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**WALKING THE LINE:  
THE EXPERIENCES OF RACISM AMONG NON-STEREOTYPICAL MĀORI**

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

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## ABSTRACT

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Aotearoa, New Zealand (NZ) is one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse countries in the world (Dudley, Faleafa, & Yong, 2016; Ogden, 2007; Rocha, 2012; Stankov & Lee, 2009). Like other Indigenous cultures, Māori have been significantly impacted by historical, and ongoing, colonisation (Dudley, Wilson, & Barker-Collo, 2014; New Zealand Psychological Society, 2016; New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2018; Shepherd & Leathem, 1999). Due to NZ's continually blending society, many bicultural Māori-Pākehā babies are born with blonde hair, blue eyes, and fair skin. Features which conflict with the traditional phenotypical stereotypes associated with Māori, created via historical texts and perpetuated by the media (Sibley, Stewart, et al., 2011). Many bicultural Māori are socially assigned identities that are incorrect. In previous research among 8500 Māori participants, 25.8% (N=2198) believed they were socially assigned as solely Pākehā (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). A survey and four semi-structured interviews were used in this research and interpretive phenomenological analysis was used to explore the data. The experience demonstrated how these bicultural Māori, occupying hybrid positions, can experience privileges due to their appearance and affinity with the Pākehā culture (Houkamau, 2016). However, they often have their authenticity as Māori challenged and describe were likely to develop insecure cultural identities. where they did not feel a true sense of belonging to their cultural heritages. These non-stereotypical Māori commonly experienced varying forms of discrimination and racism from both their Pākehā and Māori in-groups (Apiata, 2017b; Barnes, Taiapa, Borell, & McCreanor, 2013; Bassett, 2010; Fusitu'a, 2018; Hayden, 2019; Hura, 2015; Korako, 2018; MacDonald, 2018). They may perceive socially appointed limitations on their right to participate in cultural activities which leads them to feel ostracized from te ao Māori, potentially causing them to deny their Māori heritage entirely (MacDonald, 2018). This research presents unique experiences that add depth to the current body of research concerned with bicultural psychology. It reinforces the importance of cultural safety across public services, discouraging cultural blindness and assumptions regarding cultural needs outlines ways to overcome cultural stereotyping and better reflect Māori diversity (Bennett, 2018b; Kingi et al., 2017; Pack, Tuffin, & Lyons, 2016b; Wepa, 2018)

## GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

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For the purpose of this research, I provide the following definitions. (Barlow & Wineti, 2009; Grennell, 2014; "Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary.," 2007-2021)

Iwi	A Māori tribe, typically from a single geographical location.
Hapū	A subtribe.
Kai	Food, nourishment.
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship.
Kaiwhakaako	Teacher, lecturer, coach, trainer, instructor.
Kānohi ki te kānohi	Face to face conversation.
Karakia	Prayer, incantation.
Kaupapa	Topic, subject, matter for discussion, policy, agenda, theme.
Koha	Gift, present, offering.
Kōrero	Talk, speak, converse.
Mana	Sense of pride and value for oneself and one's group.
Mangaakitanga	Hospitality
Māori	Name given to the Indigenous people of Aotearoa, New Zealand.
Marae	A symbol of tribal identity - the communal facilities.
Mātauranga Māori	Māori Knowledge – the unique Māori way of viewing the world encompassing both traditional knowledge and culture.
Mauri	Life principle, life force, vital essence, source of emotions - the essential quality and vitality of a being or entity. Also used for a physical object, individual, ecosystem or social group in which this essence is located.
Noa	To be free from the extensions of tapu, ordinary.
Noho Marae	A stay at a Marae - commonly for the purpose of learning.
Pā	Fortified village, fort, city .
Pākehā	English, European, exotic – originating in a foreign country.
Piupiu	Traditional skirt-like garment made from flax.

Poi	A light ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment.
Pōwhiri	Invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae.
Pūmanawa	Talented, gifted, natural talent, intuitive cleverness.
Pūrākau	Myth, ancient legend, story.
Tā Moko	Māori tattoo designs of the face or body under traditional protocol.
Tāngata	People, men, human beings.
Taonga	Treasure, property, objects.
Tapu	To be sacred, prohibited, restricted.
Taura	Student, apprentice, pupil, model, design, sample, skilled person, cade
Te ao Māori	The Māori world/worldview, system of beliefs, tikanga, and te reo Māori. A system which acknowledges the inter-connectedness and interrelationships of all living things.
Te ao Pākehā	The European world/worldview, system of beliefs, values, language, and practices.
Te reo Māori	The Māori language.
Tikanga	Correct procedure, custom, habit, method, rule.
Tūrangawaewae	Standing place, the place where one has the rights of residence and belonging through whakapapa, a place to plant both feet firmly.
Utu	to repay, pay, respond, avenge, reply, answer
Waiata	To sing, song.
Wairua	Spirit, soul - spirit of a person which exists beyond death. It is the non-physical spirit, distinct from the body and the <i>mauri</i> .
Wero	A challenge, traditionally issued by an armed Māori warrior.
Whakapapa	Genealogy, lineage, to place in order.
Whakawhānaungatanga	The process of establishing relationships and relating to others.
Whānau	To be born, family group, extended family (may include friends).
Whakatauki	A saying or proverb where the creator is not known.
Whenua	Land, country, ground, territory. Also afterbirth.

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To the Team, and my whānau, at Te Rau Puawai, ngā mihi nui ki a koutou. The greatness that exists in this whānau is astounding, and I am truly blessed to have become one of you. Through numbers there is strength and through strength there is greatness. You have made it possible for me to follow my dreams.

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Finally, special thanks to my Mum and my heavenly Dad who throughout my life have always believed in me. Thank you for sharing your life stories and our family history. This has served as a foundation for my personal development, a motivating factor for delving into my heritage and a driving force for my studies.

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Ngā manaakitanga,

Tania

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## INTRODUCTION

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I te taha o tōku papa  
Ko Tararua rāua ko Oparure ngā maunga  
Ko Manawatū rāua ko Mātaura ngā awa  
Ko Tainui rāua ko Tākitimu ngā waka  
Ko Matau rāua ko O te Ika Rama ngā marae,  
Ko Ngāti Huia ki Matau rāua ko Ngāti Māmoe ngā hapu  
Ko Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga rāua ko Ngāi Tahu ngā iwi  
Ko te whānau Hirini ōku tipuna  
Ko Tania Arnold-Hirini tōku ingoa.

A couple of years ago, while training a new staff member, I had a confronting experience. The usual style for training in our pharmacy is to demonstrate a task, guide the individual through the task and then allow them to do the task on their own, while being close by to assist and support if needed. One day, while going through this process with a young Māori team member, six months into her new role, she asked for a private chat. Once away from the others, she told me she could no longer work with us, stating we were racist, and it was too hard for her to come to work. Shocked, I gently asked if she was willing to share what was happening. She stated she knew we judged her because of her looks, especially her moko, and we were constantly watching her to see if she was going to steal the medication because she was Māori. With further discussion she explained growing up she was constantly watched from a distance in stores and often falsely accused of stealing. She associated the experience of being watched from afar as a negative and racist action fuelled by her appearance. While I cannot minimise this experience for her, what was confronting for me was just how different our experiences of being Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand (NZ) were, due to our appearances. The extra challenge being no matter what I believed, she did not recognise me as Māori and considered me as one of the perpetrators of racism towards her. This experience set me off on the path of this piece of work.

My grandfather, Kere Hamo Hirini, uprooted his young family from the whānau settlement in Ōtaki, and moved to Hawkes Bay, where he believed in the prospect of greater job opportunities and a better life for his children. Although he had fluent te reo Māori, he had also learned English. The Māori language had been deemed useless and was actively discouraged. Knowing this and fearing repercussions for his children, he did not teach them the language. The family rarely returned to Ōtaki and when they did, it was usually for tangihanga (funerals). Yet, in Pop's heart he yearned to remain connected to his past, so on Sunday mornings he could be found tucked away on the back porch listening to the Māori channel on his transistor radio. My father and his siblings never had the opportunity to learn about te ao Māori from whānau, and to this day, my brother expresses some hostility that he never had the opportunities to learn te reo Māori or about our whānau heritage. I am the youngest and I was born in the generation of te reo revitalisation. I am blessed because of this. But it saddens me that most of the holders of mātauranga Māori in our family had passed on before we could learn from them. I had not realised what I was missing until it was too late. These common experiences have left multiple generations deprived of a piece of their identity.

In 2012, I took my first step on the pathway to becoming a psychologist. With experiences of mental distress and suicide affecting my family, friends, and professional history, I became passionate about being involved in changing the state of mental health in NZ. I found the statistics for Māori unsettling and at times confronting. Identifying as Māori, I believed that in the future I was going to honour the articles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi by being a Māori woman working with and for Māori in health, creating positive outcomes for Māori. This became my vision. My training has continually emphasised the importance of cultural competency, cultural identities, and individual worldviews. I developed a deeper understanding of each of these concepts and identified potential barriers that I could face in my psychological practise.

Despite training that talked of culturally safe practice, what cultural responsiveness looks like is still vague. We were encouraged to incorporate tikanga into practise, particularly by using a pōwhiri structure in our engagements. It was easy to see deficits across areas of practice and how tokenistic some of the drives for competency appear. Yet, still I believed that WE would create ways to encourage change, believing that by encouraging more Māori psychologists into practice we will better meet the

needs of our under-catered for populations. My bachelor's degree encouraged me to embark upon a journey of self-discovery. I carved out and solidified my own cultural identity by getting in touch with my whakapapa, developing my te reo Māori and learning the fundamentals of tikanga. These things gave me pieces of myself I hadn't realised I was missing, and so much pride. It felt wholesome to be selfishly filling my cup and focusing entirely on my needs.

During my undergraduate studies, there was a conversation in class about a survey once sent to individuals on the Māori electoral role. It asked a variety of questions aiming to loosely determine "how Māori" the participants were, based on their knowledge and involvement in te ao Māori. It focused on aspects of te reo Māori, watching the Māori news channel, connection to marae, and whakapapa knowledge. Some expressed offence at the survey's approach, questions and goal. However, it is common for Māori to be categorised using these types of measures. Taken one step further, attempts to quantify an individual's level of Māori-ness, a subtle form of racism, has become normalised in NZ discourse and is perpetuated by the media and throughout society. Many bicultural Māori face questions like "how much Māori blood do you have?" or "can you speak Māori?" and they are often told they "Don't even look Māori". Not often intended as offensive, the questions can be thoughtless, insulting and usually aim to quantify "how Māori" the individual is. These questions imply individuals must legitimise their claim to being Māori. Others face ridicule or are made to feel ashamed of their Māori heritage, especially within their "dominant culture" social circles. Others are called demoralising names like "Plastic Māori", "Fake Māori", or "half-cast". I have heard many stories, and seen many examples on social media, of individuals defending their place as Māori or feeling they need to work hard or fight to belong.

While I have developed confidence and strengthened my cultural identity, it has become obvious that others do not see me as Māori. Physical appearances matter far more than I realised and as a non-stereotypical Māori by appearance, I will likely be categorised as not "Māori enough", an obstacle I will have to overcome to achieve my goals. Upon reflection, I realise I have had many experiences that I have brushed off throughout my life. Most recently, at a hui for individuals of Māori descent, I was asked in the van on the way to the hui why I was there and if I was Māori. The realisation that my appearance and mannerisms - no matter what I believe - provides enough information to others to allow them to make an

informed decision of who *they* think I am, has left me with many questions. Questions that I am now using as opportunities to deepen the understanding of this bicultural position. I acknowledge, not all my questions will be resolved out of this one piece of research. But rather, this will be the first step in a larger journey.

As part of that journey, it was necessary for me to address the position I hold as knowledge bearer as well as knowledge gatherer. I am both an insider as a Māori who phenotypically appears Pākehā. I have often been disregarded by Māori, which has threatened my sense of belonging. I am also the “outsider” researcher for this project. I am Māori with lived experiences that guide and shape how I understand the bicultural position I am researching. I therefore acknowledge my worldview and biases and how they colour my understanding of the participant’s experiences.

