFadden, 2001). The concepts of categorization and in-group attachment presented by Gordon Allport, were further developed by Henri Tajfel. Tajfel and Turner (1979) established Social Identity Theory, which refined the interconnected concepts of social categorisation, and intergroup judgement and bias processes (Dumont & Louw, 2009). The belief held by supporters of this theory is that group belonging has a potent influence on individual behaviour. Social Identity Theory has been criticised for overlooking the intricacy and malleability of social functioning (Gough & McFadden, 2001), and for disregarding the tensions in actions and words of social relations (Billig, 1985; Gough & McFadden, 2001).

Adorno et al. (1950) drew on psychodynamic assumptions when they conceptualised a personality-based theory of racism. They hypothesised that quantifiable personality features, specifically, authoritarianism, were the basis for prejudice. This theory has been applauded for

endeavouring to include political ideology, social context, cultural environments, emotional features, as well as individual psychology (Gough & McFadden, 2001). A study by (Pettigrew, 1958), emphasised the significance of socio-cultural context when looking at prejudice. South African students were compared with American students on levels of ethnic prejudice and authoritarianism. Despite the South African students showing more prejudice than American students, their levels of authoritarianism were not higher than the American students. This study indicates that when analysing ethnic prejudice, socio-cultural factors hold more significance than personality factors (Tuffin, 2005). Wetherell and Potter (1992) critique Adorno and colleagues work, stating that despite proposing that actions and words are entwined with needs and thoughts, they do not attend to the contextual complexity of talk and action.

A change in the study of racism

From the 1960s to today, societal changes have meant that overt racism has become less tolerable and more hidden (Walker, 2001). There has been a shift in the language of racism from blatant to 'symbolic' or 'subtle' (Tuffin, 2013). The term, symbolic racism was first conceptualised within social psychology in the 1970s (Sears & Kinder, 1971). This new type of racism, also called 'modern racism', allows people to be perceived as non-racist, whilst, simultaneously discriminating against another group (Walker, 2001). Assertions of white superiority are renounced and individualistic tenets, including self-reliance, are used to justify prejudice and cultural superiority (Tuffin, 2008).

Under the ethnocentric values of individualism, modern racism discourses reason that it is the failings of indigenous people as individuals, rather than the shortfalls of a society, that keep them from thriving. A specific individualistic form of egalitarianism utilises the rationale that social policies created to support indigenous prosperity are unjustified (Augoustinos et al., 2005). This change in the expression of racism brought about a requirement for alternate methods of studying racism, as traditional positivist methods fail to account for this type of

'underground' racism. Hence, social constructionist epistemologies were adopted by social psychologists as a solution to the inadequacies of studying racism under a positivist epistemology. As Durrheim (1997) asserts, empiricists' ambitions of finding one truth, one reality, have proven unachievable. The taken for granted conventions of traditional psychological endeavours have been widely critically appraised under social constructionist philosophy, and methods for psychological investigation have expanded into a space which is located in socially enlightened and energised academia (Misra & Prakash, 2012). In the words of the pioneer of social constructionism, Kenneth Gergen, "constructionism opens the door to multiple ways of seeing the world; it is an invitation to creativity, and it asks the researcher to think carefully about what is being contributed to the culture and the world" (Misra & Prakash, 2012, p. 1).

Critics of social constructionism, however, deem it to be a subjective and relativist epistemology. Its focus on language has created a disregard for other important components of social and individual life, such as power, embodiment and materiality (Nightingale & Cromby, 1999). The priority under a social constructionist epistemology is on the impact of ideologies and social practices conveyed in talk and action. Thus, racism is regarded as a fluctuating construction, located in the everchanging and variable social environment of the time (Wetherell & Potter, 1992), as opposed to the assumptions of traditional psychology which held that constant, inflexible, and static attitudes and personalities were implicated in racism (Tuffin, 2008). To study this flexible and socially located construct necessitates a method that considers language and action and analyses it accordingly. Hence, approaches grounded in language are now commonly utilised in racism research as these methods are remarkably valuable for encapsulating contextual flexibility and subtleties (Tuffin, 2005). For that reason, a discourse analysis approach will be utilised for the purposes of this study.

There are several varied methods of discourse analysis within psychology. Wetherell and Potter (1992) have been highly influential with respect to the study of racism. They distinguish between discourse practices (what actions are performed in writing and talk), and discursive resources (what discursive resources are used to justify ones social position) (Willig, 1999). They purport that social psychology and discourse is dynamically created by a fusion of both independent and individual psychological processes, as well as social groups and their practices, and acknowledge that discourse is intrinsically connected to patterns of individual and collective action (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). In Wetherell and Potter's utilisation of discourse analysis as a process of social appraisal, they reveal how discrimination and inequity are normalised, how white advantage and the process of colonisation is validated and excused, and how the status quo is sustained. Wetherell and Potter draw upon Michael Foucault's work of power relations in examining how individuals collectively draw on a collection of discursive strategies that work to justify their social standings and maintain imbalanced power relations (Willig, 1999). Next, the concept of whiteness is scrutinised.

Whiteness scrutinised

The intention of studying racism through a lens of whiteness is to acknowledge and bring consideration to the invisibility of white privilege and power. Stephens (2010) asserts that our understanding of privilege and oppression can be reshaped by shifting focus from the oppressed and disadvantaged to exploring the mechanisms of advantage and domination. Similarly, Dyer (1997), maintains we can only topple white power by bringing recognition to it, by naming it, and by bringing it and its destructive consequences into the consciousness of the dominant group. A study by Zajicek (2002), exploring racial discourses of white women in the USA, found that dialogue of whiteness as a race was largely not present, while racialization of the 'other' was commonplace. Conversely, Giroux (1997) argues that, in the USA, media coverage and increasing awareness and discussion of the politics of race, has led to an increase

in understanding of the significance of white privilege, particularly amongst white youth. Some academics, however, reject the suitability of using white privilege as a theoretical lens through which to study racism (Ratele, 2007; Stevens, 2007).

Ratele (2007) warns that re-centring whiteness could devalue the struggle that has persisted for 'non-whites' throughout history. Furthermore, Stevens (2007) asserts that instead of weakening white privilege, scrutinising whiteness may do the opposite of what is intended and end up reproducing white privilege. Conversely, Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998), maintain that bringing awareness to whiteness through pedagogy maybe the most convincing of recent ideas for tackling power differentials between races. Regardless, the norm of whiteness functions to stabilise power structures which construct social and institutional practices (Louw & van Ommen, 2020). Thus, white power is concealed under the cloak of standardised whiteness. Furthermore, power disparities are reproduced in conversation (Van Dijk, 1992). For those reasons, the concept of whiteness is employed in the current study to challenge the locus of power and dominance that whiteness demands. Next, indigene-settler relationships are explored.

Indigene-settler relations

The indigene-settler relationship is complex in its diversity, yet analogous in its subjugation of indigene populations and outcomes of settler dominance. According to Wolfe (1999), the central aspect in the endeavours of colonisation is not manipulation nor mistreatment, but elimination. Whilst this is somewhat an actuality, diversity exists in the ways in which colonisation was accomplished throughout history. In SA for example, replacement of indigenous populations was not the aim of the colonisers, rather a systematic process of land seizure and dislocation of communities endured (Kelley, 2017). Differently, slavery-based colonisation existed for the purposes of labour, rather than for land-acquirement (Wolfe, 2016).

Hence, the process of colonisation is stable only in consequence which is the suppression of a group of people's land, values, culture, and traditions (Kelley, 2017).

According to Moran (2002), an enduring burden of lack and dispossession persist for indigenous groups, whilst for settler groups pangs of responsibility and guilt, as well as rationalisation, endure. The settler hierarchy that places indigene as inferior provides the framework for internalised disparagement and identity conflict for the colonised (Fanon, 2008). According to Frantz Fanon, indigenous restriction to positions of subordination within the settler hierarchy, work to create a conflict of identity induced by the continuous and entrenched subjugation of their ethnicity and culture (Hook, 2004). Just one of many examples of government policy in A-NZ that contributed to such apparent conflict of identity, was the 'half-caste era', where prior to 1974 Māori were required to have 50% Māori blood to be considered authentically Māori (Kukutai, 2003). Likewise, the inescapable destabilisation of Māori culture and belonging and the relentless 'othering' of Māori was located in a study with Māori by Te Hiwi (2008). The colonised nations of A-NZ and Australia share the similarity of a predominantly monocultural and monolingual society which have ruled over and displaced its indigenous populations (Moran, 2002). Next, an examination of the research of racism through the years.

Racism research

Over the past 30-plus years, throughout Australasia, and worldwide, researchers of racism have embraced discursive approaches. They have found particular patterns of talk and text which work to bolster power differentials and uphold the status quo (Tuffin, 2008). Studies in A-NZ have revealed patterns of discourse amongst New Zealanders of white ideology, framed as the 'standard story' (Kirkwood et al., 2005; McCreanor, 1995; Wetherell & Potter, 1992); equality rather than equity (Kirton, 1997; Pack et al., 2016a; Wetherell & Potter, 1992); and Pākehā ignorance and superiority (Pack et al., 2016a). Moreover, media representations

have been found to reproduce notions of Pākehā power, resulting in an embedded sense of inferiority, shame, and internalised racism amongst Māori (Barnes et al., 2013). Each of these discursive practices will be discussed further, citing both A-NZ, Australian, and South African studies. Australian studies have been cited due to its similar colonial history to A-NZ and research from SA has been imparted in order to inform the current study.

'Othering' is a function of discourse found in racism literature in A-NZ, Australian, and SA (Augoustinos et al., 1999; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wambugu, 2005). This discourse appears to come from a place of settler mentality and white power. In Australia, university students used a range of discursive strategies to construct Aboriginal peoples as deficient and inferior, due to their inability to thrive in the white colonial structure that prevails in Australian society (Augoustinos et al., 1999). White Australians in many studies positioned Indigenous as the underprivileged 'other' and positioned themselves as experts regarding Indigenous matters (Augoustinos et al., 1999; Green & Sonn, 2005). Additionally, Aboriginal participants in an Australian study affirmed that the notion of reconciliation is prevented by ongoing colonial power relationships (Quayle & Sonn, 2013). Participants expressed that a failure to recognise the historical injustices of colonisation, being labelled as the unfavourable 'other', and a western colonial ontology all impeded Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal relations. In a South African study by Verwey and Quayle (2012), it was observed that public discourse of racial affairs was distinct from private discourses and that white ideology and black ineptitude were dominant discourses in the private talk of Afrikaners in SA.

Kirton (1997) asserts that Pākehā in A-NZ are largely unaware of racist structures and behaviours. Research which analysed discourses of Māori, and partners of Māori by Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons (2016a), found discourses of Pākehā ignorance and Pākehā superiority, as well as institutional racism via the prevailing colonist systems. Many conveyed being compartmentalised by Pākehā, expressing that Pākehā deemed them to be inferior (Pack et al.,

2016a). Such studies bring awareness to Māori peoples lived experience of inherent white domination. This cultural superiority was also seen to be interconnected with institutionalised racism**.** Participants used phrases such as, "it's a white man's world", highlighting colonial power, and locating Pākehā at the top of the hierarchy of social order (Pack et al., 2016a, p. 104). Conversely, research involving white South Africans have found discourses of victimhood, and 'reverse-racism' in regards to affirmative action policies which diminish white privilege and give previously disadvantaged peoples opportunities to secure positions of power (Wambugu, 2005). In the discourse of both Pākehā and white South Africans, ideals of individuality and equal opportunity are apparent (Durrheim et al., 2005; Verwey & Quayle, 2012; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Pākehā hold onto the notion that there is equity in socioeconomic prospects in A-NZ (Kirton, 1997; Pack et al., 2016a; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). This relates to colonial beliefs of individualism which are sustained by neoliberal policy and ideology. The idea that Māori are individually responsible for their success is embraced under both neoliberal and right-wing ideologies.

Studies in both A-NZ and Australia illustrate how even anti-racism talk can produce discourses of white privilege. Discourses of blame towards the Crown were presented in the analysis of the talk of five Pākehā supporters of Māori political protesters from the famous 'Moutoa Gardens' protest in A-NZ (Tuffin et al., 2004). This discourse of blame worked to shift the responsibility of racism in A-NZ away from Pākehā, and onto a third party, which in turn, situated Pākehā beside Māori, as victims of colonial systems. Green and Sonn (2005), illustrate how notions of colonisation and whiteness are reproduced unintentionally within discussions of white Australian supporters of 'reconciliation'. One of the discourses identified was 'cultural connection'. By situating Aboriginal culture as an accessible resource to be shared and gained by non-indigenous Australians, white reconcilers inadvertently separate from the discourse of justice and equity, and shift focus to the notion of gains to be made by the 'white

self'. Similarly, in A-NZ, Pākehā take pleasure in Māori cultural representations such as the Haka, and show it as something which is owned by them (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

Media constructions can function as an instrument of racism by creating and replicating negative interpretations of Māori. They reinforce negative stereotypes, and enhance the position of power of Pākehā in A-NZ society (Pack et al., 2016a). Moreover, Barnes et al. (2012) assert that in the media, occasions where Māori are considered by their ethnicity and Pākehā are not are common and essentially frame Māori as separate from national norms. In a study with Māori participants they discussed ways in which media were implicated in the stereotyping and marginalising of Māori (Barnes et al., 2013). In this study, participants recognised that representations of Māori history and worldviews were supressed and colonial ideology was reproduced on a societal and institutional level by the media's portrayal of Tiriti claims as inequitable privileges for Māori. Essentially, a lack of Māori-situated historical analysis, and Tiriti knowledge, worked to reproduce Pākehā ideology of equality, rather than addressing a path to equity between Pākehā and Māori (Barnes et al., 2013). Additionally, persistent negative constructions of Māori in the media were implicated in reproducing constructs of crime and violence of Māori. One participant stated, "At 5 years old I tried to paint myself white because I wanted to be white as everybody else at my school… You know the only way that I could be Māori was to be naughty" (Barnes et al., 2013, p. 68). Such comments reflect the interpersonal impact of an entrenched colonial philosophy of white superiority.

Summary

The concept of race and the study of racism are fluid concepts that have evolved over time. Changes in appearances and demonstrations of racism have seen it go more underground, to a subtle form of racism, sometimes referred to as 'modern racism'. This has led to the requirement of alternative methodologies in order to effectively study racism. This chapter contemplated race theory and the history and the transformation of racism research over time.

Further, contemporary approaches to studying racism were examined in relation to the selection of theoretical framework and research methodology for this study. Additionally, whiteness and power were considered, as well as indigene-settler relations, and finally, racism research from A-NZ, Australia, and SA was appraised. A social constructionist epistemology and discourse analysis methodology was implemented for the purposes of this study. Hence, in the next chapter social constructionism and discourse analysis will be explored, and the specific methods employed in the process of this project will be outlined.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

This study explores the constructions that South African immigrants draw on when discussing Māori-Pākehā relations. A social constructionist epistemology has been chosen for this project and is discussed further in this chapter. The researcher's choice of methodology is also reviewed below. Following, validity issues will be examined, and research methods will be outlined.

Social constructionism

Social constructionism has been drawn on as the philosophical framework for this study. This epistemology provides a good fit for the purposes of this research which is to investigate constructions assumed by South African immigrants when talking about Māori-Pākehā relations. Rather than aspiring to universal theories, utilising a constructionist approach allows for investigations of shared sense-making, or inquiry, into how social realities are constructed (Gergen, 1996). The everchanging nature of racism and the covert complexion of 'modern racism' necessitates an epistemology that regards knowledge as variable and fluid. Hence, the adoption of a social constructionist epistemology is suitable for this project. Knowledge, from a social constructionist viewpoint, is contextually stimulated, flexible and unpredictable (Burr, 2003). It is, therefore, influenced by time and social context, including culture, philosophy, history, and politics. In early research around racial issues, the pursuit of universal concepts led to faulty theories of race and the idea of inferior and superior races (Abramson & Lack, 2014). Racism research traditionally focused on attitude measures and cognitive processes (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). However, realising the limitations of these approaches, social psychologists increasingly employed an constructionist epistemology and thematic, as well as discursive analytical, methodologies (Gergen, 1996).