Acknowledging my positionality, I return to introduce the purpose of this thesis, which was to explore the bicultural realities of people who identify as Māori but may not look ‘stereotypical’ Māori. Guided by Kaupapa Māori research principles, the research explored these realities from both a qualitative and quantitative perspective. Four participants were interviewed about their experiences of racism, while 80 participants responded to a short survey about Māori identity and experiences of racism. The overall aim of the findings is to raise awareness of the types of racism – subtle and otherwise - experienced by those who may not conform to stereotypical norms of what Māori look like or how they ‘should behave’, and/or those who identify with more than one cultural group (of which Māori are one) – those often categorised as having hybrid identities.

Consequently, the thesis precedes in the following manner. Chapter one discusses social identity as a framework to understanding the processes involved in identity development, socially assigned identity, group membership and behaviours such as stereotyping, discrimination and racism. It goes on to unpack cultural identity and looks at the internal conflict experienced by bicultural individuals who have had expectations or judgements projected on them as a result of group expectations and stereotypes. The chapter concludes by introducing biculturalism, hybridity, and other terms used to describe individuals who are not easily socially assigned into their self-identified cultural groups.

Chapter two follows on by describing contemporary Māori. This is done by discussing how the prototypical images of Māori have formed via the influence of traditional Māori imagery perpetuated in all forms of media and text, and how these images have continued to endure. It addresses the role colonisation has played in contemporary Māori identity formation and the socio-political policies and processes that have shaped the evolution of the Māori population. It uncovers motivations for, and evidence of, cultural disconnect and identity conflict. The chapter concludes with assessing how these mental images compare with the diverse realities in the NZ population.

Chapter three discusses definitions relevant to this thesis. It describes how discourse shapes and defines culture, stereotypes, discrimination and racism and how early exploration and history has contributed to the formation of some of the long-standing stereotypes that Māori are faced with today. It discusses human categorisation processes and why we rely on shortcuts such as stereotypes and how these are perpetuated in media and by self-realisation. It also defines what non-stereotypical means and how this is justified for the purpose of this research. This section delves deeper into experiences of discrimination and racism and how these factors can impact an individual's cultural identity both from within-group and from the outside. It also explores the notion of white privilege and how individuals caught in the margin of minority and dominant cultures can find themselves in a privileged, yet conflicting space.

Chapter four outlines the research methodology used. It discusses the Kaupapa Māori Research framework and phenomenological data analysis techniques used. It describes the participant pool, methods used to enlist participants into the research, and the survey itself, including the processes involved in survey development. It outlines the processes utilised for engaging in kōrero interviews, transcribing the kōrero, and finally analysing the survey responses

Chapter five will present the pertinent research findings from the survey, including providing a comparison of the data collected from two specific questions which were replicated from the Te Kupenga survey 2018, to support the research findings. A showcase of lived experiences from the survey and kōrero will be shared, providing depth and awareness to the various experiences of non-stereotypical Māori. These will be grouped into four main themes, and various sub-themes that naturally evolved during

the data analysis: *Identity development, Biculturalism and hybridity, Experiences of racism (indirect, by non-Māori, by Māori), and Explanations for racism.*

Chapter six then flows into a discussion of the findings in this research, noting how the results emphasise the need to raise awareness for the diversity among Māori. It outlines some of the implications that arose from data, including non-stereotypical Māori requiring an expansion of cultural competence across all public sectors, to ensure their cultural needs are established, assumptions are removed, and safe cultural spaces are created. The discussion addresses the direction cultural responsiveness needs to take in order to combat discrimination, racism and biases in the current healthcare system. It then moves on to a reflection of the role the media has played, alongside the responsibilities it holds to rectify the prototypical construct of Māori it assisted in creating, to form a better reflection of the Māori population. It concludes by outlining the limitations of the current piece of research and providing some brief recommendations for future research.



# CHAPTER ONE: IDENTITY

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*"Identity is a construct commonly used by individuals to describe who they view themselves to be and how they fit with others in the world. It is a dynamic, complex, and fluid concept that is constantly changing, as the person experiences new things and encounters new people... Identity is not something automatically assigned to people. It begins in infancy, reformulates in adolescence and is modified in adult hood... It continually develops. A personal identity is the product of relationships with other people and within social groups."*

(Paringatai, 2014, p. 47)

## INTRODUCTION

Society is made up of groups. Membership to specific groups is largely decided through an individual's self-identification with that group. An individual's behaviour typically depends on the groups they identify with, as they usually inherit and/or endorse the associated values and behaviours of that group (Hogg, 2018). Without this group system, there would be little structure or order within society (McGarty, Yzerbyt, & Spears, 2002). Group membership can be explored to better understand why people behave or act as they do in certain situations. A theory that has become accepted as one of the main theories concerned with the relationship between individuals and the groups they belong to, is social identity theory (SIT). This chapter provides an overview of SIT, as well as its role in explaining self and cultural identity. The chapter also addresses bicultural and hybrid identities, before summarising these concepts.

### 1.1 SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

First developed by Henri Tajfel in the 1970's, and motivated by a desire to understand the prejudice experienced by Jews during World War II (Hogg, 2018; Hornsey, 2008), SIT is a theory concerned with the role of the individual self-concept in group membership, group processes, and intergroup relationships (Hogg, 2018; Hornsey, 2008). A central principle of SIT is that groups in society are arranged into social hierarchies based on the level of power and dominance a group holds over others (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). SIT provides a framework for understanding human behaviours such as ethnocentrism, conformity, discrimination and stereotyping (Hornsey, 2008).

A group is considered a cluster of three or more people who share the same social identity (Hogg, 2018). Groupings provide a way of categorising people. SIT suggests individuals assign value to the groups they are members of and form feelings of self-esteem through membership within that group. Self-esteem holds a great deal of influence over the self. Since self-esteem is desirable, group members will be motivated to maximise the between-group differences in favour of their in-group and will emphasise the positive aspects of their own group on dimensions that are valued, to enhance their group and maintain their distinctiveness (Hogg, 2018; Hornsey, 2008; Stangor, 2014). SIT suggests that maintenance of self-esteem and the esteem of the group one belongs to are motivating factors which drive social comparisons. Through social comparison, individuals develop their opinions, social status, and form their attitudes and beliefs (Stangor, 2014). An individual's self-identity and self-esteem can become inflated by comparing themselves with someone who is worse off than they are. This process can consequently motivate the formation of dominance and power differentials between individuals, groups and across the population (Bell, 2004a; Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021; Liu, Wilson, McClure, & Higgins, 1999; Rocha, 2012). Power dynamics within NZ society were initially formed as a result of the interplays between colonial and Indigenous groups during colonisation (Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b). The dominant culture in NZ society, Pākehā (non-Māori), is the group that wields more power than others. Minority groups, in this case Māori, which have been designated a low social status, frequently face discrimination from out-group members (Paringatai, 2014). However, the SIT framework posits that intergroup conflict is not always necessary for discrimination or racism to occur. This acknowledges a space where discrimination within one's own group is possible and allows insight into the processes involved in stereotyping, discrimination and racism, specifically the in-group racism experienced by non-stereotypical Māori who are not perceived as belonging by other group members (Hogg, 2018).

Research demonstrates rapid and relatively accurate conclusions about others are made with very little information, and in some situations, in as little as a tenth of a second (Stangor, 2014). The easiest features to assess are those which are observable. Skin colour, facial features, build, and possessing similar traits have long been considered signs of membership to different racial groups. Based on the perceptions of these features, individuals are categorised (Stangor, 2014). Physical differences have been observed and

recorded in texts throughout history. Phenotypical and corporeal differences (e.g. skin colour, facial structures) are the most utilised categorisation tools and are they are often used to form prototypical representations for each group (Hogg, 2018; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). Over the course of time, the use of these powerful tools has frequently been demonstrated. Much of societies social categorisation continues to be based on perceptions of appearance, recollections of past interactions and group knowledge (Rocha, 2012).

Yet, social comparison becomes tricky when there has been a blending of two cultural groups. The appearance of many bicultural individuals often reflects one of their racial heritages more than the other. This can lead to a mismatch between an individual's self-identity and the socially assigned identity others prescribe. As a result of other people's perceptions regarding their identity, non-stereotypical Māori can be left torn between two worlds, feeling like they do not belong in either (Gillon, Cormack, & Borell, 2019; Herbert, 2011). The SIT framework provides insight into the dynamics involved when an individual in a group possesses less prototypical traits, particularly those individuals on the boundary between two groups who may be referred to as marginal or hybrid (Hogg, 2018). The theory suggests these individuals are often less trusted or liked by their in-groups and may be cast aside as deviants or treated like *black sheep* (Hogg, 2018, p. 127). It is also suggested that these marginal individuals may threaten the group integrity, which might motivate negative in-group responses, with the goal of the group being to protect its identity. These negative responses may be a factor which influences the level of identification some non-stereotypical Māori have with their heritage, why some have not formed a strong sense of belonging to their Māori community, and further still, why some have chosen to deny incorporation of te ao Māori in their self-identity entirely (Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b).

## 1.2 SELF-IDENTITY

An individual's self-identity is continually forming and evolving throughout life and is a culmination of perceptions, attitudes, behaviours, abilities, and social construction, which form a mental picture of who they are and provides their sense of belonging (Gillon et al., 2019; Stangor, 2014). Their self-identity directly influences how they will perceive the world and others in it, as well as how they behave, interact and treat others (Hogg, 2018). Through evaluation and comparisons, the *self* and *other* become defined

by features of appearance, personality, temperament, likes, dislikes, habits, and abilities. The individual will come to understand their uniqueness and discover how they differ from others (Gillon et al., 2019). Because the *self* is viewed in a specific way, attempts are continuously made to maintain, promote and protect that identity.

### 1.3 CULTURAL IDENTITY

Culture can be defined as the shared system of values, behaviours, traditions, knowledge, and beliefs among a group of people. From this, cultural identity is the self-assigned culture the individual feels a sense of pride and belonging to (Poston, 1990). There are many theories concerned with cultural identity, with the research indicating it assists with shaping the individual's attitudes about themselves, others within their cultural group and those from other cultural groups. Cultural identities are rooted in histories, and the values, traditions and beliefs of the group (Black & Huygens, 2007).

Research has also demonstrated how one's cultural identity may serve as a protective factor for mental wellness (Bennett, 2018c). When an individual has a clear sense of their origins, they will have a solid understanding of who they are and where they belong (Durie, 2001d). As humans are social creatures that exist in groups, families, and communities, those who are detached from their formative social groups may feel lost or isolated and as a result are more likely to suffer from depression, rebellion or may even commit crimes. There are many psychological benefits associated with having a positive cultural identity for minority group members (Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b).

Divisions between cultures have long been a part of history (Thumboo, 2008). There are a number of automatic processes that occur when two cultural groups meet. Each group views the opposite through their worldview, assigning the roles of *I/self* and *you/other*. These automatic comparisons initially focus on superficial appearances, behaviours, mannerisms, and body language (Stangor, 2014). Then, a deeper analysis occurs looking for hidden features such as language, values, and beliefs. It does not take long for the *us* and *we* to be separated from the *them* and *they*. By comparing the other with ourselves, observable differences reinforce our beliefs about the other. Differences not only define the other but reinforce the self. Difference is the distinguishable gap between the self and other. The more detail we

know about ourselves the greater the ability we have to perceive those differences (Stangor, 2014). However, with increasing diversity it is becoming harder to differentiate in this way. In particular, it is hard to avoid seeing phenotypical similarities as confirmation of authenticity or to avoid judging differences as a lack of belonging. For non-stereotypical Māori, this is often two-fold, with many feeling they are too white to be Māori, too brown to be Pākehā or simply not Māori enough (Bell, 2004a; Gillon et al., 2019; Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021; Herbert, 2011).