Theoretical framework

A qualitative research method was most suitable for this project, as it allows for deep and meaningful investigation of rich data that was engendered by the small sample. The research data was in the form of transcribed interviews and the analysis was by means of a discourse analytic approach. This study combines methods of discursive psychology (DP) and Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) as proposed by Willig (2008). By studying actions through talk in discursive psychology, rather than attitudes and thought processes, a deeper level of covert racism may be discovered which is based on a range of discursive manipulations used to conceal racist actions (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). FDA involves the analysis of "certain ways-of-seeing the world and certain ways-of-being in the world" (Willig, 2008, p. 113). This enables alternative constructions to emerge, which can open up space for challenging the status quo. As Burman and Parker (1993) express, FDA is valuable in generating consideration for broader social practices and how the communal, societal, and political sphere are constructed and recreated through dialogue. Hence, the purpose of utilising both FDA and DA, is to facilitate the scrutiny of broad matters of ideology, dominance, and politics, as well as to investigate how patterns of talk create meaning related to social processes. DA has often been used to materialise racism discourses between Māori and Pākehā (McCreanor, 1995; Pack, 2016; Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

Additional theoretical attention was given to the functions of normalised power by employing a theoretical lens of whiteness. Commonly whiteness operates as the social norm that constructs ordinary practices, acceptable conduct, conversational trends, and institutional practices (Louw & van Ommen, 2020). These functions are concealed by the longstanding tradition of white as the standard. Hence, white superiority is sustained by everyday talk that rationalises injustice, and which, in turn, reproduces one-sided power domination (Van Dijk, 1992). The concept of whiteness has been employed in many fields of study to challenge the

position of power and dominance of those who are ‘colourless’ (Dyer, 1997). In the employment of this framework, accusations of individual immorality are avoided. Glynos et al. (2009) highlight how concentrating on external conditions of analysis for inward states, allows for the removal of the individualisation of constructions, hence, permitting structural patterns of racism to be uncovered (Lentin, 2016). Steyn (2007) has brought awareness to the differing concept of whiteness in relation to white South Africans who do not share the invisibility of the white standard of other western cultures due to the distinct historical context of SA and the minority white populace. Additionally, in the current post-apartheid era, the ordinary benefits that come with being white may be obscured due to the dismantling of race-based privilege in SA. Moreover, whilst situated within a context of white superiority, as immigrants to A-NZ, their self-positioning within this framework is one of diminished status (Louw, 2016). Similar constructions of marginalisation and non-belonging are common in the talk of South African migrants of various nations (Sonn et al., 2017). Consideration of these unique aspects of South African whiteness will be considered in the analysis of this study.

In data gathering, the interview questions were broad so that talk was minimally influenced by the interviewer and the questions were used as a general guide for the conversation. The interviews formed part of a larger project, of which this study is a part. Therefore, the data set utilised for the purpose of this study was limited to that which relates to Māori and Pākehā relationships and te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Data collection

The data for this study was gathered previously under an established project led by Clifford van Ommen regarding identity of South African immigrants’ in A-NZ. Van Ommen conducted semi-structured interviews by way of focus groups and one-on-one interviews during the timeframe of February 2014 to May 2014. Accurate transcription of the interviews was accomplished by van Ommen recording conversations with a digital tape recorder.

A series of general questions guided the course of the interviews, permitting participants to diverge or expound on the structured questions. This allowed for the collection of varied and rich data. Questions were around topics of participants' experiences of diverse groups, including, South Africans, Māori, Pākehā, and other migrant groups, as well as their sentiments around their migration to A-NZ, and their ideas of te Tiriti o Waitangi and biculturalism and how they think they are understood by New Zealanders. The group interviews were between 45 minutes and 1 hour 40 minutes long, whilst the individual interviews were between 45 minutes and 1 hour 40 minutes long. The participants did not know each other, with the exception of one focus group, where a married couple attended together.

Participants

Several South African clubs and societies (Afrikaans Club of South Africa, South Africans in A-NZ, and the South Island A-NZ Associations of South Africans) were sent invitations for their members to participate. The invitation to participate outlined the aim of the study, which was "to better appreciate the various experiences and understandings of South Africans of different aspects of their new home (A-NZ) and their country of origin (SA)". Details of the expected timeframe of the interviews and focus groups were included in the advertisement as well as conditions of participation. Willing participants were asked to contact Dr Clifford van Ommen by telephone or email. Once they expressed interest, potential participants were given an information sheet (Appendix A) with more details of the study including confidentiality limits, and details of participants' right to decline answering a question, and the right to withdraw at any time. To qualify, participants must have lived in SA through from childhood to adolescence as a minimum. They must have resided in A-NZ for one year or more and have been aged 18 years or older. The participants' time living in A-NZ at interview time ranged from one to 20 years. Thirteen of the 16 participants (81%) had lived in A-NZ for longer than five years.

A total of 23 participants replied to the invitations. Of this number, 16 were interviewed (10 women and 6 men) and seven abandoned the study. A total of five participants undertook individual interviews and eleven participants took part in the focus groups interviews which were made up of four groups. The age range of participants was 21 to 66 years-old, with a total of 16 participants being over 40 years-old. The interviews were performed in either Afrikaans or English, depending on the preferred language of participants. Afrikaans was listed as the home language of 11 (69%) of participants, and five (31%) listed English or bilingual. For the purposes of this study, participants were not asked to self-identify their belonging to any particular ethnic or cultural group and although the mother-tongue of participants was disclosed, it was not possible to imply ethnic identification based on that information. Under SA's previous race-classification structure, 15 participants were classified as White, and one Indian-South African. The Indian-South African participant also self-identified as Indian-South African by ethnicity. Hence, they are the only person to be identified by their ethnic grouping in this study.

Refer to Table 1 for additional participant details, including their pseudonym for the purposes of this study, gender, mother tongue, interview format and number, and the year they arrived in A-NZ.

Table 1

Participant Details

Pseudonym	Gender	Age Set	Mother tongue	Format	Year arrived
Linli	F	-	Afrikaans	Group (1)	2006
Marna	F	50-59	Afrikaans	Group (1)	2002
Jana	F	50-59	Afrikaans	Group (2)	2008
Daniel	M	50-59	Afrikaans	Group (2)	2008
Gizelle	F	60-69	Afr/English	Group (2)	1995
Pieter	M	60-69	Afrikaans	Group (3)	2008
Geoffrey	M	50-59	English	Group (3)	2009
Emelda	F	40-49	Afrikaans	Group (3)	2007
Lihan	M	50-59	Afrikaans	Group (4)	2010
Katryn	F	40-49	Afrikaans	Group (4)	2013
Simone	F	50-59	English	Group (4)	-
Mieke	F	60-69	Afrikaans	Individual (1)	1997
Hannah	F	60-69	English	Individual (2)	2007
Jayden	M	20-29	English	Individual (3)	2012
Sune	F	30-39	Afrikaans	Individual (4)	2007
Liandri	F	40-49	Afrikaans	Individual (5)	2008

Data analysis process

The interviews were transcribed verbatim as part of the existing broader project, with appropriate symbols representing particular actions (deep breaths, pauses, etc.), as established by Gail Jefferson (Jefferson, 1984). The extracts presented within the analysis section of this study have had interviewer filler words withdrawn and replaced with // for ease of reading and

to save space. Additionally, the symbol … was used to indicate a break between conversation pieces. Refer to Table 2 for further detail of transcription notations. Clifford van Ommen and Leslie Louw checked all the transcriptions by reading along whilst listening to the recordings. Both Louw and van Ommen are fluent in Afrikaans and translated the Afrikaans transcripts into English to simplify analysis and enable reporting.

Table 2

Transcript Notations

Symbol	Meaning
(.)	Pause - number of . indicates relative length of pause.
[	Overlapping or simultaneous talk.
=	No discernible silence between lines.
(.hh)	Audible inhale - number of h indicates relative length of inhale.
(hh)	Audible exhale - number of h indicates relative length of exhale.
(**Word**)	Words in bold text signifies raised voice or shouting.
( )	Words could not be discerned.
(word)	Uncertain about words, but possibility given.
:	Sound prolonged - number of : indicates relative length of sound.
[laugh]	An action or a nuance not discernible in the written transcript.
(Māori)	An unspoken word included for understanding of reading.
//	Interviewer filler words.
…	Break between conversation pieces.

The transcripts were read and reread until the researcher was acquainted with them and initial elements of interest and prospective patterns of meaning were logged (Willig, 2013). In consideration of the fact that the data had already been transcribed, it was deemed necessary

for the researcher to listen to the audio recordings of the interviews in order to gain insight into the emotional sense and nuances of the interviews. The tapes were transferred in a secure manner and were deleted once they were listened to. Distinguished sections of text that related to the topic of Māori and Pākehā relations were highlighted and the transcripts were fastidiously reread for further analysis. General themes were colour coded with sticky notes and notes were recorded in the margin, recording possible patterns of meaning within the data. All of the passages related to the topic at hand were separated from the full transcript into separate documents, from where further reading and analysis was undertaken. Four themes developed which were labelled neoliberal aspirations, racism concealed under the guise of te Tiriti, naturalised whiteness, and shared connection with Māori.

The passages of talk that related to these themes were further analysed and subthemes were uncovered through undertaking further reading of the sections and analysis of them. Meticulous consideration was given to the positional, practical, and subjective effects of the discourse, as per Willig (2013). Also examined were assorted discursive manoeuvres (appraisals, divergences, subject positions, and representations) used by participants to undertake varied constructions (Willig, 2013). Ambiguities, negations, and conflicts were investigated to emphasise apparent impasses from the strategies exercised (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Particular extracts that the researcher deemed appropriate to represent the themes and subthemes and the discursive manoeuvres were then dissected further in the final analysis. Furthermore, transparent, unambiguous and overt notes were written by the researcher at each step. A detailed audit trail of the notes was made throughout all processes of the project. Additionally, credibility checks were undertaken by the supervisor of the project, Clifford van Ommen, at each step.

Research quality

Several scholars have established standards which are intended to increase the research quality of qualitative studies (Elliott et al., 1999; Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Silverman, 2001). The researcher has incorporated strategies informed by (Shenton, 2004) and (Guba, 1981) for the purposes of this study.

Firstly, credibility is sought by following established methods of research. In this study, the methods of discursive psychology (DP) and Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) are combined in line with Willig (2013). Secondly, an awareness of the culture of enquiry is important. As the interviewer, and supervisor of this project, van Ommen, is a South African immigrant, as well as a researcher in the area of immigration in A-NZ. Hence, he is acquainted with many of the unique cultural attributes of the participants. As the overseer and co-creator of this project, van Ommen took into account that the researcher is a New Zealander with minimal familiarity with South African migrants in A-NZ. Lastly, procedures, directed by Shenton (2004), were utilised in the data collection phase which the supervisor of the project adhered to. It was communicated clearly to participants that their participation was voluntary and they could decline to answer any questions that they did not wish to make comment on, and that they could abandon their participation in the study at any time. Confidentiality was highlighted to participants and it was made known that the researcher held an independent position.

Other considerations outlined by Shenton (2004), include transferability, confirmability, and dependability. Firstly, the nature of qualitative research and using a limited number of participants means that transferability is limited. However, the accrual of outcomes amongst similar studies means that the results of a small study such as this provides for transferability of findings over time (Shenton, 2004). The reflexivity sections of this study (pages v-viii), consider and acknowledge the researcher's biases and susceptibilities with the

purpose of facilitating confirmability. Additionally, the researcher detailed her theoretical positioning as well as recording a diary of personal reactions, thoughts, and ideas prior to, and during all stages of the project. Additionally, important characteristics and situational features of the participants are divulged in Table 1. Such information will assist the reader in positioning the participants, as well as helping them ascertain the relevance and applicability of the findings.

Finally, dependability is supported by the thorough explanation of the design and method of this study so that it may be repeated. Furthermore, transparent, unambiguous and overt notes have been written by the researcher regarding why phenomena are themed in a specific manner. Throughout the reporting stage of the project, the researcher has presented examples of the data in relation to theme categorisations. A detailed audit trail was kept of all notes made throughout all processes of the project (data reduction and analysis, themes and meta-themes, methodological notes, findings and conclusions and links to prevailing literature). Additionally, credibility checks were undertaken by the supervisor of the project, Clifford van Ommen.

Triangulation has been used in the process of data collection where both individual interviews and focus groups interviews are undertaken. As previously discussed, the interviewer and supervisor of the project, van Ommen is a South African immigrant, so shares some common cultural milieu with the participants. It is considered that this will encourage rapport building and allow for open dialogue and increased comfort of participants. The formal feel generated by a one-on-one interview means that rapport building is of particular importance in generating open conversation and, in turn, rich data (Willig, 2013). A benefit of using a one-on-one interview is that they can provide a chance for participants to express things they may be less inclined to share in front of their peers. In comparison, the use of focus groups is intended to allow for a more natural conversation where participants are able to react and

respond to one another's comments (Willig, 2013). This is intended to generate rich and complex data. Additionally, focus group interviews can provide an opportunity to encapsulate group norms by capturing everyday talk amongst participants (Seale, 2004).

Personal reflexivity

Tactics have been employed to enhance research rigour in relation to the personal positions of the researcher. These include diary recordings of personal thoughts and ideas. Reflexive considerations were recorded in the writing up of the project in which the researcher acknowledged her expectations, values and beliefs, and how these relate to the generation of data and knowledge. As a Pākehā who was born and raised in A-NZ, I acknowledge that my vantage point is from a place of white privilege and throughout this project I have constantly reflected on how my background and life experiences may influence this research.

Ethics

The original research was approved from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (Northern) on 13 October 2013 (Human Ethics Approval Application - MUHECN 13/046). This particular project required an updated approval which was approved in September 2017 (Ethics Notification – 4000018477).

An assurance that data is kept secure in order to avoid breaches of privacy is facilitated by transcripts and files being transferred via Dropbox that only the researcher has access to. The transcripts and files were not stored on public networks or cloud storage networks; nor were they emailed. Pseudonyms were used in all records, transcripts, communications, and reporting.

Chapter Four: Results and interpretations

Introduction

A framework of DA was employed to analyse the data sets. Four main themes regarding Māori and Pākehā relations were pinpointed for further analysis. The themes were labelled neoliberal aspirations, racism concealed under the guise of te Tiriti, naturalised whiteness, and cultural affiliation. Extracts shown in the analysis were deemed the most suitable example for each theme chosen from the interview transcripts.

Theme 1: Neoliberal aspirations

Bonilla-Silva (2000) argues that all western nations share a comparable racial discourse labelled 'new racism'. He suggests that new racism portrays a society celebrated for equality, despite ongoing disparities between 'race' groups. Rather than utilising overt racist dialogue relating to biology, new racism allows the speaker to achieve the appearance of being non-racist via arguments of equal privileges and self-sufficiency (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). In a large discursive study of racism in New Zealand by Wetherell and Potter (1992), media, historical, and governmental scripts, as well as interview texts with Pākehā New Zealand participants, were analysed. The researchers found justification of inequity between Māori and Pākehā was achieved by claims for fairness, even-handedness, individualism, and self-reliance. Additionally, in a revision of discursive strategies undertaken within studies of racism discourse, Augoustinos and Every (2007, p. 134), labelled these discursive practices as "liberal arguments for illiberal ends". Several rhetorical strategies illustrated by Wetherell and Potter (1992) in A-NZ, as well as Augoustinos and Every (2007) in Australia, were employed by participants in the current study in order to argue for egalitarianism and fairness to the detriment of socio-cultural, political, and economic equity for Māori.

Individualistic assumptions

Contrasting rhetoric is featured in the following extract, where Linli argues for neoliberal notions of fairness and self-reliance, whilst Marna challenges Linli's argument by offering context in her argument that complex factors such as unequal treatment and institutional racism are at play in the inequity between Māori and Pākehā. The argument of neoliberal aspirations of the entrepreneurial self is skilfully accomplished by Linli via the adoption of several rhetorical strategies, including: applying one's own experience to substantiate their line of reasoning, 'I worked with, with a lot of Māori and Pasifika', appealing to the facts, 'they are predominantly prison population, lower income, beneficiaries', and comparison, 'their attitude towards things is, is vastly different'. Such devices work to validate the speakers argument and provide evidence of legitimacy (Fozdar, 2008) for the speakers subsequent allegation that, 'a lot of them have no aspirations'. Such accusations situate western ideals as superior and puts blame and criticism on Māori for non-compliance within this paradigm.

Extract 1:

Linli:	Especially (.) the previous job I had. I, I, I worked with, with a lot of uhm, Māori and Pasifika (.) clients. (.hh) A::nd, the way they (.) view (.) Pākehā or others (.) is, is vastly different. And they (.) and their attitude towards (.) things are also quite a bit different. So yes (.hh), they are (.) uh:m, predominantly prison population, uhm lower income, uh:m, beneficiaries
Marna:	( ), [yeah, yeah.
Linli:	[(ated), things like that. But they, a lot of them (..) have no aspirations of(..)
Marna:	But is that maybe not as a result of [(.) them being treated as if they don't have
Linli:	[Of course! Of course!=
Marna:	=Especially at [school, they ( )
Linli:	Of, of course! It, it, it's a combination of stuff.
Marna:	Ja=

Linli: =But if you've got that inherent of (.hhh) WELL (..) you: the tax payer will just have to pay for this, this, this, this, and this. (..) That was quite a bit of a shock to me, coming=

Marna: =H-mm=

Linli: =especially just after we arrived, coming from a culture where if, user pays. I mean, if you don't pay, you get nothing

Marna: Hh-mm, hh-mm

Linli: And, and their expectations were quite high. And I was like, [pitch rises as question is asked] can you expect that much? =Uh::m (..)

Marna: Hh-mm

Linli: But yes, yes I, I, I do agree, they are sidelined. And, and so are a lot of the immigrant populations

This kind of individualistic neoliberal discourse implies that we all have the scope to succeed and those who do not succeed under the prevailing colonial conditions are accountable for their failure. To further support her argument, the speaker provides a softener that Māori 'are sidelined', which positions her as more tolerant, before declaring, 'and so are a lot of the immigrant populations', which situates immigrant populations as similarly disadvantaged, whilst not receiving the same level of support as Māori. Augoustinos et al. (1999) identified similar constructions in the talk of non-indigenous university students, where arguments of Aboriginal peoples failure to adapt to colonisation was supported by comparisons with other disadvantaged ethnic groups who were constructed as having adapted and succeeded to the ways of the dominant white group. Similarly, the theme of Māori as agents in their disadvantage was illustrated in an examination of historical and new racism discourse in A-NZ by Liu and Robinson (2016, p. 146) in the discourse of "universal potential of the disadvantaged". In this dialogue, the government adopted the classic individualistic concept of equal prospects for all, whilst positioning the underprivileged as responsible for attaining economic equality. Such discourses only serve to strengthen social inequalities (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

In extract one, the comments, ‘their expectations were quite high’ and ‘can you expect that much’, work to portray Māori as entitled beneficiaries who are constructed as strategic in their underprivilege and scheming in their expectations of receiving extra resources. Also, the use of the word ‘inherent’, places those that benefit from the taxpayer as intrinsically demanding, and it also gives a sense that such demands are ensconced in the values of A-NZ welfare system. Such a dialogue of vilification is similar to the much-reviewed ‘chav’ discourse in the UK which denigrates beneficiaries, portraying them as ‘bad’, and implying that their social status is their preference and a direct result of their inadequacies (Bennett, 2013). Within A-NZ, a similar media discourse has been identified which vilifies Māori families as a threat to society; welfare-dependent ‘ferals’ (Beddoe, 2014). Beddoe suggests that this dialogue serves to invigorate moral panic and a sense that the security of our society is in jeopardy because of this group. A similar stereotypical discourse labelled ‘welfare racism’ was illustrated in the USA, by (Neubeck & Cazenave, 2001). They suggest that African American welfare recipients were considered with disdain and categorised as receiving welfare as a lifestyle choice, whereas white welfare recipients were more likely to be viewed with empathy.

By focusing her argument around economic concerns such as, “the tax payer will have to pay for this, this, this, this, and this”, the speaker in extract one essentially moves the discussion away from race and toward financial worries which works to disassociate her from any racist connotations. The lazy ‘other’ is constructed as purposely reliant on the taxpaying populace who must keep parting with their hard-earned cash to support the ever-dependent ‘other’. Augoustinos et al. (1999, p. 367), contend that by directing the argument around economic integrity and western ideals of “even-handedness and neo-liberal/economic rationalist discourse”, the notion of racism is concealed. Such strategies, which were commonly employed in the current study, work to erase context and history and, hence, frame the populace as a group of autonomous, ahistorical individuals.

Māori entitlement

Extract 2:

Lihan: They er ja very very very politically correct and people will bend over backwards to be politically correct just so that they are not offensive and they not offending anybody // But um ja this this whole Māori thing and um I mean even even at the Uni my my sons have found well my oldest son = // =that when um or when the Māori I mean if if if a young guy is battling with his exams or whatever or his studying he can pull the Māori card= // =you know he can say even if he is sixteenth percent Māori = // =he can say I'm Māori I'm from Ngati Tahu or whatever um and then they will step in and help him= // =he will still write the you know the real exams and whatnot but he will have extra help he will have there's there's a lot of= // =influx there you know

Simone: It's a worldwide thing I mean this first people thing

Lihan: Um um

Simone: It happens all over the world [now lately

Lihan: [It does ja

In extract 2, the speaker constructs the notion of Māori 'privilege' by reasoning that educational resources are provided to Māori at the expense of other deserving citizens who are deprived of valuable resources. The term 'Māori Card' and the derogatory talk related to the biological link to being Māori undermines the nation's corrective intent in policy around the provision of resources. The speaker implies that categorizing oneself as Māori in order to gain extra resources is easy in this unfair and poorly regulated system. Additionally, they suggest that Māori do not even need to be culturally connected, they just need to determine some biological link in order to claim entitlements. This effectively decontextualises and dehistoricises race talk, making it only about bloodline, not culture. A similar argument of 'no real Māori left', was a strong feature of rhetoric arguments in A-NZ's principal racism study

by Wetherell and Potter (1992). This authenticity argument can be related back to the historical government policy prior to 1974, which used bloodline as a determination of Māori authenticity, requiring a 50% bloodline, hence the deprecating label 'half-caste' (Kukutai, 2003).

The use of the term 'politically correct' (PC) in extract two effectively problematises historical and cultural sensitivity and induces a picture of neoliberal conservatives ridiculing those unctuous, do-gooding white liberals. Similarly, anti-racist detractors in Australia are regularly represented as 'politically correct ideologues', who weaken the broadminded values of free speech (McIntyre & Clark, 2003). Prior to this passage of talk, the speaker referred to the upliftment of Māori as 'reverse apartheid'. The term 'reverse apartheid' plays a similar function to the PC discursive resource, but on an institutional level rather than an individual level. In such labelling, government policy is implicated as problematic and Māori 'privilege' in government policy is intimated as being equivalent to apartheid.

Further, the comment, 'this first people thing', undermines indigenous people and their histories and legitimises the speaker's argument of fairness and equal resource allocation. Also, by locating indigenous 'privilege' as a 'worldwide thing', the speaker suggests that A-NZ is not alone in the trend of indigenous sympathy and partiality, and that the whole world has fallen victim to this unfairness. Additionally, the use of the word 'thing' shows disregard and disrespect for Indigenous peoples' rights. Rather than indigenous advancement policy being regarded as a legitimate set of arguments based on evidence and values, it is simply regarded as a 'thing' which gives it no value or worth.

Apartheid accusations

As discussed earlier in this section, the egalitarian discourse of fairness, equal resource allocation, and even-handedness was sometimes coined 'reverse apartheid', or expressed as being equal to SA's apartheid policy. By situating A-NZ's bicultural policy of upliftment of the

indigenous population as equivalent to apartheid, A-NZs history of oppression and atrocities against its indigenous people is discarded. Also, in order to further authenticate his argument, the speaker situates himself as the informed speaker by locating most people as oblivious to such insider knowledge.

Extract 3:

Daniel: =what is happening here currently is exactly the same as in SA, they just named it apartheid // …

Daniel: So, yes, this is interesting to me, but I mean that I think that few people realise that what was in SA= // =their apartheid period= // =is where New Zealand is currently, since a minority is being super protected and boosted and supported with everything possible= //

Resource distribution bias

The principle of resource distribution based on need rather than ethnicity was expressed in extract four, where participants positioned themselves as experiencing similar disadvantage to Māori due to their immigrant status and the fact that English is their second language.

Extract 4:

Liandri: And then um I mean English is second language for most of us as well //

Liandri: And to yet you know we don't necessarily get that um support

Logical politics

The following extract features the commonly used discourse of inequality around the economic imbalance of treatment between Māori and Pākehā. In 2004, A-NZ's opposition leader, Don Brash, made an infamous speech demanding "one law for all", addressing the concerns of conservative New Zealand around public policy regarding Māori claims and what they view as unfair advantaging of Māori (Brash, 2004). Neoliberal discourses of even-handedness were also illustrated in the talk of Pākehā in Wetherell and Potter's racism study

(1992, p. 177), in accounts such as, “everybody should be treated equally”. In the following extract, Geoffrey, suggests that, ‘it’s very very attractive to trace some Māori into your blood’, in order to argue his point of unfair advantaging of indigenous New Zealanders.

Extract 5:

Geoffrey:	You know, most people wanted to end it (.hh) and, uhm, uh, well, within MY circle of friends, anyway. Uhm, but, uhm (.) uh, in, in New Zealand, the, the Pākehā-Māori thing is (.hh) it, it’s, it’s very, uhm (hh) it should be gray, because in fact, you shouldn’t have to say Māori or Pākehā // They had this law where you’ve got, m-, mainly it’s economic benefits, I mean, if you’ve got a certain portion of Māori in you then you can get (.)
Pieter:	Mm //
Geoffrey:	You know, free education and stuff like that, so it’s, very, very attractive, to trace some Māori into your blood
Pieter:	MM //
Geoffrey:	It’s HUGELY attractive to do that because you’ve got huge benefits, I mean, you, it seems a bit crazy but, you know, to, to, to do it that way. I mean, one wants to end, one wants, one wants to end this sort of (.)

The comment ‘one wants this to end’, is an example of pragmatic politics, comparable to taken for granted discourses of Pākehā participants in Wetherell and Potter’s study, in accounts such as, “you cannot turn the clock backwards” and “present generations cannot be blamed for the mistakes of past generations” (1992, p. 177). Dialogue such as this effectively situates the atrocities of colonisation as in the past and no longer relevant, which works to modulate wrongdoings of the colonisers and invalidates the case for upliftment of the colonised. Similar common-sense strategies are also employed in that talk of non-indigenous Australians in Augoustinos et al. (1999, p. 360), where participants argued for “letting go of the past”. Hence, wrongdoings carried out on the colonised by the British are modulated and disregarded.

It is of interest also, that in stating, ‘one wants this to end’, the speaker makes reference to a universal ‘we’, implying that support for the liquidation of Māori-Pākehā distinction is

widespread. They also make reference to this universal desire in the statement, “most people wanted to end it”. Following this, a softener is presented in the statement, ‘well, within my circle of friends anyway’. This discursive strategy works to correct or realign previously overexpressed accusations or claims in order to make their talk seem less severe and more delicate (Edwards, 2000). This delicacy or softening strategy is commonly seen throughout the talk in the current study.

Economic ideals

When participants were questioned on their perceptions of how New Zealanders identify with te Tiriti, frequently a sense of conflict was conveyed between respect for the principles of te Tiriti and the impracticality of the economic constraints placed on the country and the individual taxpayer by Tiriti claims. As in other racism studies (Wetherell & Potter, 1922; Augoustinos et al., 1999), white people position themselves as the taxpayer and Indigenous people as the group who prosper from governmental economic benefits. This is echoed in extract six where white people are situated as the taxpayer, a placement that was frequently implied throughout the interviews.

Extract 6:

Linli: My opinion:: or my experience, for a lot of them (Pākehā) it's quite important // =I do think this uh (.) they, at this stage some of them have a sense of (..) tiredness and dread around the Treaty claims though. Because it's been such a long process. But (..) my work colleagues (.) uh::m (..) (ne-) very into the Treaty and, and with the principles of it. But I think they (..) The long process of doing the, the Treaty claims and the amounts of money and, and everybody then going back into their heads like, oh but I've got to pay for it because I'm the taxpayer

Unreasonable expectations

Extract 7:

Mieke: And they get money from the state, or they get, uh, you know, all their benefits and // Yes, so sometimes there is a feeling that this is not fair // No And they also feel like, when is this going to stop // You know? It never ends, it's like **blackmail**, you know? It never stops. Then it's this groups that say something, then it again this or that, you know, but (.) // I feel that it has to stop at some point

Extract seven deploys the same individualistic ideological aspirations of unfairness around te Tiriti claims and beneficiaries. The practical politics argument seen in extract five is also employed here in the comment, 'I feel that it has to stop at some point'. This type of common-sense claim appeals as a reasonable and rational argument. Additionally, a sense of criminality is insinuated by referring to Māori as a 'blackmailing' collective. This type of negative labelling and vilification of Māori occurs across several interviews in the current study. The speaker provides a softener in the use of word, 'sometimes'. The use of softeners is a common strategy employed in the current study that enables the speaker to appear more diplomatic sounding and less severe, whilst also opening up space for the possibility of a counterclaim.

Complicit underprivilege

The discourse of Māori agency, detected in the rhetoric of government speeches (Liu & Robinson, 2016), which situates the minority as culpable in their hardship was frequently adopted in the current study. Grounded in western ideology of individualism and immutable egalitarianism, this discourse suggests that Māori are complicit in their underprivilege. This strategy functions to discredit the effects of racism and prejudice on the colonised group, whilst situating the majority as superior (Augoustinos et al., 1999). In the following extract, the speaker is blatant in their suggestion of the superiority of the white approach of hard work, economic production, and self-supportiveness. The 'other' are positioned as irresponsible, incapable, and corrupt, by implying that despite having received considerable resources, they have nothing to show for it. A line is drawn between SAs black population and A-NZs Māori

population, the implication being that white people universally have to deal with the burden of the lazy 'other' who are complicit in their disadvantage. The speaker also talks about bloodline when stating 'one cannot find a genuine Māori, but they claim, continue to claim'. This argument trivialises Māori culture, ethnicity, and history, and suggests that claiming resources is dishonest and illegitimate due to Māori not having 100% pure blood.

Extract 8:

Interviewer:	So the Māori were deeply hurt?
Mieke:	Oh, YES! // But on the other hand, they are so married amongst the whites that one cannot find a genuine Māori, but they claim, continue to claim and (.) // they have received all these payouts but cannot show what they have done with it // You know, the, tribes, the // Yes, the iwi // Whanau, they get, they get all the // But, they cannot this worries me a little // For me, I wouldn't say like the blacks, you give the farm and everything to them // Will there be production? Are they going to do what the whites did? // You know? But no, it stops, so they do not labour and there is no production and everything on the farm is wasted and then it's a morass // And this is also what I, uh:m, wonder about these Māori [inaudible] You know, do they they raise themselves up? // You know?

Theme 2: Racism concealed under the guise of te Tiriti

One race: the human race

The discourse of 'one race' was employed in the exchange below to make the argument of fairness and equal treatment for all. The justification that we are all part of the human race, and thus the same so we should be treated equally, neatly sidesteps historical processes of exclusion and prevailing inequality due to colonisation. Interestingly, a corresponding discourse was adopted by participants who identified as Māori or partners of Māori in Pack (2016). One participant expressed, 'you know we're all one people, Kiwis. Just because we've got different colour doesn't mean nothing'. The term 'Kiwi' and 'Ngati kiwi', was referred to

by participants in Pack (2016) as terms to bring Māori and Pākehā together and to argue for racial harmony and 'one nation'. Contrastingly, a similar discourse, but opposing in its subtle neoliberal intentions, is seen in various racism studies in A-NZ and Australia where a united national identity is positioned as a resolution to racial friction. This discourse of equal rights for all has been labelled as, 'one Australia' (Augoustinos et al., 1999), 'togetherness', (Wetherell & Potter, 1992), and 'one people', (McCreanor, 1989).