Individuals from ethnic minority groups are among the most at risk of developing an insecure or negative self-identity as they may internalise the negative views of the dominant culture in society. Because identities are socially derived, individuals can sometimes be perceived as something other than their reality. They may also be assigned an identity that is reflective of their social standing within the groups they belong to (Durie, 2001a). When people are perceived to be something they are not, they may fall victim to those perceptions, subsequently adopting the negative labels others have created for them (Stangor, 2014). For example, some contemporary Māori may buy into denigrating labels such as *plastic Māori* or *mallowpuff*, or believe they are not Māori enough.

As Tess Moeke-Maxwell (2005), citing Stuart Hall (1990, p. 233) explains,

*Cultural identity... is a matter of “becoming” as well as of “being”. It belongs in the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history, and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation”. (p. 233)*

While believing Māori identity was long “rooted in the soil of colonisation” (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005, p. 500), Moeke-Maxwell also felt the cultural boundaries of bicultural individuals “collide, blur, merge and come into focus again and again” (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005, p. 508). Actions that maintain their unique cultural difference (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005).

Many cultural identity models are not suitable with bicultural individuals, as they presume the individual will hold one of their heritage cultures more favourably over the other at different stages throughout their life and at some point they may reject their minority cultural group in favour of their dominant cultural group entirely, significantly altering their cultural identity (Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b). But as research

shows, individuals in multicultural societies are now identifying outside the traditional cultural categories and challenging the current systems of classification (Rocha, 2012).

#### 1.4 BICULTURALISM AND HYBRID IDENTITIES

Increasing globalisation has transformed our societies and changed the way culture is navigated (Stankov & Lee, 2009). The concept of the national NZ culture has been transformed, as clear cut distinctions between the Indigenous Māori population and the Pākehā colonisers no longer exist (Cozma, 2004). Researchers suggest globalisation impacts cultural identities in one of three ways: differentiation, assimilation, or hybridisation (Lyll Smith, 2008). Assimilation is the adoption of the other cultures and differentiation is retaining two discrete cultural identities. However, cultural hybridisation refers to the process where two identities separate from their original groups and traditional practises, then combine to form a completely new identity. These new identities have not gone through a process of assimilation, nor are they individually altered versions of each parent culture (Lyll Smith, 2008). Instead, elements of each are incorporated into a new hybrid identity. This can be demonstrated by using Simmell's example of a *stranger*. Suppose a stranger arrives in town and has the potential to leave at any time. Their presence makes the stranger simultaneously a member of the community and not a member of the community, creating a new identity from two spaces that were previously discrete (Simmell, 1950, as cited in Lyll Smith and Leavy, 2008).

Hybridisation stems from the 'hard sciences' of botany and biology. As with plant hybrids, the hybrid cultural identity forms out of two distinct categories (Lyll Smith, 2008). The terms hyphen, cultural fluidity, border spaces, hybridity and margin have become increasingly utilised in bicultural/multicultural research (Pandurang, 2008). These terms imply there is both an outside and an inside to groups. It is the inside that is often perceived to be the ideal and desired position. Hybrid cultures are found at the edges of contact between groups, where new, in-between or hybrid identities are formed (Bhabha, 1997). Hybridity does not necessarily reflect a mix of Western culture with *other*, but instead a blend of any two or more cultures, religions, classes, genders, and regional attributes (such as languages). Those in these positions find themselves translating between cultures and finding a balance of their associated values, traditions, and beliefs. Most multicultural countries will have numerous residents that fit into a space of *in-between*.

Hybrid Māori-Pākehā individuals possess identities comprised of both colonial and post-colonial heritage. Somewhere in the individual's ancestry one side would have confronted the other. How this came to pass may not be clear, but it is no less valid and is part of the individual's ancestral reality (Alexander, 2008).

While there are certain aspects of this position that are uncomfortable and insecure, hybrid individuals are also uniquely placed to access multiple cultures and with this comes some advantages. Some can act as mediators between cultures and may have access to resources that others from cultural minority groups do not (Hogg, 2018; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). Being a hybrid has become a benefit. Having the ability to negotiate across barriers, sometimes possessing abilities in multiple languages, cultural spaces, spiritual and physical spaces provides an advantage for these individuals (Lyll Smith, 2008). Hybrids may be selected to perform certain roles due to their ability to navigate both spaces. In her research, Moeke-Maxwell found hybrids were occasionally introduced into workplaces strategically to demonstrate the employer's bicultural openness, others were hired to address conflict or to model desirable behaviour for other Māori employees. However, these individuals providing advice, or challenging any indiscretions or inappropriate behaviours towards minorities was often unwelcome (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). As outlined in their research, Lyall Smith (2008, p. 7) states, "The individual occupying a hybrid space navigates between two cultural groups and occupies space within both cultural groups. This space holds a challenge and a privilege."

A potential explanation of the space hybrid individuals occupy can be obtained from Border Theory. Border Theory focuses on descendants who bridge the gap between two or more cultures (Lyll Smith, 2008). Hybridity challenges existing borders, but also could not exist without them. Hybridity utilises the concepts of mixing and intermarrying to describe how these individuals become socially marginal due to their mixed identities. This concept is also reflected in concepts of marginalisation and deviance in the SIT framework (Hogg, 2018). While there is some ambiguity and potential for discomfort in this ambiguous space, there is also opportunity to live in security and freedom for those who possess enough knowledge of both - or all - of their contributing cultures, especially if they possess the ability to navigate successfully in either environment or cultural context (Hogg, 2018). The border becomes a third space with multiple subjectivities, language, and cultural knowledge (Saika, 2008). A hybrid being is an individual that can

act as a “cultural lubricant” moving between physical and psychic space (Meredith, 1998, p. 17). But there is opportunity for the hybrid to get caught in the crossfire between the individual cultural spaces. It is important to recognise, while hybrid individuals may have the ability to navigate multiple cultural worlds, they may also have a multi-dimensional identity crisis (Alexander, 2008).

## SUMMARY

According to SIT, the social order in society is reliant on the groups existing within it. Groups serve to promote self-enhancement, differentiation and the transmission of group specific knowledge. While group membership is predominantly self-assigned, an interplay of socially determined categorisations can also have an effect on group membership. Biculturalism in NZ has led to an increasing number of Māori individuals with marginal or hybrid identities, who according to SIT coupled with Border Theory, can find themselves in unique positions. These Māori are able to shift between cultures, smoothing the boundaries and creating mergers, whilst at the same time finding themselves lost and conflicted, without a sound sense of belonging. The next chapter will explore the concept of being Māori, initially looking at traditional ideologies of Māori, then discussing how colonisation, politics and other factors have influenced the evolution of Māori, which has resulted in a population of diverse contemporary Māori identities.



## CHAPTER TWO: BEING MĀORI

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“Kia mau koe ki ngā kupu ā ou tupuna, kia mau ki to Māori tanga”

“Hold fast to the words of your ancestors, hold fast to your Māori culture.”

– whakatauki.

### INTRODUCTION

Many cultures have ventured to the shores of NZ in search of a new home. Colonisation has played a significant role in shaping the population of NZ. Combined with continuing immigration, this has led to a multicultural population that reflects the blending of these cultures. Consequently, Māori identities have become extremely diverse (Durie, 1998b; Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021; Herbert, 2011; Kukutai, 2003). Finding a single definition for Māori that encompasses the many existing realities is increasingly hard. As social identity suggests, cultural identification results from a combination of self-identification and social assignment and can be fluid, changing with the knowledge of the groups the individual identifies with. Māori identities have historically centralised around traditional views of being Māori (Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021; Houkamau, 2010; Tassell, 2004). However, due to assimilation and the blending of cultures, contemporary Māori identities vary greatly. Some have the ability to interact seamlessly within multiple groups. This can be both an advantage and a burden (Hogg, 2018). Appreciating the extent of variation that exists among the population, alongside the ability to interact effectively with a variety of different people, is becoming recognised as an essential skill. Especially as the country continues to evolve and the population further diversifies (Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b). This chapter discusses the fundamental concepts of the traditional Māori identity. It then looks at the colonisation of NZ, the impacts this had on the identities of Māori population and then concludes by providing an overview of the diversity that exists within the population of contemporary Māori today.

### 2.1 MĀORI, THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF NZ

Māori are the Indigenous people of NZ, a relatively young country that has evolved significantly in the past 250 years (Walker, 2004). Traditional Māori identities centralised around shared cultural values,

obligations, traditions, spiritual beliefs and whakapapa (Giorgio & Houkamau, 2019; Houkamau, 2010; Williams, 2000). There are a number of underlying values and principles which are considered the foundation for the traditional Māori identity (Mead, 2003; Tassell, 2004). At the core is the inter-connectedness with *whānaungatanga* (Paringatai, 2014). *Whakapapa*, or relationships, through *iwi* (tribe), *hapū* (subtribe), *whānau* (extended family, family groupings), and social connections are extremely important with the focus being on the group rather than the individual (Durie, 2001a). This is coupled with the values of *manaakitanga* (nurturing relationships, hospitality) which is central for maintaining connections and *mana*, (sense of pride and value for the self and one's group) which motivates the drive to preserve respectful, supportive relationships (Mead, 2003). The value of *utu*, (compensation, reciprocity or revenge) provides an understanding that in order to maintain relationships, the natural balance must also be maintained. Therefore, for anything received, something of equivalence must be given (Mead, 2003; Tassell, 2004). *Pūmanawa*, provides the belief that inborn natural talents will be passed on through whakapapa genes. These can be talents of weaving, singing, or oratory skills. Traditional Māori identities are also founded on a strong connection to the whenua (land), particularly the places where one's ancestors originated from, or *tūrangawaewae*. There was always a strong connection to, and appreciation of, *wairuatanga* (spirituality), including adherence and respect for *tapu* (sacredness), *noa* (restored peacefulness), the *mauri* (lifeforce), and *wairua* (spirit) (Mead, 2003). Finally, *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) was considered an essential aspect of Māori identity as it provided access to all the perspectives, values, beliefs and traditions required for a secure cultural identity and successful navigation within *te ao Māori* (Durie, 2001a). When Māori lived in communal social/whānau groups, the Māori way of life and language was role modelled and transmitted to the younger generations (Durie, 2001a; Paringatai, 2014). It is thought, in 1936 approximately 83% of Māori lived rurally in traditional settings, but by 1986 only 20% remained in rural locations (Taonui, 2005). There are still some communities continuing to function in ways that reflects traditional Māori society (Whakarewarewa Thermal Village Tours, 2018). The individuals immersed in these communities will have an identity that most closely matches the traditional ideologies. The belief that Māori should assimilate and intermarry

into Pākehā culture was powerful and encouraged urbanisation, which significantly impacted these traditional ways of life (Meredith, 2000; Taonui, 2005).

Whakapapa and whānau are still considered the main methods of identification and belonging for Māori, alongside a connection to, or understanding of, te ao Māori (Durie, 1998c; Houkamau, 2010). Whānau can be defined multiple ways. It can range from a strict membership according to descent and whakapapa, to members who are not blood relatives and may even include non-Māori (Durie, 2001a). It became increasingly common for non-blood whānau groups to be formed after World War II when returnees and those affected by the war searched for companionship and needed support. The Māori community is said to accept anyone that descends from a Māori ancestor as rightfully Māori (Durie, 2001a; Greaves et al., 2017). Reinforcing this, Penetito (2011, p. 41) stated:

*“The whakapapa view of Māori is our legacy, it is our inheritance, it is our taonga tuku iho. Who is going to argue with that? Nobody. This is what gives us our mana āhua ake. This is what makes us unique in the world—our Māoritanga, what it means to be Māori. Nō kōnei ahau, koina, ka ora (I belong therefore I am)”.* (p.41)

Still, when someone identifies as being of Māori descent, assumptions are often made regarding the level of cultural and tikanga Māori the person will possess, their ability to navigate within te ao Māori, and expectations regarding their te reo Māori proficiency (Greaves et al., 2017; Grennell, 2014; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). These assumptions can threaten the individual's sense of self-esteem, identity and belonging, and really only serve to perpetuate the prototypical Māori image (Paringatai, 2014).