Extract 9:

Linli:	=the different world view, if you look from the Māori standpoint as they, they only (.) consider (.) two viewpoints: either you're Māori, or you're not //
Marna:	[Ja.
Linli:	If you're not Māori, you're (.) other
Marna:	[laughs]
Linli:	Literally. //
Marna:	[Ja.
Linli:	So (.)
Marna:	Ja= //
Linli	=They've also got a, a very, very closed mindset
Marna:	Ja // Very [narrow viewpoints, [on all sides.
Linli:	[Also, also // [Very, very narrow. // [Literally, if you're not Māori (..) you're other //
Marna:	Hh-mm=
Interviewer:	=And that other, just (.) is it a other in the sense of (.) everyone's then just the same?
Linli:	[quite vehement] Yip!
Marna:	[Ja
Linli:	[A::nd, we don't like you
Marna:	Ja=
Linli:	=Because you are (..) other...
Marna:	[This, this whole attitude of us and them (.) that is the basis of racism. The moment you group people into us and them [(..)
Linli:	[Yip //

Marna: =you are (.) being racist // =Because, it doesn't matter (.) what language they speak, or what colour their skin is or whatever. =if you reckon they are other // =you are already discriminating [against them // Whereas you should just see us as all human beings. There's only one race, and that's the human race // =So, you know? // We all belong to the same RACE, [actually

As exemplified in extract nine, a regular case made by participants was of concern that A-NZ's current bicultural policy only allows for two cultures, Māori or 'other', leaving immigrants voiceless. A feeling of being 'left out' and excluded from the national identity and policy allows for a claim in favour of a multicultural policy to replace the current bicultural policy. Similarly, in a study of Asian students in A-NZ, participants subscribed to the feeling of being 'left out' (Omura, 2009, 2014). However, in the Omura (2009) study, it was found that after Tiriti education, participants spoke of a renewed respect and acknowledgment of te Tiriti.

In the argument rejecting biculturalism in extract nine, Māori are blamed for the disclosed unfairness and Māori worldview is essentially positioned as the problem at hand. Comments like, 'they have a very closed mindset', support this notion by positioning Māori as rigid and unable to appreciate other interpretations. The positioning of Māori as racist is developed across this exchange, an emplacement which is only possible within an ahistorical interpretation. Hence, the elimination of historical context works to strengthen the argument against biculturalism.

Interestingly, the passage of talk in extract nine leading up to the 'one race' proclamation, was in direct contrast to the 'one race' discourse. A representation of this contrast is illustrated in the comment, 'everyone's then just the same', referring to being consolidated into one group labelled as Pākehā, along with all other non-Māori New Zealanders. There is an undertone of concern around cultural uniformity that comes with being positioned in this one category of Pākehā. Additionally, there is a sense of annoyance in the speakers tone, that there is no room made in the national identity for immigrants which invalidates their importance in

the cultural mix of the country, whilst also leaving no room for a sense of belonging for migrant groups. This argument is boosted by the comment, 'and we don't like you'. Here, the speaker appeals to the emotions of the listener in conveying their exclusion from A-NZs national identity as a personal attack. Under the perpetrator-victim binary, A-NZs bicultural system is situated as the victimiser by excluding migrant groups, and migrants are positioned as the victim.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi is racism

In the following extract, several discursive tactics are employed to argue that te Tiriti is racist.

Extract 10:

> Geoffrey: And, I said, "I come from a country where I know exactly what racism looks like," I said, "and THIS thing is nothing but racism," I said, "and, and the treaty never ever said what you guys are saying it is saying, and that's a lie, because the treaty just said that, that you guys were gonna treat Māori exactly the same as British subjects, that's what the treaty says, NOT better, NEVER, not better, the same, and that their rights, et cetera, will be protected under the crown, that's what it says, finished, there's nothing else, and you've MADE it do something that it was never (.) uh, intended to be." But, yeah, that's one of their, maybe it's one of mine as well, but that's one of their push buttons

The oft-used discursive strategy of drawing on personal experience to confirm the validity of an argument (Fozdar, 2014), is illustrated in extract 10 where the speaker asserts, 'I come from a country where I know exactly what racism looks like'. This strategy works to authenticate the speakers claims, as does the strategy of appealing to the facts (Fozdar, 2008), utilised here in the proclamation, 'that's what it says, finished, there's nothing else'. According to Fozdar (2014), strategies of extreme case formulation, repetition, and emphasis, work to support both liberal and conservative arguments. The strategy of repetition is utilised in extract 10, with the word 'never', applied recurrently to bolster the speakers case. Additionally,

emphasis is put on several words, ‘not’, never’, ‘this’, and ‘made’, which works to accentuate the argument. Further, the speaker justifies his argument, by means of extreme case formulation, where he uses the word ‘lie’ as a descriptor for te Tiriti, to imply that is was never intended to be engaged with as it has been. This description imposes a certain perspective on the listener, which in this case is the unlawfulness and illegitimacy of how te Tiriti has been commissioned in A-NZ. In reducing te Tiriti to a lie, the speaker justifies their position of te Tiriti as being racist and depreciates this historical text to a mere fabrication.

Interestingly, to conclude the speakers argument in extract 10, Pākehā are portrayed as aggravated and provoked by te Tiriti in the remark, ‘But, yeah, that’s one of their (Pākehā), maybe it’s one of mine as well, but that’s one of their push buttons’, moving the culpability of racism away from the speaker and onto Pākehā. This tactic achieves the viewpoint that the talker is simply advocating for Pākehā, rather than being aggrieved himself. In doing so, he assumes an alliance with Pākehā, and implicitly establishes a binary position, which in this case, is nonalignment with Māori.

Overt racism

In the next extract, Sune downplays racism in SA by positioning the media as accountable for it. This strategy of blame moves the accusation of racism away from social, institutional, and historical explanations, and places the culpability solely with the media. This deflection is also used to compare racism in SA with racism in A-NZ which, in turn, strengthens the speaker’s assertion that there is more racism in A-NZ. Telling a story of extreme overt racism in A-NZ implies that institutional and systemic racism practices are still widespread in A-NZ, and it simultaneously deflects such practices away from the practices of South Africans and the speaker. The categorization of identifying the older generation as overtly racist may be factually correct, as it was the participants lived experience, but it also functions rhetorically to

soften the speaker's allegations of overt racism in A-NZ by limiting it to a section of the population, rather than the entire group.

Extract 11

Sune:	I think that, uhm (..) it (.) when, when, you meet anyone, from any other country, they always think that SA are, you are racist // No matter who you are // But, but it's, it's not really as bad as (.) the media, everything, made it // I feel that there's more racist (.) or racism **HERE //** Than there was back in SA
Interviewer:	Ja? Ja? And in what ways have you noticed that? Uhm, what would, what had been the experiences where you've said "well, that's an example of it" =
Sune:	Uhm, just people at work, like, uhm, I used to be the manager of a transport company // So then, dealing with all the drivers // And especially the older guys, the, uhm, the bus drivers // They would, uhm (..) they would just come in and say [chuckles] "These effin' Māoris" // And then they would say it in front of them
Interviewer:	Really? Okay
Sune:	Yes, uh, whereas we were so sensitive. You couldn't say anything // Where, where they're more, a b-, open but not, uhm, internationally // It's sort of a secret, but // But **you**, uhm, practise it more openly than what we used to do

Contrast is demonstrated between how New Zealanders practice racism compared to South Africans in extract 11. A-NZ racism is illustrated as being explicit in the comment, 'and then they would say it in front of them', compared to South African racism, which is positioned as implicit, in the comparison, 'whereas we were so sensitive'. A study by (Verwey & Quayle, 2012), discerned a discrepancy between the public and private discourse of white South Africans in relation to race matters, noting that white superiority and black incompetence were prevalent in private discourse. The statement, 'but you (New Zealanders) practice it more openly than what we used to do,' supports the idea that racist talk stands as something only performed in private in SA. This comment also places the practice of racism in the past, implying that it is no longer a feature of South Africans' conduct.

In extract 11, the inference is made that A-NZ's international inter-ethnic relation's reputation is based on false pretenses in the comments, 'internationally, it's sort of a secret'. This argument was drawn on by a number of participants in the current study and was often contrasted to SAs poor global reputation concerning race relations. Such use of contrast works to negate allegations of poor race relations against SA and intensify the assertions of substandard race relations within A-NZ. The grounding often used for this argument in this study, was that A-NZ's Tiriti o Waitangi, symbolises amicable race relations, in contrast to SAs apartheid which represents the opposite, as illustrated in extract 12.

Comparable inter-ethnic relations

Extract 12:

Liandri: Sometimes [laugh] (.) um yip maybe in SA we should have had a treaty and instead of calling it apartheid you know and then um yip then the world would have viewed it differently [laugh]

Liandri drew on parallels between South Africans race relations under apartheid and A-NZ's race relations under te Tiriti to argue that despite the two nations having equal inter-ethnic relations, A-NZ has a worthier reputation which has been unfairly assigned.

Biculturalism unseen

Conflict between the acceptance of biculturalism in formal structures in comparison to day-to-day living is illustrated in the next extract. To demonstrate this conflict, Hannah draws on her personal experience of distance between Māori and Pākehā in the comment, 'if I see Pākehā, there's never Māoris there,' in reference to public spaces. This works to substantiate her claim that te Tiriti is not upheld by individuals and, hence, is invisible in day-to-day living.

Extract 13:

Hannah: = An:d (.hh) and like, see, I like that they (Māori) are very aware of it and I, and, and, this is something that actually a bit baffling to me because in the formal structures, they're very accepting and integrating and all of that = // = But when

it comes to day-to-day living (.) // It seems to me less so, [it seems to me less so // I don't see Pākehā, if we, if ever I see Pākehā there's never Māoris there // = Either // You know? //

= Or Islanders or whatever. (.hh) There, there might be some who, who've got a great grandfather, or mother, who's a Māori, but, like, they identify more with Pākehā. I mean, my neighbour's got a grandmother or great grandmother but she very much identifies as, I mean she'll complain bitterly about the Māori (Dimwagens) or the (Simshaw) or whatever it is =

The social distance expressed in the above passage of talk, was similarly communicated by Māori participants in a study in A-NZ by Pack et al. (2016a). In that analysis, Pākehā ignorance apropos Māori culture, history, and biculturalism is perceived as being reinforced by a lack of contact between Māori and Pākehā. A vital part of tikanga Māori (Māori culture) is Kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face engagement), which is said to promote the facilitation of increased mutual understanding (O'Carroll, 2013). Participants in another A-NZ study which featured Asian immigrants, also indicated that their day-to-day social interactions with Māori were limited (Omura, 2014). Additionally, a participant in that study expressed that when she did experience authentic and everyday encounters with Māori, they led to her enhanced appreciation and knowledge of Māori culture.

By articulating the example, 'there might be some who, who've got a great grandfather, or mother, who's a Māori, but, like, they identify more with Pākehā', in extract 13, Hannah generalises that people who have some Māori ethnicity prefer to align with Pākehā. This strategy serves to legitimise Pākehās annoyance over bicultural matters, signalling that even those with Māori ancestry are frustrated with it and choose not to identify as Māori. Hannah illustrates her point by using the real-life story of her neighbour stating, 'she'll complain bitterly about the Māori (Dimwagens) or the (Simshaw),' and by labelling Māori in derogatory terms. This approach of storytelling allows the speaker to make disparaging statements and not appear racist herself, as someone else said it, and she is simply repeating it.

A theme that emerged from a study of 'racism and the lived experience of Māori identity formation' by (Te Hiwi, 2008), was intergenerational wounds, grounded in historic national policy of assimilation and subjugation of Māori and exclusion of Māori culture, norms, beliefs, and practices. The pervasive 'othering' of Māori and undermining of their identity was illustrated by a Māori participant in Te Hiwi's (2008) study, in the statement, 'it just was not good to be Māori'. Kukutai (2003) suggests that colonial traditions of marginalisation that position whiteness as superior led to some people rejecting their Māori culture in order to 'fit in'. Psychiatrist, Frantz Fanon (2008), explored the psychological occurrences behind the experience of such conflict of identity in his notable book, *Black skin, white masks*. Fanon maintains that colonial white superiority, which sets whiteness as the benchmark and incessantly de-values the colonised-culture and colonised-self, is the foundation of internalised discrimination for the colonised, who are seemingly confined to an inferior ranking within a prevailing colonial hierarchy, whether they adopt the culture of the colonisers, or embrace their cultural origin, or something in between. Steve Biko's articulation of Black Consciousness sought to counter this internalised disparagement with the 'Black is Beautiful' slogan associated with 70s African American identity movements (Tafira, 2013). Additionally, a Māori participant in a local A-NZ study, provided an example of such internalised racism when she spoke of attempting to paint herself white in order to be the same as the rest of the kids at school, stating, 'the only way that I could be Māori was to be naughty' (Barnes et al., 2013, p. 69).

Tiriti dissonance

Extract 14:

Marna: uhm, commercial firms, they just try and ignore it // completely they, they know it's there! And if you ask them, they would (..) s-, say all nicely oh yes, yes, yes. You know, we have to (.) redress this (..) but in their own minds they're thinking ugh (..) Let (.) this just go away. You know, enough's enough // Uhm, but of course you know in (.) intellectual circ-, (circuits) (.) it's going to be treated differently. It's

more (.) treated uhm (.) theoretically, than practically // And it's wh-, uh, practically that people object to. You know, they don't want this money to be paid out

In a similar manner as extract 13, the speaker in extract 14 expresses tensions around how te Tiriti is observed by implying that New Zealanders pay lip service to te Tiriti, despite there being a lack of evident structural change. Pākehā are positioned as opposed to te Tiriti via their invalidation of the financial amends function of the policy, whilst contrastingly openly acknowledging and accepting te Tiriti on a theoretical level. Additionally, a contrast is made in the way te Tiriti is adhered to in some arenas, 'of course you know in, intellectual circ- (circuits), it's going to be treated differently. It's more treated uhm, theoretically than practically', compared to commercial firms, 'commercial firms, they just try and ignore it'.

Theme 3: Naturalised Whiteness

A-NZ identity as white-looking, white-speaking

Sibley et al. (2011, p. 203), assert that the way people utilise in-group and out-group labelling, offers intriguing understandings into "their ingroup and intergroup attitudes". Participants in the current study routinely position whiteness as an essential characteristic of the national identity of A-NZ. As illustrated in the next extract, they do this by regularly referring to Pākehā by the depoliticised labels of 'Kiwi' or 'New Zealander' and separating Māori from Pākehā by identifying Māori by culture and ethnicity.

Extract 15:

Geoffrey: And a Kiwi is your Rhodesian Kiwi // = Ja, that's the boat people =
Pieter: = That's a Kiwi //
Geoffrey: [(Then) ( )
Pieter: [Then, then, then you have a Māori

Throughout the interviews, white New Zealanders were rarely identified as Pākehā and were typically categorised as 'Kiwi' or 'New Zealanders'. This signals a habitual discursive

practice, which ideologically serves to discard Māori from the national identity. This is also seen in Revell et al. (2014), where white New Zealander's are mainly labelled as 'Kiwi' or 'New Zealander', and other groups, including Māori, were labelled in ethnic terms. Additionally, in an analysis of media representations of Māori by Barnes et al. (2012), it was commonly observed that Pākehā were seldomly labelled and thus, consistently positioned as the norm against which other ethnic communities were considered. In that study, the use of the pronouns (us, we, and our) represented Pākehā as the ingroup, whilst the pronouns (you, yours, they, them, their) conveyed distance to Māori (Barnes et al., 2012). Māori nationhood, according to Wetherell and Potter (1992) remains a mainly silent discourse.

Dyer (1997) reflects on the norm of whiteness which helps to understand why the participants in this study often and seemingly unreflexively identify white New Zealanders as the marker for national identity. In western societies, white people are situated as the ordinary, the average, the norm (Dyer, 1997). In A-NZ, the foundations of Pākehā superiority were laid throughout colonisation. British settlers' endeavours to build an identity which categorised New Zealanders as white is reflected in the development of 'The Natives' Association' (Sinclair, 1986). This association excluded Māori from the category of 'natives', and strived to develop a national identity which included only Pākehā (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Today, despite formal recognition of equal partnership between Māori and Pākehā within the bicultural framework of NZ, colonial systems and structures remain firmly in place (Nairn & McCreanor, 1991). The naming of Pākehā as 'New Zealanders' and 'Kiwi' by South African immigrants, illustrates these ongoing structures of domination.

Despite political structures requiring equal contribution of Māori and Pākehā to national culture, policy, and identity, as well as shared guardianship under te Tiriti of Waitangi, the colonising Pākehā maintain dominant group status. A study of how New Zealanders produce meaning in their talk around cultural identity and immigration by (Lyons et al., 2011),

concluded that nationalist rhetoric of an English-speaking, English-looking national identity serve to strengthen the underlying norm of whiteness within NZ. Further, Omura (2014), proclaims that the norm of monolingualism that exists in Aotearoa/NZ, operates as an influence in support of the assimilation of other groups.

Colonial advantage

In the passage of talk leading up to the next extract, the speaker had drawn awareness and acknowledgement to white superiority and continuing colonialism within the A-NZ context by making the comparison of Pākehā to the colonisers in Rhodesia. Rhodesia, now named Zimbabwe since independence in 1980, was formerly a British colony (Msindo, 2016). In this nation, the white population held authority, and the indigenous peoples became the supressed underclass after land was apportioned by colour and race under colonial administration, with white inhabitants claiming the majority of the acreage (Msindo, 2016). In situating white New Zealanders as less racist than the colonisers of Rhodesia by virtue of landing in A-NZ, the corollary implied is that racism emerges from context rather than deviant individuals. Additionally, the statement, 'if you were there, you would be a racist too', enables a transference of blame from a personal context to a socio-historical perspective. There is also a sense of colonial superiority from this passage; that no matter the country or situation, the white colonisers will dominate.

Extract 16:

Geoffrey: And you would have become a racist, uhm, in that way, you would have had a war, et cetera, but you came here, on a different ship, and you had to do the work yourself, you know what I mean? There was no (.) no labour, et cetera, so you became this quiet person, not a quiet, sort of less communicative person that gets

on with the job // You know, they're not shy about, you know, you've got to do this work, you've got to do it on your own. You can't turn around anywhere (.hh) whereas, in Africa, you know, we were always turning around to someone and, you know, ordering them about or something like that, so, in terms of, uhm, uh, I, you know, I, I, I, I, I, I c-, because I was at university with a lot of Rhodesians, I say tha-, they're exactly the same. It's just in a different environment, and basically it's British stock

In extract 16, and in the leadup to it, the speaker uses favourable descriptions and comparisons between Pākehā and Rhodesians to serve as a bridge for his critical reviews of both of these groups. This strategy enables him to situate Pākehā as resilient on the one hand, and ignorant and racist on the other. Strategic distancing is a common approach used by participants in order to maintain a denial of racism through separation. In this particular segment, the speaker distances himself using an essentialist approach stating that although he is English, he is essentially different from those racist ones, 'from a different line, and, or maybe a bit Mongol, mixed descent'.

Ethnic divide

The following extract provides an illustration of how participants managed discussions regarding division between Māori and Pākehā. The implication of the existence of analogous racial division across both A-NZ and SA was used in the leadup to this passage with the assertion, 'it's actually a different country but the routine is the same'. Explicit description of the divide between Māori and Pākehā were also made prior to this passage of talk.

Extract 17:

Katryn: [Just look at the kids in school there's there's there's even in school in because my kids are in [name of school in A-NZ]=

Lihan: Ja you see...

Katryn: =they talk they talk about 'the black kids' // =and they talk about 'the white kids' ...

Katryn: =because my girls came home the one day and they said mom do you know what they call the Māoris? They call them 'the black kids' but they not black mom=

Lihan: But they not black really

Katryn: =but they're really nice people

Lihan: Ah um

Katryn: So ja // So there is definitely an undercurrent of [racism between even even at school

The talk of racism and ethnic divide within schools in the comment, 'even in school', gives further evidence and justification for the speaker's argument that racial division in NZ is equivalent to SA. This comment illustrates that racism is inherent in the social structure of A-NZ society, that even school-aged kids demonstrate this, hence it is engrained in kids. The strategy of making comparisons between A-NZ and participants home country, enables targets to legitimise and justify their argument of ethnic separation in A-NZ, whilst also moving racist judgement off the speaker and their group. This deflection strategy serves to portray New Zealanders as just as racist as South Africans, and hence, transfers such discriminatory actions and assessments off the speaker (Lentin, 2016). It brings with it an underlying awareness that both nations function in a social framework of divide and separation. Further, the reference to colour categories in the comment, 'they're not really black, but they're really nice people', could imply a connection to a political category, or, contrastingly, it could read as a racial categorisation employed as a way of recognising shared oppression and solidarity.

Social hierarchy

Cultural superiority and social hierarchy were strong topics throughout the interviews and are explicitly illustrated in extract 18. This passage of talk, demonstrates Pākehā as established in their own superiority, and it positions them as racist, firstly toward Māori, and then also to South Africans who are also situated as being on the outside, although superficially accepted due to their white skin. In this extract, white New Zealanders are constructed as an

arrogant dominant group, who disregard other cultures, whom they view as socially inferior. The legacy of colonisation and its ongoing influence within A-NZ is portrayed by such constructions.

Extract 18:

Marna: =And then they say they're not racist. But, then (.) why aren't they friends with (.) people from other cultures? // If they're not racist. Why? Why are their friends, and their close friends, and people they invite to their homes (.) ONLY (.) other white people // You know, it ca- (.) I, I would be (.) sort of, acceptable on (.) a superficial level because my skin is white // But, I'm still (.) other // Still labelled (.) other. [(.) And that's shocking!

Similarly, cultural authority was also identified in a study by Pack et al. (2016a), where Māori participants talked about their experiences of relating to Pākehā. They spoke of numerous ways in which they experienced the norm of Pākehā superiority, with one participant stating, "it's something inbred!, that says I (Pākehā) am superior" (Pack et al., 2016a, p. 102). In the current study, participants referred to these colonial structures of white domination on both a socio-cultural and a structural level.

In extract 18, Marna expressed her surprise at being labelled 'other', in her statement, 'and that's shocking!'. This statement seems to convey that perhaps it is no surprise that Māori are discriminated against, but for her with white skin, to be separated is execrable. It could also be a reflection of white superiority and white blindness; that it is standard practice to discriminate against people of colour, but to discriminate against white is outside the standard. Or, perhaps her surprise is at the disruption to her status of white dominance that she previously held in SA. All of these possibilities relate to Foucault's theory of state racism (Foucault, 2006), in which racism works on several levels to uphold power hierarchies and white superiority is reproduced in talk and via concealed power structures.

Workplace hierarchy – systemic racism

Institutionalised racism and the prevalent nature of systemic white domination are commonly drawn on by participants in the current study. In the next extract, Marna delineates the workplace hierarchy at a college she worked at in A-NZ. Similar to the previous extract, systematically, Pākehā are positioned at the top of the hierarchy, followed by white foreigners, with 'brown-skins', situated at the lowest level of the hierarchy. Like the social hierarchy depicted in extract 18, the construction of workplace hierarchy in extract 19 demonstrates that continuing systemic inequality related to colonisation are persistent and stable in A-NZ. Similarly, discrimination around employment was a pervasive facet in the talk of Aboriginal participants in a study by Quayle and Sonn (2013). Discourses of prevailing inferiority experienced within the social and workplace hierarchy were prevalent, with one participant stating, 'you have to be white to be right' (Quayle & Sonn, 2013, p. 563). Similarly, in (Pack et al., 2016b), overt racism was experienced by Māori in the workplace, with one participant being questioned by a Pākehā colleague as to what he was doing holding a professional position.

Extract 19:

Marna: When I worked at a college here (..) the, the management, middle-management, a:nd sort of head of departments, all the (.) s-, the upper echelon were all (.) white Kiwi's // =And then the next tier down, would be (.) your white foreigners, like the South Africans // And then, the lowest level would be the (.) brown-skins // =Which is just TERRIBLE! // But, if you come in as a foreigner from the outside, you will get very little attention and very little friendliness [from the upper echelons

In extract 19, Marna expresses her shock at this hierarchical arrangement, which suggests this was not her experience in her homeland of SA. This deflection strategy works to blame and condemn A-NZ systems whilst silently situating her homeland as virtuous. Labelling by colour is illustrated here, with almost a derogatory quality in calling Māori 'brown-skins'. Pākehā superiority is alluded to once again by Marna's statement in the final line of this extract,

implying that, despite being white, there is still distance between the majority ethnic group and herself as a migrant. She points to an innate sense of privilege from the majority group in A-NZ. This type of systemic advantage by the dominant group is expressed throughout Māori-Pākehā relationship literature in relation to social, educational, and institutional dimensions.

Separation by categorisation

In the following extract, Mieke uses categorisation and generalisations to negotiate the characterisations she likes in her daughter-in-law whose mother is Pākehā and father is Māori.

Extract 20:

Mieke: Yes lots, lots of warmth and, no, I am very fond of her because, uhm, she has, now her mom is Pākehā. And she is the go getter, you know, studies and so forth, like my daughter-in-law. Studied far and very good with sport and everything (.hh) but she has the;. Also that gentle side, the Island, Islander side that. You know, that for me is very attractive. So, uhm, I think there is a, there is kind of a big difference between (.) New Zealanders and, ah I mean the Pākehā and the other…

Interviewer: Yes, that that, that is actually one of my questions. There is a distinction drawn between Pākehā and Māori.

Mieke: Yes, definitely // They say Māori time and Māori // MDO they say ( ) Māori day off // Because the Māori do that, they can phone in sick and they can if (.) of one has died, very much like we learned in SA with the black people, you know // They, uh, uh, with them a death is a big thing // Here as well // For the Māoris, you know, it's their rituals // And they take days off and they all go and drive far // But they support their people // The funeral and (.hh) you know, that is uhm, and then after a while they go back to gather again, and so so // Uhm:, yes, and also if one is very ill ar (.) with, with a child or so that is ill and so forth, uhm, for them work is number two // You know their family, and they don't care if the boss gets cross

In describing her daughter in law, Mieke uses positive descriptors to depict both her Pākehā and her Māori side, negotiating the characterisations that she likes, and positioning them as either Pākehā or Māori qualities. Māori characteristics are reduced to constructions of

loyalty, gentleness and openness that were approved of, and were positioned in contrast to constructions of Pākehā related to success and individual drive, such as 'she is the go getter'. Similar rhetorical patterns were seen in Wetherell and Potter (1992), where Pākehā used descriptors such as, 'It's this innate shyness they've got', as an apparent praise of Māori.

The speaker shifts from positive characterisations to traits that are not traditionally admired under western ideals when using the derogatory term, 'Māori day off,' to illustrate traditional rituals and family values esteemed by Māori. Several of the participants in this study spoke of resonating with the family values and practices of Māori which they constructed as corresponding to their own family-centric principles. This is expanded on in the next theme, where, contrary to the standard racism rhetoric, themes of connection and resonance with Māori norms and values are illustrated.

Theme 4: Cultural affiliation

Interestingly, several participants provided a counter-narrative that breaks away from the typical rhetoric noted in previous studies regarding Māori and Pākehā relations. The following accounts depict a different relationship between Māori and migrants, a relationship of shared experience and common values. This discourse of connection moves away from the negative so it might provide a different way of viewing relationships for Pākehā, Tauiwi, and Māori. It is an illustration of how relationships can be enhanced by accepting and embracing norms and values of other cultures, as well as recognising one's own customs and practices in the traditions of varying groups. This provides an alternative to traditional discourse where acceptance is largely positioned purely around race.

Shared family values

In the following extract, Sune speaks of shared similarities between South Africans and Māori, in reference to the family unit, as well as shared cultural aspects. She then backs away

from her generalisation around the family unit similarities, stating, ‘maybe it’s just us’. Subsequently, Sune refers to a locational connection by stating, ‘there’s a lot of Māori around us’. These comments evoke a sense of tentativeness and cautiousness by the speaker which suggest that she knows she is providing an alternative discourse, one that is in contrast to dominant discourses sketched in previous sections.

Extract 21:

Sune:	= How they (Māori) see the family unit and things like that // Where, uhm, or maybe it’s just (.) us ( ) [chuckles] // (That), uhm, there’s a lot of Māori people around us // And just the way that they see their family, and how they (..) I don’t know, it’s just certain things in the culture that is more specific (.) // Uhm, that they:, they: share, or something like that.
Interviewer:	Can you, can you name something, that you’ve noticed that’s, strikes you as, as, similar?
Sune:	Uhm, yes. Like, we would say, uhm, out of respect, my, my auntie or whatever and they do exactly the same // = But the way that we, uhm, like the, the, the hangi and the potjiekos // It’s like that. There, there’s a lot of things // That, that’s quite similar, and just the way that they (.) uhm, treat their, like (.) for US, your elders are really important and you need to treat them with respect, and it’s, it’s exactly the same with the Māoris // Like if it’s, uhm (.) your grandmother can hit you over the head and that’s fine // If, yeah // things like that, and, uhm (..) yeah, there was just a, a lot of things that I, I sort of related more with the Māoris than with the Pākehā.

Specific examples of resemblances between SA culture and Māori culture are shared in extract 21, including the Māori Hangi and South African potjiekos, and a mutual respect of the family unit and extended family, in particular elders. Drawing on specific cultural practices works to paint a picture of connection between Māori and South Africans through such shared practices. Interesting similarities around shared food practices, or allies in food, were conveyed in early Chinese-Māori relationships, where Māori and Chinese shared their love of pork and fish, foods which Pākehā traditionally rejected (Ip, 2003). Mutual family culture and respect

for elders is also a narrative utilised to express connection with Māori by a South Asian participant in Salpitikorala's (2015) study of ethnic-minority migrant psychotherapists in A-NZ. A participant in that study stated, 'I feel like we just connect on so many different levels, you know in the sense of um, the way we treat our elders, the way we look at family'.

In extract 21, similarities regarding sense of community and extended family are expressed in the shared tradition of referring to elders as 'Auntie'. In a spirit of warmth and respect, Afrikaners refer to their elders as 'Oom' (uncle) and 'Tannie' (auntie), even when they are not family (McLennan-Dodd, 2003). Additionally, the account, 'your grandmother can hit you over the head and that's fine', suggests a set of practices (shared by both South Africans and Māori) that are available to your extended family that would not be tolerated in mainstream Pākehā culture. All of the rituals and practices conveyed in extract 21 work to position South Africans alongside Māori and in alignment with Māori community values. By way of omission, a distancing from Pākehā individualistic values is also portrayed. Additionally, a contrast between relationships with Māori and Pākehā is portrayed in the comment, 'I sort of related more with the Māoris than with the Pākehā'. Again, this highlights social separation from Pākehā, yet the inclusion of the term 'sort of', works to modulate this representation of separation from Pākehā and affiliation with Māori.

Oppression shared

Extract 22:

Jayden:	Māoris we get along (.) I suppose because (laugh) um the way their land got taken away they like the South Africans // is what I found
Interviewer:	Okay in what way what do you where do you see similarities?
Jayden:	I see similarities like oh bro you from Africa (.) oppression and bla bla I think they can relate to that when they see people from the SA they do they do like er (.) the South Africans // They tend to make a lot of friends with them // But they seem not to like Kiwis too much
Interviewer:	Who the Māori?

Jayden: Yea the Māori um because you know the lands

Interviewer: [Yea Yea do they talk to you about that?