The Māori population is frequently portrayed as a homogenous group of Indigenous people, who have been victimised by colonisation and are facing extreme inequalities across many socio-economic measures (Cormack, Harris, & Stanley, 2013; Durie, 2001a, 2001c; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). There are also certain phenotypical or behavioural characteristics and personality traits that are associated with being Māori. The common imagery of the Māori culture projected in the media and across the world stage tends to feature aspects of traditional Māori life, such as marae, haka, wero, poi, piupiu and various traditional Māori garments alongside other aspects of te ao Māori (the Māori world) (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; Nairn et al., 2011). By extension, Māori people are also typically depicted

as having dark skin, dark hair, other dark features, and frequently feature tā moko (traditional tattoos) (Cormack et al., 2013; Gillon et al., 2019). These representations have helped form the stereotypical *prototype*, which self-identified Māori are compared to by others. Perceived positive alignment with these phenotypical features tends to be considered signifiers of Māori authenticity and contributes towards the individual being socially assigned as Māori (Bell, 2004a; Gillon et al., 2019; Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021). This stereotypical image has been influenced by discourse created from a Pākehā worldview, which has been perpetuated in social, historical, and political narratives over the past 180 years (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; Barnes et al., 2013; Dell Panny, 2008; Nairn et al., 2011). However, these stereotypes do not accurately reflect the contemporary Māori population, with many Māori not fitting neatly into the categorical boxes society has created (Bell, 2004a; Gillon et al., 2019; Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021). Contemporary Māori, especially those that do not readily meet stereotypes, are not always recognisable as Māori without context, insight, or self-disclosure (Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021; Grennell, 2014; Lyall Smith, 2008; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). This places them on a spectrum of uniquely positioned Māori, with varying experiences and depth of belonging to their bicultural/multicultural heritages.

## 2.2 COLONISATION

The bicultural framework which exists in NZ, as a result of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (T.T.O.W), was intended as a shared agreement of authority between Māori and Pākehā to open the doors to “harmonious” colonisation (Durie, 1998a; Lang, 2011; The Royal Commission of Social Policy: Te Komihana a Te Karauna mo nga ahuatanga-a-iwi, 1987). Colonisation has had a significant role in shaping Māori identities (Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021; Greaves et al., 2017; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005; Rocha, 2012). Rarely taught in schools, the early history of settled NZ is littered with policies, propaganda, discrimination and racism, which placed Māori in a vulnerable position and pressured them towards amalgamation and assimilation (Dell Panny, 2008; Houkamau, 2010; Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

From the outset, the records of the early European settlers demonstrates they did not view the Māori people favourably (Bell, 1992; Best, 1934; Dell Panny, 2008). Edward Gibbon Wakefield, accredited with founding the NZ Company in 1839, created policies designed to “civilise the barbarous people”

(Burns, 1989, as cited in Panny, 2008, pg.41). His methods of obtaining every acre of NZ were frequently deceptive, yet he described what he was doing as a blessing for the people. He validated this through highlighting how he believed Māori were “immeasurably inferior” (Burns, 1989, as cited in Panny, 2008, pg.41). The belief whiteness equalled a superior level of humanity was evident in most early texts. In 1851, Prime Minister William Fox’s publications contributed toward negative pictures of Māori, labelling them and the Māori culture as barbaric. His shared observations criticised the carvings on a pā as “most obscene and disgusting designs” (Fox, 1851 as cited in Panny, 2008, p.41), reinforcing the idea that Māori were to be considered inferior human beings and among the lower ranks of civilisation. Māori were subjected to mockery and condescension of their beliefs. As a result, they were forced to move away from their traditional values and ways of life, instead attempting to emulate Pākehā lifestyles, in search of the comforts of living as the Pākehā do. The confiscation of land, and social policies that forced Māori out of marae settlements and dispersed them into urban societies became common (Durie, 2001a; Marsden & Royal, 2003; Meredith, 2000; Mohr & Alexander, 2008). At this point in time it was popular belief that the blending of the two races was inevitable, and that the physical and cultural features of Māori would dilute becoming more like Pākehā until the Māori population would disappear completely and the population would become a new breed of New Zealanders (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005).

Interracial marriages made the blending with Pākehā, and other cultures, a common feature in Māori genealogy (Bell, 2004b; Giorgio & Houkamau, 2019; Grennell, 2014; Meredith, 1998; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). Where many countries discouraged or even prohibited the mixing of races, in NZ inter-racial partnerships were actively promoted in policy as part of the integration process (Durie, 2001a; Marsden & Royal, 2003; Meredith, 2000; Mohr & Alexander, 2008). Following World War II, many Māori moved away from their tribal lands into urban areas. As guided by assimilation policies, Māori families were dispersed among Pākehā families throughout the urban communities via a process Durie (2001a, p. 93) explains as “Pepper-potting”. While tensions arose due to cultural differences and the preferential status held by Pākehā, the process encouraged new connections with *the other*. This fracturing forced the Māori community to establish alternative connections, some becoming involved in groups that shared common

interests, to regain the sense of whānau, community and belonging that they had lost (Durie, 2001a). It had the desired effect, and Māori and Pākehā intermarriage became (and still is) very common.

The introduction of European education systems and Europeanisation policies sought to speed the process of assimilation up (Meredith, 2000). By prohibiting te reo Māori in schools and expecting Māori to simply pick up English, Māori were disadvantaged academically. From this, beliefs that Māori were slow, poorly developed, or of low intellect became reinforced (Dell Panny, 2008; Durie, 2001c; Selby, 1999). This led to poor academic achievement, predisposing Māori to the manual labour workforce, which was considered synonymous with the lower socio-economic social class. This mindset has led to long-term racism, both institutionalised within various policies and practices, and within general society (Dell Panny, 2008). These policies and processes created barriers to cultural engagement and encouraged distancing from te ao Māori, which has limited access to cultural knowledge for current generations (Barnes et al., 2013; Durie, 2001c; Houkamau, 2010; Marsden & Royal, 2003; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005).

In 1960, the Hunn report signalled the end of the assimilation policy and a new policy aimed at Māori–Pākehā integration began. With this, some aspects of traditional Māori culture were re-introduced into the education system (Selby, 1999). Stripped of land and culture, Māori who had moved to cities had been required to acculturate to Pākehā ways of living in order to survive. By the 1970's, only one in four remained in rural settings. This sped up the rate in which the Māori values, traditions, and language was lost and alienated Māori from their whānau and role models. Subsequently, a new urban Māori identity began emerging as the impact of blending and assimilation had shifted Māori away from the traditional communities (Durie, 2001a).

Unfortunately, Māori are still often portrayed as 'less than Pākehā, and as SIT suggests, some of these beliefs can become internalised and individual self-worth can be affected by this (Hogg, 2018). Bicultural Māori may internalise this negativity and consequently experience the world from this imposed position (Grennell, 2014). This can be a motivating factor for them to distance themselves from their Māori heritage (Grennell, 2014; Hogg, 2018; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). It is possible to see these shifts as examples of the social class elevation processes described in SIT, which suggest discrimination motivated some Māori to

manage their identities in a manner that enabled them to identify with the dominant Pākehā social group, in pursuit of more favourable outcomes and success (Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b).

Throughout the process of colonisation, racial conflicts occur through a natural resistance to the changes and losses being forced upon the Indigenous people. These experiences create an enduring *us* and *them* attitude, which becomes deeply engrained in collective memories (Hogg, 2018; Raihanah, 2008). However, many colonised cultures at some point face coming to terms with events and redefining their identity (Raihanah, 2008). With time, every individual's sense of identification, directly or indirectly, will be coloured by the cultural heritage of the other cultures within the nation, and a new national identity will evolve (Raihanah, 2008). Historical shared experiences shape the worldviews that each group holds. Historical injustices, abuse, violence, triumphs, illnesses, positions of superiority and rightness, contribute to the shared knowledge. Being positioned on the border of these battling histories, has the potential to cause an identity conflict for those who are born to both cultures and when examining the identities of bicultural or multicultural people. Cruz and Steele describe how these individuals do not need to look far to find the other as there is a version of the *other* within oneself and one's group already (D'Cruz, 2002). It argued being Māori is as much psychological as it is biological, suggesting individuals with Māori ancestry, also need to believe in themselves as Māori (Waikerepuru, 1986). The resulting impact of colonisation has been a generation of contemporary Māori with varying levels of connection to te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. As a result, many have become trapped in marginal spaces where they cannot see themselves fully belonging to their Māori heritage.

### 2.3 THE POLITICAL INFLUENCES ON IDENTITY

Ethnic identification has been a choice in NZ for some time now (Kukutai, 2003, 2007). However, this has evolved throughout NZ's political history, particularly in census records, from imposed categorisation terminology to present day self-identification (Liu et al., 1999; Meredith, 1998; Mohr & Alexander, 2008). In 1838, John Polack suggested children of mixed Māori–European heritage should be called 'Anglo-New Zealanders' (Meredith, 2000). In June 1852, shortly after T.T.O.W was signed, the first NZ government formed (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). At this time, Māori were not permitted to participate in census taking. Māori continued to be excluded from census records until 1857 and even at that time, only a portion of

the Māori population was captured. By 1858, the Māori population had decreased extensively, and the number of settlers ballooned to produce a population with an equal 59,000 split of each group. It was not until 1867 that the first full census of Māori took place. In 1892, 'Half-caste' became an official term used in population records to capture those of mixed heritage, although other social factors, such as lifestyle, were relied on to *correctly* allocate the individual as either Māori or European. At this time, only one category was permissible (Kukutai, 2007). By 1896 the decimation of Māori, through warfare and disease, resulted in only 42,000 remaining in the population. While this number had increased slightly by 1901 to 46,746 Māori, there were now 770,313 settlers in NZ. By the 1900's, the survival of the Māori race was in question. Due to the political agendas of the Pākehā government, by 1920, the first traces of the homogenous "New Zealander" identity had begun to emerge (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Theoretical blood percentages were the next official measure of ethnicity used. In 1926, to be recorded as Māori, individuals had to meet a threshold of "half or more Māori blood" (Kukutai, 2007, p. 1151). Separate census measurements continued to be used until records were amalgamated in 1951 (Rocha, 2012). In 1947, the term *Native* was removed from policy and replaced with Māori (Selby, 1999). By 1951, the fractional identities were used. This is where an individual could be classified as 1/8 European and 7/8 Māori or whatever combination of ethnicities best reflected their self-identity (Kukutai, 2007). In 1986, multi-ethnicity reporting was first made available and for a period, people of mixed heritage were counted in all categories they selected on the census.

Since shifting from a biological determination of race and ethnicity to a self-identification approach, the Māori population has increased substantially from 42,000 in 1896, to 579,714 individuals of Māori descent in 1996 (Durie, 2001a). Sir Mason Durie (2001a, p. 197) commented on political definitions of Māori in his research:

*"The changing definitions of Māori for statistical purposes can paint a mis-leading picture and suggest progress that is at best spurious. Nor does the use of Pākehā benchmark capture the dynamic state of Māori society and the hugely significant gains made this century."* (p. 197)



In te ao Māori, blood quantification is not considered a signifier of authenticity and does not prove belonging (Durie, 2001c). Rather, whakapapa is the foundation for being Māori (Durie, 2001a; Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b; Walker, 2004) and in 2011 the census commenced including the collection of whakapapa information (Edwards, 2016). In census records from later years, more individuals claimed to be “full” Māori than was possible under the blood quantum or fractional systems historically used (Kukutai, 2007). However, it authentically reflected the concept of belonging from an Indigenous perspective (Durie, 2001a).

## 2.4 CONTEMPORARY MĀORI IDENTITY

Māori are the second largest ethnic group in the NZ population. The 2018 census data demonstrated roughly 16.5% of the population identified as being of Māori ethnicity (Statistics NZ Tatauranga Aotearoa, 2020), and this figure is predicted to increase to 22% by 2051 (Durie, 2001c, p. 6). However, contemporary Māori increasingly differ in their personal meanings of being Māori (Houkamau, 2010). Māori identity and what it meant prior to colonisation is different to modern day meanings (Herbert, 2011). The evolution of the social and political arena in NZ has contributed greatly to the ways Māori define their identity.