Jayden: They talk [ja we talk openly about that [ja // Yea but and um (..) Kiwi um (...) they're a nice bunch occasionally you meet er somebody who's not nice but // A nice bunch

In extract 22, Jayden, the only Indian-South African in the study, and the only participant in the 20-30 age group, expresses a sense of kinship with Māori, underpinned by a shared experience of oppression and loss of land. There is a sense that Māori are able to share and talk about the hard stuff with Jayden in the remark, 'we talk openly about that', and, 'oh bro you from Africa oppression and blah blah', in reference to the shared experience of oppression, as well as, 'the way their land got taken away they like the South Africans', in relation to Māori opening up to him about their experience of land loss at the hands of the colonisers. A parallel is drawn between the loss of land for Māori under colonisation and the loss of land for South Africans, possibly referring to both or either the colonisation of SA and/or the experience of forced relocation under apartheid. Jayden signals a level of trust and safety between himself and Māori that is situated as not a feature of Māori and Pākehā relationships. The following comment in extract 22 is an illustration of this discourse, 'they (Māori) like er the South Africans, they tend to make a lot of friends with them (South Africans), but they don't seem to like Kiwis (Pākehā) too much'. There is a sense of connection and similarity between South Africans and Māori, whilst conversely, a suggestion of disconnection and distance between Māori and Pākehā.

Interestingly, in extract 22, the speakers meticulous description of his relationship with Māori, is in direct contrast to the (lack of) descriptive essence regarding his relationship with Pākehā in the comment, 'Yea but and um Kiwi um they're a nice bunch'. The approach of using generalisations works to create a sense of diplomacy, of defending the moral high-ground, so as not to offend. Another diplomacy tact is adopted following the dialogue in extract 22 where

the speaker breaks from a homogenous presentation of the Pākehā group by stating, 'the older cats er… they they sweet', and 'the veterans and all of them very sweet', in contrast to the middle aged, 'Ja just um middle aged (laugh) ones that have their own point of views'. In this exchange, the speaker links different practices to different generations, tactfully bringing awareness to an unspoken arrogance of the typical white dominant middle-aged men, whilst still maintaining a posture of respectfulness.

South African inclusion

In the following dialogue, Sune communicates her experience of being invited to share in A-NZ's Waitangi Day holiday celebrations with Māori. The commentary, 'they (Māori) associate Waitangi just for the Māori culture', serves as an illustration of Māori claiming the day for themselves. Following, she states, 'and not (.) with the Pākehā', which signifies a point of resistance against the dominant Pākehā. In this passage, an air of defiance by Māori is illustrated, that there is 'one holiday just for them'. And this occasion is an opportunity for alternate and marginalised voices to be heard. There is a sense that Māori rangatiratanga is respected, as was granted in the Treaty, if just for one day. That Māori are positioned as supreme, and observance and celebration of Waitangi Day is in direct opposition to the overall structure of A-NZ where the majority is 'owned' or controlled by Pākehā.

Extract 23:

Sune:	I I've heard some of the Māori people say that at least there's one holiday just for them // Yeah, they, they associate Waitangi just for the Māori culture and not (.) // With the Pākehā // I:, that's where I think it's a bit different when you're South African because (.) I was included in that I could celebrate Waitangi with them // Yes, so they, they sort of see us as okay, but it's the New Zealand Pākehā that they (.) don't wanna include in the celebration of the Waitangi
Interviewer:	Yeah. Why do you think that is?
Sune:	Just history // Where, where we don't really belong to the, the Pākehās // Because we're South Africans in their eyes = // Yeah

Interviewer:	Ja, so your experience is that for Māoris' South Africans are so-, a group that are (.) separate from (.) the Kiwi or Pākehā
Sune:	Kiwi or Pākehā, yup = // And in our, uhm, the depot that I was working in // Was predominantly Māori, and they had trouble before, with a Pākehā coming in // But then, when I came in it was sort of okay because they saw me as a South African, and not as a Pākehā // Yeah
Interviewer:	So it became easier for them to, to work with you, or (.)
Sune:	Yes
Interviewer:	Talk to you?
Sune:	Yes, because it wasn't that uhm (.) racial thing between them

In extract 23, Sune expresses a sense of community, that she is actively included in the celebration along with the Māori community. That they will share with her because she is South African which locates her outside of the Pākehā group. The discourse of separation from Pākehā and not belonging to that identity was common amongst participants, and expressed here in the comment, 'we don't really belong to the Pākehā'. This disclosure links to the aspirations for inclusion in the national identity for participants and the notion that as Tauiwi or migrants, they are actually a distinct group. In the comment, 'because it wasn't that uhm racial thing between them', Sune implies that the viewpoint of Māori is that white South Africans do not share the same group status as Pākehā, as they do not share in the history or the oppression of Māori. Sune distances herself from Pākehā and from A-NZ history, by maintaining that it is just something that happened between these two groups, and so, as a South African, she is excluded from it. And this status also allows her to be included alongside Māori in the Waitangi Day celebration, unlike Pākehā. Additionally, the term, 'that racial thing', suggests the idea that separation between two groups is the norm. This situates the separation historically, within the norm of the historical classification system of SA.

Embraced by Māori

In extract 24, Hannah expresses that Māori do not judge anything about her being South African, inferring by omission, that Pākehā use stereotypes in relation to those outside of their norm. Māori are portrayed as an open and non-judgemental group, for example: 'not one Māori person has ever said to me apartheid, rugby teams no', they've never judged me on my country or my whatever. They've never, they don't comment on my accent'. Māori are framed as perceiving difference of culture/language in a positive light, in the comment, 'they're positive'. That despite being white South African, she is embraced by Māori. Perhaps the element of surprise she exhibits is her expectation of being judged by Māori as she is white?

Extract 24:

Hannah:	= Yes, I found that (.) also, another difference I find is that I find the Māori people much more, and this also surprised me, than, they, not one Māori person has ever said to me (.h) aparthei:d, rugby tea:ms (.) no', they've never judged me = // = On my: (.) country or my: = // = whatever // They've never, they don't comment on my accent, they might say "Ah, where're you from?" and if I say South Africa, they (.hh) say "Ah, ja, you guys are good at rugby". They're positive = // They're not (.)
Interviewer:	So it's a different angle on =
Hannah:	= Yes! = // = Uh, I find them much more accepting, uh:m = // = Much more (.) inclusive (.hh) "Ah! You must come, come around and come along and" (.) // I, whereas the Pākehā, I find, I'm generalizing
Interviewer:	Yeah. Yeah, yeah. Yeah. [inviting the participant to continue] =
Hannah:	= A bit standoffish // = They take a long time [to ( )
Interviewer:	[( ) distance, ja =
Hannah	= But I also find the Pākehā who've lived and worked overseas, be it Australia, Singapore = // = The States, I find them (.) less: (.hh) closed or what's the word. =

Hannah generalises that Māori are more open and accepting, compared to Pākehā who are described as, 'a bit standoffish'. In this contrast Pākehā are situated as more closed and less inclusive, which is a positioning that other participants expressed also. The speaker in extract

24 seems to take great care so as not to offend by taking time to thoughtfully choose her words and at times not completing sentences, by stating that she is generalising, and by completing this passage of talk with an apparent concession. These discursive actions work to ensure that the speaker does not insult or appear critical, and the concession, 'but I also find the Pākehā who've lived and worked overseas I find them less closed or what's the word', works to soften her representation of Pākehā.

Sense of loss shared

Extract 25:

Jayden:	(.) I mean Māoris talk a lot about it they say they very disappointed and that there's not one thoroughbred Māori left they all extinct or something like that= // =going on about that yea
Interviewer:	So they speak of loss?
Jayden:	They speak of loss // It's a lot of the time um (..) um sure yea // Basically that hey // Speak of loss very disheartened by their situation and they can relate to us

In extract 25, Jayden illustrates how Māori express disappointment and a sense of loss around there not being any full Māori left. This can be interpreted as an expression of resistance for Māori in regards to colonisation and the forced assimilation that accompanied it. One participant from a A-NZ study of immigrant therapists shared a similar connection to Māori which they related to shared loss due to colonisation in the account, 'I am more likely to identify with Māori than with Pākehā, mainly because we were colonised too back in [home country], and we lost family, if you go back in our lineage' (Salpitikorala, 2015, p. 45).

In the next extract, Jayden talks about ways in which Māori have spoken to him about te Tiriti o Waitangi. In his comments, there is a strong emphasis on the economic impact of the colonisers noncompliance and dishonouring of te Tiriti on a disillusioned and saddened Māori peoples. Māori had developed successful entrepreneurial endeavours and had an abundance of

land prior to colonisation, so there could be an unspoken contrast to pre-colonisation expressed in this extract. The contrast of te Tiriti only having positive associations for wealthy Māori, again is an indication of the ongoing economic disadvantage of Māori due to colonisation.

Extract 26:

Jayden:	Ja they they they pretty much (.) um what they said was (.) hey you know bro they took our land from us it was rightfully ours and (.) um our species is extinct and now we all in poverty they I think I suppose it's the poverty aspect they all they don't have much money // Yea
Interviewer:	So the association around Waitangi is not a positive one?
Jayden:	No no // It probably never is for Māori except for one who's well to do // [And you see very few= // =which is um I don't think it's right

In extracts 22, 25, and 26, Jayden illustrates a certain level of trust and intimate connection in his relationship with Māori that allows for deep conversation around issues faced by Māori which was not expressed by other participants. This is significant as Jayden is the only Indian-South African interviewed and the only participant in the age range of 20-30 in the current study. All other participants, bar one, are in the age group 40-70, and all are white. This intimacy could perhaps be associated to him being a person of colour, or that his family originated from colonised India, so having a shared history. Likewise, considering group categorisation was used by participants to refer to the white middle aged Pākehā as a racist sub-group, it could relate to his age group, or perhaps he has simply had more opportunity for intimate contact with Māori.

Minority connection

In extract 27, Hannah talks about her interactions with Māori at a local gym. She expresses a connection with Māori based on the fact that they are both minority groups in A-NZ. She also talks about an easiness about Māori that supports unproblematic interactions with them, and they with her. Similar to previous extracts, a contrast to Pākehā is explicitly expressed, which conveys an apparent distance to Pākehā.

Extract 27:

Hannah:	And they were just so lovely = // = I really enjoyed = // = OK, they're not immigrants, or migrants =// = But they (..) they're minority groups // So, let me say, I (.) get on (..) much more easily and quickly with [minority groups here
Interviewer:	[Minority groups
Hannah:	Than with (.) the (.) main Pākehā =

Summary

In this section, data was analysed within a DA framework, having previously located four themes for further analyses. The four themes were neoliberal aspirations, naturalised whiteness, racism concealed under the guise of te Tiriti, and cultural affiliation. Discourses of the dominant Pākehā were employed at times, whilst simultaneously, discourses of minority Māori were also commissioned. Several noteworthy distinctive constructions were also engaged with relation to participants relationship with Māori, including, shared experience of oppression and loss, mutual values, and cultural membership. In the following section a concluding discussion of the analyses is presented. Thereafter, limitations and problems uncovered within the methodology are reported. Following, future research directions and research implications are considered, and finally, a conclusion is offered.

Chapter Five: Discussion and conclusions

Introduction

The central aim of this study was to examine characterisations of Māori and Pākehā relations in the talk of South African immigrants, who hold a unique position by virtue of having grown up in SA. Additionally, they also bring a particular knowledge and explicit history of race relations from an alternative context which is different to the A-NZ inter-ethnic relations context. Much of the discourse that came to the fore in this study corresponded with previous literature on the topic, and some fascinating and distinctive positionings were also assumed. Shifting subject positions were navigated by participants who at times employed the dominant constructions of Pākehā such as Māori entitlement, complicit disadvantage, and white superiority. Equally, they assumed minority discourses and subject positions of Māori of separation, Pākehā ignorance, and overt racism. Several thought-provoking alternative constructions were engaged, including common values, shared experience, and cultural membership with Māori. Four overarching themes were explored in this study, which were: neoliberal aspirations, racism concealed under the guise of te Tiriti, naturalised whiteness, and cultural affiliation. Interrelatedness can be found between all four themes, illustrating the multifaceted nature of racism. In this section, the core findings are considered in relation to the research aim and in association with prevailing literature.

Discussion of results

Participants commonly adopted discursive constructions of the dominant Pākehā in the discourse of neoliberal aspirations. This type of conversation was embedded with colonialist discourses of economic ideals, individualistic assumptions of personal responsibility, and even-handedness. Western ideology was evident in discourses of individual responsibility for success. These postures were diversely characterised in such examples as: ‘a lot of them have

no aspirations' (Extract 1), 'it's, very, very attractive to trace some Māori into your blood' (Extract 5), and 'do they raise themselves up' (Extract 8). In such discourses, Māori are positioned as intentionally underprivileged, and cunning in their appropriation of available resources, which they were positioned as obtaining with a sense of entitlement. Parallels to such discourses were found in the talk of A-NZ politicians in Liu and Robinson (2016). They labelled such discourses as, 'universal potential of the disadvantaged' and 'Māori Agency'. Additionally, corresponding rhetoric was revealed in the talk of white Australians in Augoustinos et al. (1999), where First Nations peoples were positioned as deficient in their capacity to assimilate to western and individualistic ideals of 'every man for himself'. Arguments such as these are made acceptable by impressions of reasonableness and concern that are enfolded in them.

Further, participants in the current study sometimes situated themselves as equally disadvantaged to Māori due to their immigrant status and, occasionally, owing to English not being their first language. This type of rational assertion positions Māori as unreasonable and unwilling to succeed, despite receiving more resources than similarly disadvantaged immigrants. Such arguments were termed 'rhetorically self-sufficient' by Wetherell and Potter (1992), who resolve that the reasonableness and rationality of such claims makes disputing them at least tricky, and maybe even impossible. In a more blatant and blunt fashion, intolerance of Māori obtaining resources was expressed in phrases such as, 'he can pull the Māori card' (extract 2), and 'it's like blackmail' (Extract 7). Similar discourses of disparagement of Māori were exposed within media rhetoric by Beddoe (2014), in which Māori are scrutinised and maligned as welfare-dependent brutes. Beddoe proposes that such discourse works to stimulate societal anxiety by identifying one group as undermining social cohesion and security.

These discourses of fairness and economic ideals employed in the talk of targets in the current study, were comparable to the 'white man's burden' discourse exposed in the talk of

white Australians in Augoustinos et al. (1999). Dialogue in the current study often turned to matters of white financial burden, in statements such as: 'can you (Māori) expect that much?' (Extract 1), and 'I'm the taxpayer' (Extract 6). Such common sense discourses were a frequent feature of talk concerning resource allocation and te Tiriti claims. Comments such as, 'most people want to end it' (Extract 5), were used to express concern as a general consensus of the overall population. This discursive strategy serves to allow the speaker to couch their viewpoint as representative of the perspective of the majority (Fozdar, 2008), and is commonly employed in racism discourse literature to deflect accusations of racism (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Pākehā participants in Wetherell and Potters' (1992) study employed corresponding rhetoric, labeled as 'taken for granted' discourses, such as, 'you can't turn back the clock'.

At times, parallels between A-NZ's bicultural policy and SA's historic apartheid policy were explicitly illustrated. This is exhibited in the following account, 'few people realise, that what was in SA, their apartheid period, is where A-NZ is currently, since a minority is being super protected and boosted and supported with everything possible' (Extract 3). Such suggestions insinuate that Māori development policy is a cause for alarm and concern. Interestingly, comparisons with apartheid were made to express similarities in the economic advancement of Māori, as well as to argue white hierarchy, Pākehā racism, Māori and Pākehā separation, and segregation. In making such comparisons, historical subtlety and specificity is erased and A-NZ is positioned as racist by suggestion of relative resemblance to apartheid. Such discursive moves also work to deflect accusations of racism away from the speaker (Lentin, 2016).