Contemporary Māori identity has been influenced by a number of ideologies on the subject (Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b). Mason Durie is credited with one of the first systems that unpacks Māori identity, defining three subgroups categorised via level of cultural knowledge and participation in ‘traditional’ Māori culture. The identity groupings he describes are *Enculturated Māori* or individuals who identify as Māori, confidently engage in the core cultural concepts of te ao Māori, know their whakapapa and speak some te reo Māori. *Bicultural Māori* are individuals who positively identify as Māori but also competently interact with Pākehā. The third group are *Decultured/Marginalised Māori*, who are individuals that do not confidently fit into Pākehā or Māori groups, socially or culturally, and are disconnected from te ao Māori (Findlay, 2016; Greaves, Houkamau, & Sibley, 2015; Houkamau, 2010). Since then, studies have continued to provide variations of these groupings based on levels of enculturation and connection to specific aspects of traditional Māori culture. Williams (2000), devised similar subset groupings as Durie’s, calling them *Traditional Core Māori*, *Primarily Urban*, and *Unconnected*. However, he included a second disconnected group of individuals with Māori ancestry who are indistinguishable from Pākehā and who

may choose to abandon their Māori heritage entirely (Williams, 2000). This group may utilise 'Kiwi' or 'New Zealander' as preferred self-labels. In 2010, it was believed there were potentially 170,000 individuals who identified in this group (Houkamau, 2010).

A vast amount of research has delved into Māori Identity formation using broad theoretical frameworks and largely qualitative data to describe the varying experiences of Māori (Houkamau and Sibley (2014b), with the majority focusing on individual enculturation levels. Very little research has focused specifically on the diverse realities and experiences that constitute "being Māori" from a contemporary perspective, until recently (Muriwai, Houkamau, & Sibley, 2015). The Multi-dimensional Model of Māori Identities and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE2) is an instrument that measures several continuous factors that define different aspects of one's identity as Māori. The subscales of the MMM-ICE2 create formal statistical models of Māori identity signatures. They include; *Group Membership Evaluation* – which measures the level of positivity the individual holds about membership to the group Māori, and how important being Māori is to them; *Spirituality* – which measures level of belief and engagement with the traditional Māori concepts of spirituality for aspects such as tīpuna (ancestors), tapu and noa (aspects of sacredness), and sense of spiritual attachment to the land; *Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement* – measures how connected the individual feels to other Māori and how much access they feel they have to traditional cultural resources; *Interdependent Self-concept* – measures the individual's relationships with other Māori and how much the individual believes they need to be actively connected to other Māori to be authentically Māori; *Socio-Political Consciousness* – measures the extent to which the individual believes in the importance of the colonial history, injustices and experiences continue to be relevant for understanding how colonisation has shaped contemporary society, and how engaged the individual is in promoting or defending Māori rights; *Authenticity Beliefs* – measures the extent that an individual believes Māori must possess prototypical features or be able to prove authenticity to be Māori; *Perceived Appearance* – measures how much the individual believes they have features which allow them to be socially assigned as Māori (Greaves et al., 2017). These measures align with the SIT framework, which suggests positive group membership, confirmed by socially assigned and confirmed belonging, leads to a greater sense of self-identity (Hogg, 2018; Paringatai, 2014).

The data from the MMM-ICE2 produces a scale that provides a reliable way of measuring different continuous dimensions of experience. The 'typographies' that inform the revised MMM-ICE2 make space for lived experience perspectives, which adds the needed complexity to research discussions to better understand the variety of possible identity types (Giorgio & Houkamau, 2019; Greaves et al., 2017). Other theories have fixated on connections to land, culture, and relationships as the primary focus for identity construction (Tassell, 2004). Ideas that again reflect traditional Māori concepts. More recent works have challenged the notion of a homogenous Māori identity, arguing contemporary Māori are culturally heterogenous and through urbanisation and continued colonisation, further sub-groupings within the culture have evolved (Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021; Giorgio & Houkamau, 2019; Houkamau, 2010). The MMM-ICE2 provides space for these identities to be uncovered.

Political activism in the 70's and onwards has encouraged a wave of Māori resurgence, reclamation, and revitalisation (Houkamau, 2010). This resulted in a wave of Māori who were raised in times when Māori culture and beliefs became more valued and accepted in society. Many young Māori in this era were likely proud to be Māori and many were reconnecting to lost parts of their heritage (Houkamau, 2010). Research among a group of Māori woman from this era found they tended to be critical of stereotypes and held positive views of what it means to be Māori. They were proud to be Māori, but they would not use that pride to undermine or put down other cultures. They often had friends, family or workmates who were Pākehā and felt asserting their culture was not appropriate. To assert one culture over the other was not in keeping with the ideological multicultural society they had formed in, where they believed all cultures should be equal (Houkamau, 2010). While this is reassuring, there is still a large amount of uncertainty and disconnect evident in the population ("Narissa", 2018; Bennett, 2018a; Fusitu'a, 2018; MacDonald, 2018; Peters, 2015; rachelbeazley, 2020a).

It is consistently argued a strong Māori identity is connected to pride in one's culture and linked to an understanding of its history (Hamley, Houkamau, Osborne, Barlow, & Sibley, 2020). Durie suggests te reo Māori is important for a secure cultural identity, as it provides an intimate connection to traditional values, customs, spirituality, and artistic expression within te ao Māori (Durie, 1998c; Herbert, 2011). However, individual experiences during upbringing and ability to engage in te ao Māori varies greatly

among the Māori population. Intergenerational transmission of Māori knowledge has been severely inhibited (Durie, 2001a; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). Subsequently, many contemporary Māori have had little or no opportunity to gain mātauranga Māori and in some cases, for varying reasons, complete abandonment of language and cultural traditions has occurred (Paringtai, 2014). The 2013 census data demonstrated while 89% of those who claimed Māori descent knew their whakapapa, only 62% had been to their marae (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). The data also showed only 11% of Māori could have a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori (Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b). Furthermore, research has shown some Māori no longer see their Māori heritage or culture as particularly important aspects of their identity (Houkamau, 2010). While this detachment does not invalidate an individual's claim to being Māori, a lack of these abilities can alter an individual's confidence and self-identity, making them insecure and may lead them to question their own authenticity (Bell, 2004a; Hogg, 2018).

Due to negative Māori stereotypes and discrimination, many urban Māori tried to distance themselves and their children from Māori culture. They made every effort to blend into the Pākehā social and economic climate and establish themselves firmly in Pākehā society (Bell, 2004a; Edwards, 2016). Research provided evidence of Māori believing Pākehā were better and encouraging their children to “be good Māori”, which translated to “being brown Pākehā” (Houkamau, 2010, p. 189). In one interview group, women shared experiences of shame associated with being Māori. Some knew little about te ao Māori and held negative views about Māori in general (Houkamau, 2010). There were many self-reports of women; distancing themselves from their Māori identities, attempting to pass as Pākehā while growing up, being teased for being Māori, and hearing people denigrating Māori people. These experiences made them feel unsettled in their identities. Being Māori was not socially valued and parents did little to combat these perceptions, some even endorsed or encouraged their children to distance themselves from the culture (Houkamau, 2010).

By 2007, it was estimated nearly 50% of Māori aged between 20 and 64 were partnered with a non-Māori (Kukutai, 2007). The way children born from these blended couplings are raised is frequently different to how each individual parent's upbringing was and subsequently this influences their cultural identification processes (Edwards, 2016). In 2014, 20% of all NZ children under 14 years of age were identified as

having more than one ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). There is a layer of complexity involved with raising children in NZ when the parents come from different cultural backgrounds. It has been observed, parents of bicultural children nurture and build their sense of belonging and identity in different ways. It is commonly assumed that the minority parent is the sole bearer of the minority cultural knowledge and responsible for its transmission (Kukutai, 2007). Some parents choose to focus on sharing one side of their cultural heritage, some choose to blend aspects of each background and others opt to provide a sense of *kiwidadom* rather than focus on either background explicitly (Edwards, 2016). Values and behaviours deemed important to pass on to their offspring are heavily influenced by Pākehā ideals. Others feel the impact of both cultures reflected in their values and perceptions, giving them dual lenses through which to view the world. However, it can be a conflicting experience as these worldviews do not always complement one another (Edge, 2013).

Research with children from bicultural Māori/Pākehā parentage exposed how their mixed cultural heritage influenced their upbringing, lived experiences and cultural identity (Paringtai, 2014). These children frequently described experiences where they had not lived up to the expectations of others, which exposed them to a lot of pressure and made them feel ashamed. They often felt they weren't really Māori if they failed to live up to common stereotypes. Sadly, Paringtai (2014) discovered these children rarely learned about either parent's culture at home. He believed many Māori did not realise the value of the Māori identity and subsequently did not want to pass on their culture. This reinforces how important it is to not make assumptions about an individual's cultural identity or the cultural knowledge they hold simply because they can whakapapa or identify as Māori. It is especially important not to apply an ethnic/cultural label based on an individual's name or skin colour (Paringatai, 2014).

For those who are Māori by whānau birthright but are not (or have not had the opportunity to be) fully participating members of their wider whānau community, it can be challenging (Durie, 2001a). It is likely others will assume they hold knowledge about the group and possess group specific abilities, which may not be true. This can threaten the individual's sense of self-esteem, and consequently, identity and belonging. These individuals are also unlikely to have the same attachments to the whānau as their parents or grandparents might have had, as they may have participated in the group actively (Paringatai,

2014). Furthermore, while some may phenotypically appear Māori, they may lack the knowledge or behaviours which their whānau community expects. Subsequently, they will not meet in-group expectations for membership. Some communities require active engagement in the community to validate the person's claim to their cultural identity (Hogg, 2018; Paringatai, 2014).

Still blood quantum's, fractions, and required authenticity are Western ways of thinking that have endured into modern day discourses (Meredith, 1998). Often paired with stereotypes, these categorisation systems can be held to account for the confused or insecure identities seen among many mixed heritage Māori (Hogg, 2018). In response to a lack of research concerning the experiences of bicultural or hybrid Māori-Pākehā realities, researchers have been looking inwards and using their personal experiences to enlighten others (Grennell, 2014; Meredith, 1998; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). In the early stages of colonisation many Māori were convinced assimilation was the only way for Māori to do well, or to survive in NZ (Grennell, 2014). Research discussing Grennell's bi/multi-cultural heritage experiences demonstrate how some cultural blending can position people in challenging spaces, where they do not fully fit anywhere. She calls the process of her increasingly mixed ancestry "becoming invisible" and reflects on the experience of not feeling good enough in many situations (Grennell, 2014, p. 36). Unpacking the impact of colonisation on what she terms one's "internal cultural object" (Grennell, 2014, p. 23), some may be left feeling not good enough in some situations (Hogg, 2018; Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b). She recalls asking herself, "Am I Māori enough?", "Am I immersed enough?", and ultimately "With my lack of te reo, tikanga, mātauranga and my colour, do I belong?" (Grennell, 2014, p. 25). These questions are common among contemporary Māori and increase the likelihood of insecure cultural identities.

## SUMMARY

Providing a single description for what being Māori means is difficult. Traditionally, Māori identities were deeply grounded in cultural customs, beliefs and values. Māori identity formation has been significantly shaped through the processes of colonisation. The early settlers intended to breed out the Māori population, aiming to extinguish the culture entirely. A high rate of inter-marriage has contributed to the diversification of the population and while parents are responsible for the transmission of cultural

knowledge to their children, this can be difficult in families where parents have different cultural heritages. Research has shown disconnection from culture and mātauranga Māori, due to colonisation, has led to the development of a range of diverse contemporary Māori identities (Kingi & Durie, 2000; Kingi et al., 2017). The SIT framework outlines the factors involved in self-identity formation and socially assigned identity and can help guide understanding of the spaces non-stereotypical Māori can find themselves in, due to social circumstances and hierarchical power differentials. Furthermore, resulting from inter-marriage, many contemporary Māori do not possess the stereotypical features commonly associated with Māori, which have been perpetuated throughout history in texts and via the media. They find themselves positioned in an ambiguous and conflicting space where they may have the authenticity of their identity challenged by others. Many contemporary Māori have a diminished sense of belonging and insecurity in their self-identity. Due to their non-stereotypical appearance and behaviours, they may also be subjected to discrimination or racism from both out-group and in-group members which can lead them to avoid, adapt or deny aspects of their Māori cultural identity entirely.

## CHAPTER THREE: STEREOTYPES AND RACISM

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“Aroha ki te tāngata, Ahakoa ko wai te tāngata”

Love people, in spite of who they are.

*Whakatauki*

### INTRODUCTION

This section of the thesis defines some of the core terms to understanding the experiences of racism for non-stereotypical Māori. Initially the focus is defining the fundamentals of culture, race, ethnicity to provide an awareness of why these words are used at particular points throughout the thesis. The understanding of these terms assists with developing awareness of the roles they have in identity formation, group membership, perceptions and experiences of discrimination or racism. Then finally, by unravelling the formation and use of stereotyping, alongside the framework of social identity theory, it is possible to see how stereotypes are used and perpetuated in society, and subsequently how non-stereotypical Māori face both out of group and in-group discrimination due to their hybrid position.

### 3.1 DEFINITIONS OF CULTURE, ETHNICITY AND RACE

#### 3.1.1 Culture

Race, ethnicity, and culture, although separate terms, are frequently used interchangeably. The word culture originates from the Latin and French words *cultus*, *cultura* and *colere*, which mean “to care”, “to nurture” and “to till (the ground)” as in *cultivate*. It is believed there are over 100 definitions for culture (Zimmermann, 2017). Anthropologist Christina De Rossi says the word culture shares its origins with several words that relate to “actively fostering growth”. The American Psychological Association (2020, p. 1) defines culture as: “The distinctive customs, values, beliefs, knowledge, art, and language of a society or a community. These values and concepts are passed on from generation to generation, and they are the basis for everyday behaviours and practices.” Therefore, among the psychological profession, culture is commonly referred to as a shared system of values, traditions, language, knowledge, history, beliefs, and social norms, which impact on the behaviour of a group of people (Stankov & Lee, 2009). The word



culture can also be used when referring to social groups or organisations in society that are deemed to have a culture (i.e., sports groups, clubs, professions, age groups and religious collectives) (American Psychological Association, 2020). However, these definitions have been criticized by many, including Cruz and Sonn (2011), who point out, it implies culture is a static *thing*. They contend people are shaped by experiences as well as collective historical knowledge and that culture is not static but is an evolutionary process, evolving with nature and humanity. It is fluid, constantly changing as the lived experiences of the group contribute towards new group knowledge. De Rossi, as quoted in Zimmermann (2017), feels culture is an important part of our interconnected world, comprised of ethnically diverse societies.

### 3.1.2 Race

Race is a concept founded in a particular culture, at a specific point in time, which attempts to explain the differences between people (Banton, 2000). Race can be defined as human groupings whose members share common physical characteristics, that are different enough from others to create a boundary (Todorov, 2000). Generally, the concept of race assumes that phenotype (physical characteristics) are an appropriate way of classifying people into social groups. As a concept, race tends to assume those who share a phenotype will also act a certain way. Race is a European construct that helped make sense of human diversity during colonisation and was used to justify discrimination (Wepa, 2018). According to Banton (2000), there are many different historical definitions of race. Initially, race focused on segregating *Black* and *White* people. It then became a mechanism of socially ranking individuals based on skin colour. Scientific theories attempted to define sub-species of humans as races, and finally race was associated with political concerns or *race relations*. In the words of Rocha (2012, p. 2), race is: “a socially and politically constructed concept within the social sciences: a form of social organisation, which erroneously links phenotype and ancestry to personal and social qualities and intrinsic worth.”

The blending of races has occurred throughout history, which means differences between groups are becoming less obvious (Miles, 1989; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). While scientists have struggled to find concrete biological evidence that supports racial theories, societies have continued to perceive racial differences. The easiest point of difference people continue to rely on are the observable characteristics

of skin colour, body, hair, and facial recognition (Todorov, 2000). For cognitive efficiency, a mental image of an exemplar, or prototype, for the group has been formed at some point. Ultimately, this means when someone refers to being Māori, a particular mental image for Māori will come to mind. There is an erroneous belief that the racial heritages for people of mixed race are identifiable because observers can recognise the typical traits of each race. However, research argues this theory is unreliable (Miles, 1989; Rocha, 2012). Too often utilising immediate beliefs about phenotypical appearances, with complete disregard for the possibility of any other racial composition, leads to individuals being socially assigned to the wrong groups.

### **3.1.3 Ethnicity**

As with the previous terms, multiple definitions exist for ethnicity. Many connect it interchangeably to culture and race (Hickling, 2012). The focus of ethnicity involves categorising a group based on their culture of origin; characteristics, values, attitudes, and behaviours that have been transmitted across generations (Phinney, 1996). On reflection it is easy to see how these terms can become confused. However, a distinction exists that separates the definitions. Culture evolves through experiences, migration, and cultural blending, whereas ethnicity is somewhat static because it typically relies on links to country of birth and lineage. Race and ethnicity are no longer defined by biological markers, but rather they are determined by descent and voluntary self-identification (Durie, 2001a; Nagel, 1994; Rocha, 2012).

## **3.2 STEREOTYPE FORMATION**

Social identity theorists maintain society is structured into hierarchical, discrete, social categories which are ordered according to power status and significant relationships with one another (Stangor, 2014). Categories exist for societal groups, social groups, and individuals. It is the meeting of the social and the individual which influences the discourse used in specific situations. Categorisation and some cognitive consequences of group membership are deemed universal and inevitable, and the assumptions that natural divisions exist between people are central to racist discourse (Miles, 1989).

### 3.2.1 First impressions

Children are encouraged from a young age to not judge books by their covers, suggesting they will be good people if they manage to avoid doing this. Yet, this idealistic value is completely contradictory to the ingrained, innate human behaviour that encourages us to judge others, often without conscious awareness of the process (McGarty et al., 2002). People are relatively adept at forming first impressions of others. Impressions that align with preconceived ideas about others, carry significant social outcomes (Zebrowitz & Montepare, 2008). Generally, initial impressions are based on facial appearance. The impact of the face is significant and commonly determines how individuals are perceived and how they are treated (Zebrowitz & Montepare, 2008). Generalisation through faces is part of adaptive behaviour and a cognitive process that helps humans make sense of the world and categorise it (Miles, 1989). But unfortunately, some associations with facial features can lead people to over generalise and form biases or stereotypes. Stereotypes are an example of human efficiency. They are a method used to categorise people based on certain characteristics and associated beliefs (McGarty et al., 2002). They help perceivers make sense of situations, with very little effort. It is the time saving aspect of stereotypes that entices people to use them (Memmi, 2000). They are overly simplistic and always refer to group membership (McGarty et al., 2002). Stereotypes are formed through shared cultural knowledge and an ideology that encourages comparison with the values and beliefs of the group that the perceiver belongs to. The beliefs that feed a stereotype may manifest from an actual observation, be based on an isolated incident that has been misconstrued, and occasionally they are entirely fictitious (Durie, 2001d; Laungani, 2009). It is also important to acknowledge, not all stereotypes are negative. While negative stereotypes are far more common, some stereotypes focus on positive aspects of a group (McGarty et al., 2002). SIT suggests humans are likely to favour their own group (i.e. In-Group) and automatically attach negative stereotypes to outgroup members (people who belong to other social groups) (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). These in-group/out-group dynamics mean ethnic minorities are not only disadvantaged when compared to the dominant group because of their minority status, but also due to negative societal stereotypes about their group that may influence how they are treated or perceived by dominant group members (McGarty et al., 2002; Nairn et al., 2011)

For a stereotype to exist, gain strength and endure, it must be socially transmitted and become a shared opinion by many people (Spears, 2002). They spread through society, transforming the generalised beliefs into a form of *common knowledge* which is accepted because it has the appearance of truth and makes sense, even if seldom based on reality (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). Once the opinion is shared, it acquires strength, gains importance, and forms a collective view. Although stereotypes are merely beliefs about groups, they are hard to shake once formed (Eberhardt, Davies, Purdie-Vaughns, & Johnson, 2006). While this simplistic, snapshot, categorisation system reduces the effort required of the perceiver, they often focus on broad standout common traits of people, overlooking finer details and diversity within groups, which leads to biased and flawed perceptions (McGarty et al., 2002).

### 3.2.2 Stereotyping minority groups

What and who is right and who are immoral in society, is decided by that society (Nairn et al., 2011). Stereotypes serve to protect the individual and group's sense of identity and help them to distinguish between *us* and *them*. Negative distortions of the other are typically self-enhancing as individuals, or groups, tend to avoid stereotypes that would threaten their own self-identity. They often defend the dominant party's interests and can serve a social function of maintaining oppressive power and hierarchies within societies. They are sometime used as an ideological justification for the social-political systems in place in the population (Miles, 1989).

SIT suggests Māori, as numerical minorities, are likely to be perceived as out-group members in many situations (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015). A growing body of evidence has shown higher rates of experiencing institutional racism, resulting from the individual's appearance being stereotypical of an ethnic minority or disadvantaged group.

*“Perceived stereotypicality (PS) is defined as the degree to which a group is viewed in a stereotypic fashion, that it, as possessing stereotypic attributes to a large degree and as not possessing counter-stereotypic attributes”*

(Park & Ryan, 1995, as cited in Houkamau & Sibley, 2015, p. 1)

Therefore, Māori are more vulnerable to stereotyping and unconscious biases.

### 3.2.3 Stereotypical and non-stereotypical Māori

As mentioned, due to ease of access, appearance informs many of the initial perceptions people make of others. Therefore, stereotypes are often linked to corporeal traits (physical appearances such as size, form, and colour), and behaviours or traits about the group (Hamilton & Trolie, 1986; Holmes, Murachver, & Bayard, 2001; Kashima, Fiedler, & Freytag, 2008; McGarty et al., 2002; Stangor & Crandall, 2013; Wall, 1997; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Culturally defined groups are frequently viewed as internally homogenous, a flawed suggestion that disregards the reality of variation within groups (Brah, 1991; Durie, 2001a; Houkamau, 2010; Rocha, 2012). The variations that exist within a culture can be vast but easily overlooked when generalisations focus on collective similarities. As a result of societal discourse and media, a prototypical Māori image exists which has resulted in phenotypical stereotypes. However, due to colonisation and assimilation, blond hair and blue-eyed Māori are increasingly common. In fact, the physical appearances of contemporary Māori are so diverse they cannot be viewed with such singularity (Dell Panny, 2008; Lyall Smith, 2008; McGarty et al., 2002; Muriwai et al., 2015). This research consciously positions “non-stereotypical Māori” as Māori who do not phenotypically appear as Māori or do not display the behaviours, traits or language commonly associated with these prototypical mental images.

The phenotypical stereotypes commonly used to categorise people as Māori, can simultaneously render some Māori invisible. When an individual falls into a category that is not clear cut, which often leads to incorrect social assignment, the individual may end up feeling as if they have identity options, or it may lead to identity confusion (Appiah, 2000). As a result of these stereotypes, non-stereotypical Māori are often subjected to challenges aimed at authenticity of their cultural identity. While some non-stereotypical Māori benefit from their physical appearances, mismatched social assignment can reinforce the marginal/hybrid space they find themselves in (Gillon et al., 2019). Within Māori groups, the inability to readily recognise an individual as Māori will likely place non-stereotypical Māori in the position of *other* and threaten their sense of belonging. Simultaneously, research demonstrates while some contemporary Māori, who are socially assigned as Māori, choose not to identify as Māori, it does not change the level of racism they are likely to experience because of their phenotypical appearances (Kukutai, 2003).

Furthermore, due to being socially assigned as solely Pākehā, non-stereotypical Māori will frequently be exposed indirectly to racism aimed at Māori, which can be confronting.

### 3.3 DISCRIMINATION AND RACISM

A prejudice is a judgement or assumption which is made before all the information regarding a situation has been considered fully (Wepa, 2018). It is a phenomenon that relates to exteriors. Where the 'other' looks to belong to a specific group, a reaction occurs, initiated by those physical differences and the associated assumptions made (Cozma, 2004). Prejudice often leads to discrimination. Discrimination is the act of treating "others" differently, due to their perceived membership to a particular group. Discrimination ultimately leads to advantage or disadvantage based solely on the defining features that categorised the people into the specific group (Ward & Liu, 2012).

Social identity researchers link racism with biases and stereotype judgements, but insist racism is much more. Racism is seen as a problem of ethnocentrism, explaining how preference for one's own ethnic and racial group is used to make universal judgements about the other and is connected to a chain of discriminatory consequences (Todorov, 2000). Racism is not just about negative stereotypes, but also other forms of preferences, such as actions, division, allocation of resources, and through overemphasising the differences between groups. Racist discourse, in this view, is discourse which favours in-groups and degrades out-groups (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

Racism is a word that people typically recoil from as it brings to mind images of supremacists and extremists (Reid, 2011). Definitions for racism include; an ideology of racial superiority and social hierarchies based on race and ethnicity (Gillon et al., 2019; Harris et al., 2006a), or as Berman and Paradies (2010) describe, "a mix of prejudice, power, ideology, stereotypes, domination, disparities and/or unequal treatment." (as cited in Barnes et al., 2013, p. 64). Racism suppresses cultures and diversity, encourages violence and limits access to societal resources. It has been referred to as structured violence and is suggested to operate and overlap in many levels of society; societal, institutional, interpersonal, and internalised. At a societal level, it is produced by group norms, social values and behaviours, epistemologies and ultimately attachments to hegemonic power. At the institutional levels, it manifests

from organisational policies, practices, and requirements that create and maintain unfair and avoidable inequalities across racial/ethnic/cultural groups. At the interpersonal level, it is by direct interactions between people across power differentials, that maintain and reinforce inequalities. Finally, within a population, the above interactions (along with absorption of societal negativity) become internalised and form a specific discourse, ideology, and attitude towards certain others (Barnes et al., 2013; Todorov, 2000; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Remembering identity is never permanently fixed but is instead shaped by the social environment and evolves with time, racism attempts to herd people into neat boxes, fixing them in time and place, and creating a solid boundary between groups.

Racist behaviours are an unfortunate reality that seem unlikely to disappear. Although tolerance for racism has decreased significantly (Todorov, 2000), there is a belief that if racism did not exist, some other method of group and hierarchical differentiation would be found (Stangor, 2014). Racism relies on a hierarchy of values. The mere acknowledgement that different races exist is not enough to satisfy egos, but rather assigned superiority of one group above the other keeps the fires of racism burning (Todorov, 2000). Racism implies two different things. The first, behaviour which is typically dislike (or hatred) for individuals who have, well-defined, physical characteristics that are different to the perceiver's. The second, an ideology concerning human races that fixates on an ideal type of people, often avoiding rather than racial mixing.

Colourism, a sibling of racism, is discrimination or racism motivated by the interpretation of skin colour and provides many challenges as the assumptions regarding group membership do not necessarily reflect reality. The presence or absence of brownness or whiteness acts as a cultural marker, invoking assumptions, and triggering associated stereotypes (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). This can place bicultural individuals into certain spaces. Sometimes confusion can create conflict. This is usually when it is thought an individual has invaded the other's space, irrespective of reality, and is largely due to a threatening of the boundaries dividing Māori and Pākehā cultural spaces. These *hybrids* confuse the innate rules created for the *us* and *them* categorisations.

The out-group and in-group racism experienced by hybrid non-stereotypical Māori is complex. Individuals often experience shame, but for a variety of reasons. Some will experience shame from not living up to

societal expectations and failing to be genuine Māori, others will feel shame because they are Māori and have internalised negativity or evolved to view being Māori as unfavourable (Bell, 2004a; Paringatai, 2014). They can also face discrimination from Pākehā for being Māori and from Māori for their whiteness. This ultimately leaves them with no clear *Us* to belong to. When racism is broadcast socially across multiple platforms, it becomes a pervasive force in society and affects the lives of its targets detrimentally (Barnes et al., 2013).

### 3.4 THE ROLE OF DISCOURSE

The following definition of discourse is borrowed from the field of social psychology. Discourse is all forms of spoken interaction both formal and informal as well as all forms of written text. It is a system of statements that construct an object and provide a coherent system of meanings. Types of people are also considered objects. Discourses do not simply describe the social world, they categorise it, making phenomena visible. Parker (1990) states,

*“Discourses allow us to focus on things that are not ‘really’ there and once an object is defined, it is difficult not to refer to it as if it were real.” para.7*

Discourses contain subjects, which are those who read, write, hear, or speak the discourses, as well as the location being constructed. They are historically located, meaning they are recollections of objects in the past, and they can reproduce power dynamics (Parker, 1990). Discourses frame the way we think about the objects they construct and the way we think about how we are positioned as subjects. Judith Butler (1993) suggests the process of naming and creating a subject relies on discursive processes, which assign power hierarchies that define the subjects in certain ways. An experience of the world is determined by the social position and behaviours of the individual in it. Discourse is the language used to make sense of our environment and experiences, and the narratives provided for everyday experiences that are drawn on throughout life (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). At the individual level, people make sense of their lives through the stories available to them and they attempt to fit their lives into those stories (Richardson, 1990).



Racist discourse is where meanings are assigned to specific phenotypical or generic characteristics of groups of people, and by assigning additional (negatively evaluated) characteristics or stereotypes to the people in those groups. This process forms the basis of creating power imbalances and a hierarchy of groups. It also guides the allocation of resources and access to services. Racial discourse and evidence of ideologies of racial class, superiority, and inferiority have been projected in media throughout history. The historical discourse in NZ that has promoted these negative ways of viewing Māori, has endured to this day (McCreanor, 1997; Nairn et al., 2012). Early texts largely reflected a white supremacist's notion of race where black people were commonly portrayed as a primitive race at an earlier stage of human development (Said, 1985). Early colonialists believed deficiency of the English language, bizarre rituals, and an apparent lower intellect validated their beliefs about the other's hierarchical position. These ideas shaped how the first interactions with Māori were perceived. Some of the earliest records of Europeans and Māori interactions come from historical accounts of Captain Cook's NZ landing in 1769 (Ellison-Loschmann & Pearce, 2006). The white settlers described Māori in ways that enabled them to establish them as the inferior 'race' and positioned them as lower-class labourers in the social hierarchies. This ideology was perpetuated in institutions, schools, churches, mass media and all the places where people are trained to recognise themselves in a particular way.

### 3.5 THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

NZ society has irrefutably been shaped by Westernised world views. Mass media is the storyteller of our society (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Nairn et al., 2011; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine, & Barnes, 2006; Wall, 1997). Utilising the variety of resources at their disposal, including discourse, they expertly create the picture they wish to present to the public, subtly portraying the ideals of the dominant Pākehā culture. Media discourses are rarely transparent or innocent, and actively create realities rather than reflect them (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Herman & Chomsky, 2010). Subsequently, the media transforms how we make sense of the world and those in it and has a great deal of control over our lives. Research the world over has shown, the media disproportionately presents negative coverage of marginalised groups and is responsible for reinforcing the stereotypes and labels applied to them by the dominant cultures. In many

cases, the media provides the only access to look inside the lives of the Indigenous cultures within society (Barnes et al., 2013).

Many of the discursive practises used by the media in NZ, inflate the persona of the dominant Pākehā culture, helping to create a divide between them and other subjects, maintaining oppressive power imbalances (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Nairn et al., 2011). While society does not rely on mass media as the main source of cultural knowledge, it becomes a byproduct of the information presented, which is steeped within the worldviews and perspective of the creator. When portrayed in mass media, minority and Indigenous cultures are more often portrayed negatively, and their cultural beliefs and traditions trivialised (Nairn et al., 2012; Nairn et al., 2011). The NZ media is guilty of promoting Pākehā perspectives and positioning Māori as underachievers, involved in crime and violence, or as recipients of special treatment (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Nairn et al., 2012). This agenda setting presents Māori in a negative light, creating and reinforcing negative stereotypes for Māori in society, including being lazy, benefit seekers, unhealthy, uneducated, socially and morally loose, ignorant, and deviant (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1945). These stereotypical narratives have contributed to the perpetuation of racial discrimination against Māori (Awatere, 1984) and it is hard for the general public to avoid having their beliefs altered by them (Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b).

The phenotypical stereotypes commonly assigned to Māori are largely based on traditional Māori imagery. This imagery is perpetuated by the media and tourism services and has created a phenotypical mental image of what Māori look like and how they behave (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; Apiata, 2017b; Gillon et al., 2019; Houkamau & Sibley, 2015; Nairn et al., 2011). A group of Māori participants engaged in research looking at experiences of racism, described how they believed racist stereotyping is driven by the hegemonic representations of Māori in texts and the media (Pack et al., 2016b). They emphasised how the early writings of Pākehā portrayed Māori in negative light and highlighted the part the media played in reproducing these discourses, minimising and vilifying Māori, and failing to present positive aspects of Māori or their achievements. Similar negative representations are commonly found in social media and continue to perpetuate and maintain racist discourses aimed at Māori to this day (Johns & McCosker, as cited in Pack et al. (2016b).

Some Māori groups are equally guilty of presenting *prototypical* Māori in the media, perpetuating and reinforcing the stereotypical imagery of appearances (Bell, 2004a). A lack of diverse Māori faces displayed in the media makes it hard for non-stereotypical/contemporary Māori to recognise themselves in that space and feel like they belong in Māori groups (Gillon et al., 2019; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). To combat this, exposure to a diverse range of Māori in the media and raising awareness of the realities for contemporary Māori, will aid in a stronger sense of identification and belonging for more non-stereotypical Māori, which is vital for combating the effects of the stereotypes existing in society (Houkamau, 2010, 2016)..

### 3.6 ADDRESSING WHITE PRIVILEGE

White privilege is a term coined in America which is considered a factor of institutional racism. White privilege is an unearned privilege carried by white people as a consequence of being, or passing as, members of the culturally dominant group (Black & Huygens, 2007). It may be overt or implicit (Barnes et al., 2013). Research in NZ has shown white privilege is invisible to most Pākehā (Gibson, 2006). Individuals are generally able to talk about what being Pākehā meant to them, but struggled to talk about privilege (Gray, 2012). Many non-stereotypical Māori are perceived to be privileged, as it is likely they have not experienced the same degree of discrimination, or disadvantages as most traditionally phenotypical Māori have. Often non-stereotypical Māori come from historically assimilated families, who adopted Pākehā culture, beliefs, traditions, language, and behaviours. They can align with the dominant culture ideals seamlessly, which allows them access to some resources not easily obtainable by “traditional” Māori (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). Due to persuasive political policies throughout the Nation’s history, over time it became common for some assimilated Māori to reject their cultural connections in pursuit of the same advantages those who behaved and conformed to the Pākehā lifestyle were rewarded with (Dell Panny, 2008; Kukutai, 2007). At the same time, non-stereotypical Māori may be socially assigned as Pākehā and will likely receive advantages from this, such as relief from many unconscious forms of racism or better access to quality healthcare (Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021). There are many experiences shared on social media platforms which attempt to engage and educate audiences on the range of diversity found within the Māori population and the realities of being mixed Māori. Some non-

stereotypical Māori even acknowledge how white privilege has played a part in their lives (rachelbeazley, 2020b) and believe it would be wrong to not acknowledge it or deny it exists (rachelbeazley, 2020b, 2020c).