Constructions adopted in the current study regarding biculturalism in A-NZ signify the gap between the theoretical acceptance of biculturalism and the 'real-world' acknowledgement of it. That is, according to policy and law, Māori have equality, however, according to social indicators, equitable outcomes are not a reality. Along with that dissonance, there was a sense

that A-NZ and New Zealanders advertise exemplar Māori-Pākehā relations under the trademark of te Tiriti, when the reality is a relationship grounded in colonial ideals and white ideology. Such dissonance was also noted about apartheid in the comment, 'we should have had a Treaty instead of calling it apartheid, you know, and then um yip, then the world would have viewed it differently' (extract 12). This is supported by Hill (2010), who acknowledges that the argument of A-NZ having exemplar Māori-Pākehā relations comes from a viewpoint of white supremacy. Fleras and Spoonley (1999) also support these narratives of dissonance by asserting that support for biculturalism in A-NZ is inconsistent, and that right-wing traditionalists in A-NZ do not endorse even the most minimal form of biculturalism.

Discourses of social, cultural, and systemic separation of Māori and Pākehā, embedded in Pākehā superiority and ignorance were commonly constructed within the current study. Social distance was at times expressed as racial segregation, in such comments as, 'if ever I see Pākehā, there's never Māoris there' (extract 13). These observations are consistent with constructions of Pākehā ignorance perpetuated by social distance in the talk of Māori, and partners of Māori, in Pack et al. (2016a). In that study, the apparent social separation and scarcity of interactions between Māori and Pākehā is implicated in reinforcing Pākehā ignorance with regard to Māori values, culture, and biculturalism. Additionally, constructions of social distance were also a feature in the talk of Māori participants in Te Hiwi (2008). According to Allport's (1979) contact theory, under specific circumstances, contact connecting two groups can stimulate acceptance and lessen intolerance. Further, Stephan and Stephan (2001) assert that even though contact theory is imperfect, it may be the most impactful formulation for discrimination reduction and a grounding for enhanced race relations. Significantly, under the Māori value of Kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face engagement), social bonds and connections promote understanding, thus, social connection is esteemed in Māori culture (O'Carroll, 2013).

Participants in the current study put forward various arguments for immigrant inclusion within the national identity. In one example of this, a participant assumed a discourse of 'one race, the human race' (extract 9), to argue for all New Zealanders to be treated equally. Such dialogue is similar to discourses of white Australians and New Zealanders (Augoustinos et al., 1999; McCreanor, 1989; Wetherell & Potter, 1992) and of Māori, as illustrated in Pack (2016). In Pack (2016), one participant who identified as Māori, revealed an interesting rhetorical treatise in the application of the label, 'Ngati Kiwi' to argue for 'one nation' and togetherness. Interestingly, this discourse of one nation has been employed in both racist and anti-racist talk. Frequently, discourses of support for multicultural acknowledgement were endorsed by the argument that immigrants are made to feel invisible in the nation's identity and policy. Further, an undercurrent of discomfort and irritation with being labelled Pākehā was also evident in the dialogue of participants. The sentiment was that as immigrants, participants embody a separate identity over and above existing possibilities within the framework of A-NZ's bicultural parameters. And, that they can only hold a position in the national identity if they identify as Pākehā. This argument was comparably made by migrant participants, in a study of Asian students who endorsed the sentiment of existing outside of the national identity (Omura, 2014). In spite of this, following Tiriti edification, participants in Omura's (2014) study acknowledged a transformed reverence for A-NZ's Tiriti and its bicultural composition.

There has been significant debate regarding the tensions of bicultural verses multicultural policy in A-NZ, both for and against the maintenance of a bicultural vision. Falcous (2007), asserts that Tauiwi identity is obscured under current policy, thereby supporting participants' accounts in this research. Conversely, Huygens (2006) and Walker (1987) support the condition of biculturalism and consider it a requirement to honouring te Tiriti and to realigning Māori and Pākehā toward equitable relationship. Further, Grbic (2010) maintains that immigration is a point of anxiety for Māori interested in defending their culture. Support

for multicultural acknowledgement is found in a study of South African immigrants in Australia, where Australian multiculturalism was constructed positively, in such comments as, 'everyone is included' (McKenzie & Gressier, 2017). Indeed, Hage (2000) proposes that the notion of multicultural harmony is entangled with white power. That is, the 'other' is restricted to certain areas, whilst the core authority of whiteness is impenetrable due to the compliance of the confined 'other' (Hage, 2000). Similarly, rhetoric in the current study regarding national belonging demonstrated constrictions around what constitutes 'New Zealandness'. Such constructions of non-belonging in the national identity are supported by Hage (2000), who argues that ethnic discrimination is a barrier to national belonging.

This connects to the next theme of naturalised whiteness, where a place in the national identity is constructed as unattainable for people outside of Pākehā identity. The theme of naturalised whiteness is communicated by typical monocultural expectations about what is deemed as natural and normal. Whiteness is constructed as being at the top of ethnic hierarchy in multiple capacities; controlling educational, social, and workplace spheres. Further, white New Zealanders in the current study were often labelled as 'Kiwis', or 'New Zealanders', as opposed to Māori who were 'othered' from the national identity. These observations are consistent with findings from an investigation of media depictions in A-NZ, by Barnes et al. (2012), in which Pākehā were regularly situated as the norm against which ethnic minorities were measured. Similarly, constructions of invisible whiteness were found in the talk of Māori participants in Te Hiwi (2008), with one participant stating, 'Pākehā is 'normal' rather than Pākehā, they get to not think about who they are, how that impacts people'. In addition, Wetherell and Potter (1992) assert that Māori nationhood is still a mostly unvoiced discourse.

Despite Fleras and Spoonley's (1999, p. 150) proclamations that A-NZ is currently undergoing a "crisis of national identity", the evidence illustrates a sustained colonial hierarchy and white national identity. However, perhaps the beginnings of the crumbling, or at least the

interrogation of that hierarchy, is what Fleras and Spoonley (1999, p. 150) make reference to in their comments that A-NZ, "seems to have lost that cocky assurance of who it is, why it exists, where it stands in the global scheme of things, how it should relate to its neighbours, and where it should be going". Consedine (2015, p. 114) highlights the necessity for Pākehā to consider fundamental structural changes via the appreciation of indigene philosophy, which would require a "decolonised, Treaty literate population grounded in a basic understanding of tikanga". Relatedly, constructions of Tiriti literacy leading to an enhanced understanding of Māori culture and bicultural awareness for immigrants was illustrated in Omura (2014). Hence, A-NZ policy of Māori-led Tiriti education could likely lead to the enhancement of Pākehā and Tauiwi understanding of Māori culture and bicultural awareness and recognition.

Ethnic hierarchy based on colour and grounded in eurocentrism is a feature of talk in the current study. For example, one participant professed that although she is still labelled 'other', she is superficially accepted because she is white (extract 18). Jones (1999), emphasises that classification by colour is loaded with social connotations of privilege on the one hand, and disadvantage on the other. In the USA, for instance, black typically signifies socioeconomic hardship, whilst white denotes mental and pecuniary privilege (Jones, 1999). Assertions such as these are supported by the constructions of colour hierarchy by participants in the current study. Hierarchical superiority discourses are also located within the talk of Māori who constructed Pākehā as having an 'innate superiority' (Pack et al., 2016a), and who were 'looked down at' by Pākehā (Te Hiwi, 2008). In the current study, South African immigrants referred to colonial structures of white domination on both a socio-cultural and a structural level, including racism in the workplace and in the school system.

Findings of institutional racism have been recognised in previous literature, including in education (Hynds et al., 2017), health (Talamaivao et al., 2020), the justice system and policing (Fergusson et al., 1993; Tauri, 2005), housing (Robson & Harris, 2007), and the

workplace (Pack et al., 2016b). In line with constructions of workplace hierarchy evident in the current study, workplace inequity and inferiority within employee hierarchy was a feature in the talk of Aboriginal participants in Australia (Quayle & Sonn, 2013). Additionally, overt racism in the workplace, which was also a feature of talk in the current study, was reported by a Māori participant in Pack et al. (2016b). Furthermore, bias in personnel selection processes for immigrants in A-NZ have also been found, with Australian, British, and South African candidates being preferred over Pasifika and Asian candidates (Coates & Carr, 2005). These observations are consistent with the construction of workplace hierarchical systems based on colour illustrated by participants in the current study, where 'brown-skins' were located as lower in ranking, with Pākehā superior, and white immigrants in the centre.

Such discourses of institutional racism grounded in individualistic values were also observed in an A-NZ study of immigrants by Salpitikorala (2015, p. 41), where differing value systems were identified as a constraint to progress. One participant stated, 'people of my culture struggle though their studies because we have a different value system, if somebody dies, there's a baptism, they leave their study'. Dominant white discourses were sometimes adopted by targets in the current study to indicate a separation in value systems between community beliefs of Māori and the governing western tenets of Pākehā. One participant related, 'they say Māori time and Māori MDO they say Māori Day Off… they can phone in sick … it's their rituals' (extract 20). This passage of talk acknowledges the divergent values and principles of Māori in comparison to the dominant values of Pākehā. Once again, this illustrates the restrictions that the enduring individualistic framework of A-NZ pose for Māori who endorse community values.

According to Spoonley (1988), such divergence in cultural values, and the dominant acceptance of one set of cultural values over the other, drives institutional racism. In particular, he refers to the prevailing values of materialism and avarice, as an authoritative approach which

influences and guides the economy, thereby, ensuring the structural authority of the dominant, whilst also stimulating and maintaining racial hierarchy. Hence, discrimination of ethnic groups is continued by hierarchical societal constructions. This idea can be related to Foucault's metaphorical concept of Panopticon, where control is implemented by the invisibility and superiority of the white gaze, assigning the 'other' to their own internalised suppression (Foucault, 1977). Whilst this concept is traditionally related to social control within institutions via surveillance, a discrete modern version of this idea is illustrated in the concealment of hegemony under the norm of whiteness. This concept also provides support for bringing attention to the dominance of whiteness that prevails in A-NZ. Foucault (2006) proclaims that racism is enmeshed in the mechanisms of the state; a theory he termed 'state racism'. The theory of state racism contends that prejudice and segregation are tools of the state that work to preserve the status quo through power relations and protect the majority against the danger of the minority. Henceforth, minorities' prospects are regulated via institutional racism with the intention of the betterment of society. Support for Foucault's theory of state racism is provided in the findings of social and institutional hierarchy in the current study.

As previously highlighted, separation and social distance between Māori and Pākehā were common discourses in the current study, including within the final theme of cultural affiliation. In this theme, accounts of inclusion and connection between Māori and South African immigrants are intertwined with (often understated) inferences of social distance from Pākehā for both Māori and South African immigrants. In some cases, this discourse was explicitly stated, but more commonly, it was discreetly implied, or implied by way of omission. To imply by omission, participants cited positive experiences of their relationship with Māori, which implicitly produced a contrast to their relationship with Pākehā. In a similar fashion, positive (or sometimes negative) aspects of Māori were characterised, which invokes a sense that Pākehā are without that characteristic and, thereby, possess the opposite feature.

However, this binary was not consistent, as participants' often oscillated between supporting Maori and criticising them. This is consistent with Wetherell and Potter's (1992) recognition that such fluctuating subject-positioning deflects accusations of intolerance and prejudice whilst concurrently demonstrating benevolence and concern. Similarly, speakers used several rhetoric approaches to create a sense of diplomacy, not wanting to offend, and to uphold the moral high ground. Such strategies are consistent with mitigation strategies delineated by Condor et al. (2006), (Rojas-Sosa, 2016), and Van Dijk (1992), who illustrate that such passiveness is employed to minimise the bearing of racism. Interestingly, in the current study, this strategy was often used to avoid insulting Pākehā. Particularly in the final theme, participants used detailed and vivid description of their relationship with Māori, in comparison with the broad and non-committal portrayal of their connection with Pākehā. Another mediation strategy utilised was in severing from a standardised illustration of Pākehā, by remarking on the disparaging features of a sub-group of the population, rather than the entire group. Further, the rhetorical manoeuvre of distancing was employed by participants in order to position themselves outside of the history of A-NZ, and hence, separate themselves from the oppression and subjugation of Māori. Such rhetorical distancing is described as one of Alana Lentin's three Ds in the management of post-racial racism rhetoric, the other two being denial and deflection (Lentin, 2016), which were also commonly employed in the current study. Such discursive manoeuvres were employed in a multitude of ways, seemingly, in order to counteract an assessment of the speaker being racist.

Of particular significance was the counter-narrative of cultural connection with Māori that a few participants offered. In such narratives, participants presented accounts of inclusion, shared history of oppression and loss, and shared family values. Such alternative accounts provide a disconnect from the standard rhetorical patterns replicated in talk concerning Māori and Pākehā relations. They provide a demonstration of how interactions can be enriched and

connections enhanced by the appreciation and acceptance of other groups norms, as well as the appreciation of seeing one's own traditions and rituals within the practices of varying cultures. Participants' constructions of connection on the basis of shared experience were similarly exposed in a A-NZ study of immigrant therapists by Salpitikorala (2015). One participant expressed a shared loss due to colonisation in their account, 'I am more likely to identify with Māori than with Pākehā, mainly because we were colonised too back in [home country], and we lost family, if you go back in our lineage' (Salpitikorala, 2015).

Other alternative accounts of shared values and rituals offer an affirmative and progressive variation to the standard negative discourse which is usually based upon the depreciation of the other groups' cultural and racial differences. Rotorua's Apumoana Marae chair, Bob Te Aonui, shared the following sentiments regarding relations between the Hindu and Māori communities; "I believe with any other culture out there, share with us and we'll find similarities. We all have whakapapa" (Bathgate, 2021, p. 1). His sentiments resonate deeply with the constructions of connection through similar cultural practices that some participants in the current study expressed. These included a set of distinctive practices that would not be recognised under Pākehā traditions. In such accounts, South African participants positioned themselves as respecting collective community-based values and, by contrast, rejecting the individualistic values of Pākehā. Constructions of shared family values and respect for elders in this study were similarly identified by Salpitikorala (2015). Such accounts were also repeated by Hindu Council's Guna Magesan, who addressed parallels between Māori and Hindu communities in regard to supporting extended family and respecting elders (Bathgate, 2021). Accounts of cultural connection are also found in discourses of reconciliation of white Australians in Green and Sonn (2005). However, the rhetoric in that particular study was imbedded in white norms and superiority that reproduced whiteness by fixing on crude resolutions of anti-racism, grounded in determinist understandings of Aboriginal culture and

peoples (Green & Sonn, 2005). In contrast, constructions of cultural connection in the current study were centred on relationships being enhanced by both groups ability to recognise their own rituals and practices in the traditions and customs of divergent groups, which differs significantly from the connections in Green and Sonn.

In fact, a thought-provoking replacement for conventional discourse of seeing the 'other' in the self was offered by a few participants. Exceptional and incomparable conversation was generated by one participant in the current study, who demonstrated a degree of confidence and connection in his relationship with Māori. This relationship was grounded in mutual experience of oppression and loss and allowed for Māori to confide in him differently than was expressed by other participants. Significantly, Jayden was the only Indian-South African participant, and the only participant in the age range of 20-30. Except for one other participant in the 30-40 age bracket, all were 40-70 years old. Additionally, all other participants were white. Hence, whilst it is inappropriate to assume, there is a likelihood that this divergence in bond could be related to the participants age group, or to him being a person of colour, or both. In this study, Pākehā racism was sometimes compartmentalised by age group, with the middle-aged Pākehā pigeonholed as a racist subset. Hence, Māori may be less likely to build a deep relationship with people in the category of white middle-aged. In line with this hypothesis, a survey considering racist attitudes in Australia found that racial hierarchy was most positively associated with the older age groups of 65-plus and 35-64, than the younger group of under 35 (Dunn et al., 2004). In the same study, the 35-plus age groups showed more prejudice toward ethnic variability and were associated with having the power to determine which ethnic groups do not fit into Australia's identity. Furthermore, a Filipino migrant living in Sydney, associated power as being the territory of the middle-aged white subgroup, and commented, 'I guess I could change my skin-colour', as the only opportunity for him to reach the top of such hierarchy (Aquino, 2016, p. 115).