## SUMMARY

By defining culture, race and ethnicity, this chapter laid a solid foundation for understanding the concepts of discrimination and racism. It outlined how discourse is responsible for shaping human experience, and subsequently how first impressions and group experiences can lead to stereotyping, an extension of categorisation processes which have been shown to lead to biases and discrimination. Māori as the minority group in NZ, have been subjected to stereotypes initially formed during early colonisation, maintained throughout the nation's history and continue to be perpetuated in common discourse or by the media. An individual's level of stereo typicality is directly related to the types of discrimination and racism they will experience, with those in hybrid positions likely to be confronted with both in-group and out-group experiences of racism resulting from their socially assigned identities. This chapter, along with the previous two chapters, has outlined the factors responsible for the evolution and diversification of the Māori population and individual identities. It focused on the social processes which defined the stereotypical phenotypes and behaviours associated with Māori and outlined the processes that lead to social comparisons which can result in discrimination and racism. This sets the scene for the following chapter which provides an overview of the research, including the methodology, objectives, procedures and participants.

## CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

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### INTRODUCTION

This section outlines the mixed-methodology Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR) that underpins this thesis and how this was implemented. It discusses phenomenological analysis and how this compliments KMR research, leaving the participant who is the holder of knowledge to provide explanations and meanings for their own experiences. This is followed by describing the procedures undertaken, including describing the pool of participants, methods of data collection, and providing an overview of the survey and interview questions with justifications for the integration of specific aspects of previous research.

### 4.1 KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

KMR was forged in a period where self-determination of Indigenous cultures was emerging and during an important time of reclamation and recovery of Māori culture. It went hand in hand with te reo immersion schooling, which aimed to nurture the language back to health, and the introduction of Māori models of healthcare designed to inform healthcare approaches in order to facilitate changes to health equity (Bishop, 2008; Te Ata O Tu MacDonald & Muldoon, 2006; Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006). Prior to this, most research subjected Māori to unfair scrutiny framed in western worldviews and biases. It labelled them as the *other* and used methods or tools in communities where they were contextually inappropriate for use. There are no great surprises that much of this research failed to benefit the Māori population, which led to mistrust in the communities for researchers (Bishop, 2011; Mahuika, 2008).

The principles of KMR aim to reverse this mistrust and return power (in the research context) to Māori. Kaupapa Māori is a theory underpinned by Māori philosophies of the world, which has Māori foundations and encompasses Māori understandings. KMR is driven by principles rather than processes (Grennell, 2014). The methodology demands respect for Māori knowledge and addresses the numerous issues that frequently occur when using Westernised research methods, such as misrepresentation, loss of dignity, and further marginalisation (Bishop, 1999, 2008, 2011; Mahuika, 2008; Mane, 2009; Smith, 2012; Walker

et al., 2006). Through incorporating tikanga, te reo and te ao Māori, the research is positioned in a Māori worldview. It is a collaborative approach to research that requires guidance from Māori, to be led by Māori and be for the benefit of Māori. KMR transformed research from being with Māori to being by Māori, guaranteeing the community voice is heard (Kerr, Penney, Moewaka Barnes, & McCreanor, 2010; Thompson, Barnett, & Rangahau, 2008) .

Loosely based on pōwhiri frameworks, KMR incorporates values and traditions of te ao Māori to guide the research. Steps, such as seeking guidance from kaumatua during the initial stages to ensure the research is beneficial to Māori and appropriate and decide on the best approach that will ensure maximum engagement, are important. Kānohi ki te kānohi (face-to-face) research is always preferred (Pack et al., 2016b). Hosting, being generous and not flaunting your knowledge are basic expected courtesies, and every other aspect should be constructed with the culturally specific ethics unique to KMR in mind. These include the principles of whānau, te reo and social justice (Thompson et al., 2008). Where appropriate karakia, whakawhānaungatanga, kōrero, whakatauki, pūrākau, and koha should be integrated into the design of the research and tikanga should be honoured. These actions promote trust, establish common ground and create a safe space for sharing (Mahuika, 2008; Thompson et al., 2008; Walker et al., 2006). KMR recognises Māori can have different ways of thinking and doing and therefore the knowledge is constructed from differing values and perspectives which are equally valuable (Smith, 2012).

#### 4.2 THE APPLICATION OF KMR TO THE PRESENT STUDY

For this research, advice and guidance was sought from conception to final design from a variety of Māori advisers from multiple settings in the researcher's social networks. COVID-19 changed the way the research was undertaken, with initial plans to attend noho marae (face-to-face research) with tauira (students) of level two and level three te reo learners at Te Uranga Waka, Hawkes Bay. Early discussions to arrange this occurred with the kaiwhakaako of the centre, but due to a rapidly evolving COVID environment and subsequent lockdowns, noho marae were put on hold. Therefore, this research had to pivot from being in-person with participants who would be new contacts, to being online with participants who are embedded in existing networks. Consequently, the Māori workforce development program Te Rau Puawai was approached, given I am a bursar of this program. After discussion with the program

coordinator, it was decided that an invitation to be involved in the research would be distributed via the Te Rau Puawai mailing list, with whānau and friends of those on the list being provided the opportunity to participate. This approach allowed for a greater representation of the Māori population, snowballing the invitation across the wider community.

As previously described, the incorporation of te reo Māori, where the ability of the researcher permits, and tikanga is an important facet of KMR that was followed. The interviews were guided by pōwhiri structure, incorporating te reo Māori, karakia, and whakatauki, as well as allowing safe space for relaxed kōrero, and ensuring the participants' knowledge and shared experiences are respected and protected. The research design meets its obligations. The "kānohi ki te kānohi" participants also had opportunity to review the final work before it was submitted. This allows them to withdraw any aspects they no longer wish to have included, as well as ensures they are being accurately represented. This aligns with the principle of tino rangatiratanga, where the participants opinions were valued over the researchers, especially giving the opportunity to provide feedback prior to submission of the thesis (Pack et al., 2016b).

#### 4.3 PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Phenomenological research is the subjective study of consciousness or experiences (Smith, 2018). Human action is complex and ambiguous, which means it is an ideal method for studying topics that are diverse, contextual and subjective. Because of its subjectivity, it is considered a useful approach when issues of identity and the self are the focus (Smith & Osborn, 2007). It provides an ideal method of researching lived experience, by allowing space to view everyday experiences just as they are (Semmons, 2006). Phenomenology requires the researcher withholds their assumptions and prior beliefs and instead insists truth and meaning are founded within the subjective interpretations of the individual's experiences (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985; Grennell, 2014).

*"Phenomenological research is, properly, the study of ordinary, everyday phenomena. Through disciplined focus on the structure of experience (e.g., time, space, materiality, causality, interpersonal factors), the phenomenological investigation attempts to reveal the actual nature and meaning of an event, perception, or occurrence, just as it appears."*  
(Douglass & Moustakas, 1985, p. 42)

Utilising this approach allows space for free-flowing conversation without any motive, simply hearing the experiences of others. Phenomenological analysis compliments the KMR approach taken in this research, as it provides a holistic approach to understanding experiences, acknowledges the participants as the holder of knowledge, and insists meaning making is positioned with the subject or holder of the lived experience(s). Finally, it provides the required autonomy and respect for the participants and avoids, demeaning or minimising any shared experiences by simply presenting them in their rawness for the reader.

Qualitative research allows the researcher to look at specific areas of interest, in this case lived experience of discrimination and racism, in detail (Semmons, 2006). Online qualitative surveys are not as common as quantitative surveys, especially when using interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA), as the opportunity for participant clarification does not exist (Braun & Clarke, 2013). However, online qualitative surveys remove a number of barriers to participation and are able to reach a large number of individuals easily. Research shows open ended questions in qualitative surveys can generate large amounts of valuable text, perspectives and experiences (in the participants own words), which can be analysed for emergent themes relevant to the research (Biggerstaff & Thompson, 2008; Braun & Clarke, 2013; Langdrige, 2007). Survey responses often do not have the complete richness of the experiences that can be garnered from semi-structured interviews. However, the responses from the survey assisted the research by exposing themes and experiences which could be explored during the interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Langdrige, 2007; Willig, 2013).

IPA is concerned with experiences and their meanings (Willig, 2013). It views phenomena from the perspective of those who experience them and examines how they assign meaning to their experiences rather than opinions about them (Biggerstaff & Thompson, 2008). IPA is typically undertaken with small groups of participants (Smith & Osborn, 2007), but it has been suggested these boundaries should be pushed and expanded upon as research evolves (Smith, 2004). Combining semi-structured interviews to the research garnered in-depth narratives of individual's experiences. The interview techniques allowed the participants to lead the kōrero in the directions that were meaningful to them and enabled the researcher to examine the meanings of these experiences from the individual's point of view (Semmons,



2006; Smith & Osborn, 2007). IPA recognises that interpretation is an unavoidable part of analysis and dictates the researcher uses a *double hermeneutic* to obtain the required insiders perspective, simply “the researcher is trying to make sense of the participant making sense of their personal and social world” (Smith, 2004, p. 40). IPA also acknowledges access to the exact world of another individual is unrealistic, but the objective is to get a response which is as close as possible to the participants reality (Noon, 2018).

#### 4.4 DUALISM OF THE INSIDER / OUTSIDER POSITION.

It was important to address the position I hold as knowledge bearer as well as knowledge gatherer. I am both an insider and outsider. I am a Māori who phenotypically appears Pākehā and have often been cast aside by Māori, which has threatened my sense of belonging. I was also the ‘insider/outsider’ researcher for this project. This places me in a position with great responsibility. In line with KMR design, I am Māori with lived experiences that guide and shape how I understand the non-stereotypical Māori position I am researching. It was therefore extremely important to recognise my worldview and biases and how they may colour my understanding of participant’s experiences. I must not allow my research objectives and perceptions to alter participant’s realities. Where possible, I must seek clarification or obtain definitions from the participants directly, to ensure the responses and experiences are best reflecting their lived experiences, thus minimising the possibility of my experiences contaminating theirs. While this was possible with the kōrero, the anonymous nature of the experiences shared in the online survey prevented clarification from these respondents. Therefore, as the respondents are considered the experts of their experiences, these experiences are reported as they were written by the respondents, in their own words.

Finally, as previously alluded to and in line with SIT, I am aware of the possibility that with kānohi ki te kānohi discussion, some participants may not have perceived me as Māori enough, causing them to question my authenticity as a KMR researcher. Incorporation of whakawhanaungatanga and tikanga into the kōrero are ways to form a mutual relationship and safe space for sharing, and through this I hoped to overcome this possibility.

## 4.5 PROCEDURE

This research used a mixed methodology of quantitative (online survey) and qualitative (blended online survey and interview) approaches to data collection. Prior to collection of data, ethical approval for the research was sought and obtained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: 4000022335.

As noted above, participants were recruited via my acquaintanceship networks through Te Rau Puawai. Potential participants were invited to participate in the research via an email which contained information about the research, an invitation to be interviewed, as well as a link to an online survey. All potential participants were invited to share the invitation with anyone they believed might be interested in participating. Due to the nationwide COVID-19 lockdown in 2020 impacting survey formation, distribution of the invitation email to participate was delayed.

### 4.5.1 Participants

A key aspect of phenomenology is the participant sampling. Purposive sampling requires the researcher to obtain a group of participants who share a common experience, in this case experiences of racism as a result of being non-stereotypical Māori, which allows the researcher to make claims about this particular group with a goal of providing detailed descriptions of their experiences (Langdrige, 2007, p. 58). A total of 80 individuals responded to the online survey. The only eligibility criteria necessary for participants to complete the survey were that they were bicultural Māori and over the age of 18 years. A series of demographic questions collected data regarding the participants age, gender, and geographic location. Responses to these questions showed data was collected from a variety of geographical locations throughout NZ, with participants indicating they lived in places ranging from Northland to Wellington and further down to Canterbury. Participants were asked if they lived in rural or urban locations and responses showed 