In addition to accounts of shared connection with Māori, a discourse of Māori defiance and rebellion against Pākehā is assumed in talk relating to Waitangi Day celebrations, a day which is constructed as a celebration only for Māori culture. One participant assumed a position of privileged comrade, having been given exclusive right by Māori to participate in the celebrations with them. In discourse around Waitangi Day, there is a sense that, if just for one day, the alternative voice of Māori is heeded. And, there is a sense of Māori freedom that enables Māori as a collective to embody rangatiratanga that, under the obligations of te Tiriti, is rightfully theirs. On this day, it seems that the Māori position in the national framework and the national identity is firmly solidified. Such alternative delineation illustrates that, by binary distinction, every other day Māori voice is silenced, Māori rangatiratanga is dishonoured, and Māori's positioning in the national structure and identity is inhibited. And, if the influence of Māori can be heeded for just one day, indeed, might it provide aspiration for enduring expression, autonomy, and authority of the marginalised indigene of Aotearoa.

Limitations

The researcher acknowledges that the participant selection method may have introduced some limitations. Recruitment was instigated via invitations sent out to various South African clubs and societies. Despite being an effective recruitment technique, this method could have given rise to a less diverse sample, and hence, less typical of South African immigrants in A-NZ. Furthermore, selection by self-recruitment could have influenced the sample to some extent as people with certain characteristics may have been stimulated apply.

Further, a limitation recognised is that all participants with the exception of one are classed as white under South Africans historical classification system. This restricts the availability of divergent subject-positioning. Endeavours made to engage participants from other groups were unsuccessful. Future research would profit from a more comprehensive representation of South Africans participants from all of the historic categories of 'Coloured',

'Indian-South African', and 'Black'. Interestingly, the only Indian-South African participant in the study illustrated a strong trust and bond with Māori, hence, future research could investigate if this outcome would generalise across other 'non-white' groups.

Despite the age range of 15 participants (one participant did not disclose their age), being 21-66 years, the average age was 51. The youngest participant, and the only target in their 20s, constructed alternative discourses to other participants. Interestingly, the only other participant aged under 40 years, Sune, also provided contrasting data in relation to positive relationships and understanding with Māori. In some studies, age and discourses appear to be unconnected (Pack, 2016), yet in other studies, younger participants have an increased sensitivity to racism (Broman et al., 2000). This increased awareness to discrimination implies that younger targets may have constructed alternative findings. However, the lack of younger participants in the current study meant that all except the youngest participant would have grown up and spent at least their early adulthood in apartheid-era SA (prior to 1994). Hence, for the purposes of this study, the age range was appropriate.

Lastly, the researcher of the current study did not take part directly in the interview process as this study was part of a bigger research project. Hence, this could result in a moderated appreciation for subtleties employed by the interviewees' such as body language, voice tone, and facial expressions. However, the project was supervised by van Ommen, and as the interviewer he was able to clarify any matters that surfaced regarding interview subtleties.

Future research directions and research implications

This is the first study in A-NZ to analyse the talk of South African immigrants regarding Māori and Pākehā relationships. Similarities were found in the patterns of talk of South African immigrants in the current study, and the talk of Pākehā (Tuffin, 2008; Wetherell & Potter, 1992), and white Australians (Augoustinos & Every, 2007; Augoustinos et al., 1999), suggesting that these discourses are authoritative, prevalent, and stable. Parallels were also

found between the talk of targets in this study and the conversation of Māori in Pack et al. (2016a). Thought-provoking alternative discourses was also located in the current study, illustrating possibilities for different ways of negotiating relationships between Māori, Pākehā, and Tauiwi in A-NZ. Future research could involve a more heterogenous immigrant group, involving a more divergent age-range, and a wider representation from the categories of South Africa's historic classification system. The fact that the majority of alternate discourses that developed in the current study were in the talk of the two youngest participants provides support for this intent. Additionally, unique constructions of a genuine connection between Māori and the only Indian-South African target emerged, which was based upon mutual understanding, proximity, and trust. Hence, support for further research involving a more diverse collection of SA immigrants is offered in these results.

Further, the vast majority of targets in the current study resided in either Auckland or Wellington, hence, it would be of interest to include South African immigrants from other regions of A-NZ. One of the three participants who live in smaller regional towns in A-NZ offered distinctive constructions of shared experiences and shared values with Māori which provides support for the consideration of recruiting targets from various regions in A-NZ.

In the current study, multicultural aspirations of South African immigrants were constructed. In the A-NZ context, Walker (1987) considers that biculturalism should remain the foundation of A-NZ relationships, as it works to constrain Pākehā supremacy. Further, Mok (2004) suggests migrant support of biculturalism and te Tiriti is imperative to interrupting the present circumstances of Pākehā domination. Migration has also been cited as a disquiet for Māori, and Pākehā have shown support for assimilation of minorities (Grbic, 2010). Hence, further investigations regarding Māori viewpoints, as well as other migrant groups standings with regard to multicultural objectives may be beneficial. The idea for a multicultural structure that is situated as distinctly separate from current bicultural ideals and which does not encroach

on bicultural aspirations could also be examined. This notion is supported by Fleras and Spoonley (1999), who propose a bicultural political structure to exist inside of a social multicultural arrangement.

Within current racism literature in A-NZ, the discourse of oneness, expressed in the current research as, 'one race: the human race', has been utilised for both racist and anti-racist purposes. Māori targets in Pack et al. (2016c), conveyed support for this discourse, whilst, conversely, prevailing studies illustrate that such unification could produce results of integration and assimilation (McCreanor, 1997). Constructions of an overriding dominant white Pākehā national identity in the current study provide support for further investigations into approaches for dismantling Pākehā authority, and simultaneously incorporating Māori and Tauiwi within the national identity.

Further, such unification was endorsed by Māori participants in Pack et al. (2016c) and labelled 'Ngati Kiwi', in support of the coming together of Māori and Pākehā. Future research could provide investigation regarding this concept, in which, theoretically, the sub-groups of Māori, Pākehā, and Tauiwi would retain their distinctions, whilst also committing to respectful and accepting relationships under the one umbrella of 'Ngati Kiwi'. Ngati means a tribe that encompasses sub-tribes who all unify under one identification. The discourse of connection with Māori communicated in the current research, provides an illustration of how inter-group relationships can be unified by developing mutual connection with the 'other', founded on observing similarities of one's own traditions and conventions in the other groups norms, as well as admiring and approving of other groups customs and practices. Hence, the findings in the current study support opportunity for further research regarding how inter-group interactions based on shared similarities may enhance inter-ethnic connections. Further, Māori in Pack et al. (2016c) conveyed that continuing and daily interactions are by required to overcome racism.

Also supporting such proposals, Huygens (2007) revealed that Māori and Pākehā both aspire to attain 'right relationships' that encompass understanding and valuing of the diverse cultural differences between the two groups, and that attaining 'right relationship' brings delight to both parties. Similarly, support for a 'right relationship' is also expressed by Māori participants in (Pack et al., 2016c) under the mutual respect obligated in constructions of 'Ngati Kiwi'. The Pack et al. (2016c) study also identified te Tiriti edification and Māori history teaching as a way toward abolishing racism. Hence, further research could investigate the effects of the uptake of such edification over the general population of A-NZ, which could include samples from within schools, private business and organisations, government agencies, and spanning various regions of A-NZ. The retelling, relearning and acknowledgement of A-NZ history from a Māori viewpoint, distinct from the standard Pākehā story, is an essential part of Māori reclaiming liberation (Smith, 1999). Glover et al. (2005) also provides support for the relearning of A-NZ history, declaring it is a fundamental condition for Pākehā and Tauiwi (immigrants) if A-NZ is to move toward decolonisation and equality (Glover et al., 2005). The current research uncovered constructions of Pākehā ignorance and superiority regarding te Tiriti, biculturalism, racism, and discrimination, which also lends support to education as the impetus for a shift in Pākehā mindset. This would be required for the dominant group to take a critical viewpoint of the history of A-NZ, colonisation, and the ongoing disparities between groups. Additionally, constructions of a disconnect between the commitment to te Tiriti and biculturalism in theory and in practice also provide support for the proposal of further research regarding the efficacy of te Tiriti and history education.

Considering the notable Māori cultural value of Kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face engagement) (Te Hiwi, 2008), it may be of value for further studies in A-NZ to place attention on cross-ethnic engagement to determine what barriers are in place that serve to stifle interactions between Māori and Pākehā in A-NZ. Constructions of Māori-Pākehā segregation,

as well as Pākehā superiority lend support for further examination of the benefits, limitations, and barriers to increased engagement. Māori participants' talk in Pack et al. (2016c) included aspirations for augmented integration with Pākehā and self-readiness to carry out Pākehā racism education. Further, in the same study, Pākehā were constructed as desiring non-racist interactions with Māori, yet ignorant and self-positioned as superior. Additionally, in a study of Asian migrants in A-NZ, an enriched awareness and admiration for Māori, as well as respect for A-NZ's bicultural policy developed from genuine exchanges with Māori (Omura, 2014). In contrast, the results of a A-NZ study of Māori and Pākehā by Fozdar (2014), found that outcomes of friendship contact were weakened by dialogues of defensiveness and self-restraint, juxtaposed with familiarity and trust. Hence, the effects of social contact were lessened by the evidence of such relationship management. A study in Ontario, Canada, found that the benefits of contact were restricted to reducing traditional individually-based racism and results did not encompass the diminishment of the pervasive colonial structure and white superior positioning (Denis, 2015). Durrheim and Dixon (2005a, p. 22) argue that the advantages of contact frequently "fail to generalise". Despite wavering evidence in relation to contact theory, studies specifically examining Allport's (1979) contact hypothesis in the context of A-NZ and with relation to both individual relationship and group status and power may be valuable.

Significantly, Durrheim and Dixon (2005b) contend that the study of racism should not only comprise of talk praxes, but also integrate lived spatio-temporal habits. The possibility for further studies to include this methodology could permit a more complete comprehension of the character and formation of Māori and Pākehā relationships in A-NZ. Durrheim and Dixon (2005b) assert that this methodology may facilitate further understanding into the challenge of transforming inequities between ethnicities by offering an historic and substantive explanation of the complexion of ethnic interactions. Considering the constructions of segregation and

separation within the A-NZ context uncovered in the current study, this theory could also relate to A-NZ, hence, further research using this methodology may be beneficial.

In recent times, much debate has been focussed on decolonisation theory, both within A-NZ and in other colonised nations. As the findings of the current research provide support for much of the current theory, some principles of practice for movement towards decolonisation have been covered in this section. Further, Māori participants in Pack et al. (2016c) constructed three key opportunities for decreasing racism which were, education, unification, and increased contact. Whilst participants in the current study were not questioned on perceived solutions to enhanced Māori and Pākehā relations in A-NZ, the discourses that appeared in this study support the three conditions for enhanced relations in Pack et al. (2016c). Consedine and Consedine (2012) assert that the Māori message to Pākehā is evident – Pākehā must transform. That entails Pākehā taking responsibility for individual edification and the education of their peoples (Consedine & Consedine, 2012). Huygens (2011, p. 53) pinpoints four features for Pākehā decolonisation practice: "revisiting history, responding emotionally, undertaking collective cultural work, and working toward mutually agreed relationships with Māori". She explains that these four features work on differing levels: ideological, emotional, cultural, and constitutional. Constructions in the current study of Pākehā superiority, blind whiteness, neoliberal aspirations, and colonial hierarchy provide support for the requirement of Pākehā to examine their own shortfalls as a necessary tool to decolonisation. Decolonisation is only possible via systemic transformation, which would necessitate a Pākehā population proficient in te Tiriti knowledge and literate in tikanga Māori, and with an appreciation for Māori worldviews (Consedine, 2015).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study was initiated to investigate the talk of South African immigrants, regarding Māori and Pākehā relations in Aotearoa-New Zealand. A considerable quantity of

the findings largely corresponded with existing research, such as neoliberal aspirations of fairness and self-reliance, racism hidden under exemplar inter-ethnic relations, and societal hierarchy grounded in white superiority. Variable subject positions were negotiated by participants who switched from recruiting talk resembling that of the dominant Pākehā, to engaging minority discourses of Māori. Intertwined into the prominent dialogues that aligned with existing research regarding indigene-settler relations, was a distinct subject positioning of cultural affiliation which entailed a marked closeness and understanding of Māori, as well as shared cultural values with Māori. Within such discourse, subtle distance to Pākehā was represented; a discourse which was carefully negotiated with the assumed purpose being appeasement. The discourse of cultural affiliation generated contemporary initiatives for contemplating Māori and Pākehā relations. These rhetorical productions provide insights that broaden existing interpretations of ways in which Pākehā navigate their relationship with Māori in A-NZ. Such constructions also provide constructive and affirmative prospects for future research. Additionally, constructions that pinpointed a disconnect between the theoretical uptake of te Tiriti and biculturalism, and genuine commitment to their tenets by individuals and commercial businesses supported further research in this area. This study has provided alternative constructions of Māori-Pākehā relations and, hence, will contribute to the existing literature regarding inter-ethnic relations in A-NZ.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Information Sheet

Immigration and identity: South Africans in Aotearoa New Zealand

INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Clifford van Ommen and I am a senior lecturer at the Centre for Psychology at Massey University's Albany campus. I am currently in the process of inviting immigrants from South Africa to participate in a research project. This then is an invitation to you to consider participating in the project detailed below.

The aim of this study is to better appreciate the various experiences and understandings of South Africans of different aspects of both their new home (New Zealand) and their country of origin (South Africa). Such an appreciation will be achieved by either interviewing individual immigrants or by holding group-based discussions.

To bring this project to the attention of immigrants from South Africa I have approached various relevant formal and informal societies and groups and, where websites and newsletters have been available, have advertised in these. In some cases I have directly approached individuals known to me and have invited them to consider participating in either an individual interview or group discussion.

In order to qualify as a participant, a person must have spent at least their childhood and adolescence in South Africa, must be 18 years or older, and must have lived in New Zealand for at least three years. Currently I am hoping to hold interviews and discussion with at least twenty relevant persons.

No adverse psychological effects are expected from participating in this study although the discussions will obviously provoke recollections and ask you to think about certain experiences and opinions and it is therefore possible that these may not always be pleasant. However, you will never be obliged to answer a question or comment on a topic unless you feel comfortable doing so.

In the unlikely event that the material discussed causes distress that warrants further appraisal, I will be able to refer you to a counselling service, that is, Home and Family Counselling (09 419 9853). Counselling is at no charge although a donation is

appreciated for services provided. Psychologists experienced in working with South African immigrants; that is, Dr Elizabeth du Preez (09 921 9999 ext. 7692) and Dr Mark Thorpe (09 921 9999 ext. 7786), are also available but do charge for their services.

Those that agree to participate will either be interviewed or will be included in a discussion group (consisting of four to five participants). I will allocate you to one or the other. I will however check with you whether you are comfortable with the proposed format. If not, you are welcome to opt for the alternative format. The interview or group will be a once off event and should last no more than 1½ to, at most, 2 hours. Drinks and snacks will be provided during these sessions and you have the right to withdraw at any point before or during of the interview or discussion.

Once all interviews and group discussions have been completed, these will be transcribed (that is, converted into written form from the audio files). I will employ a graduate assistant to assist me in this process. This assistant will be a student who understands the importance of confidentiality and will have signed a confidentiality agreement prior to being allowed to access the audio files. He or she will not be allowed to discuss the contents of these files with anyone but the researcher.

The transcriptions (and subsequent publications) will not include your name but, rather, a pseudonym will be used. All audio files and transcriptions will be stored in a locked cabinet whilst not in use and, after being stored for five years, will be destroyed. A summary of the outcomes of the project and, where copyright allows, any publications emerging from this project will be e-mailed to all participants and, if requested, further individual or group discussions about the findings can be arranged.

Please note that you are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question
- withdraw at any point before or during of the interview or discussion
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used in transcriptions or publications
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview or group discussion

Should you have any questions then please feel free to contact the researcher, Clifford van Ommen, via e-mail at c.vanommen@massey.ac.nz or by phone at (09) 414-0800 ext. 41241 during office hours.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application 13/046. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Associate-Professor Mark Henrickson, Acting Chairperson, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone (09) 414-0800, extension 43350, or e-mail at humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz.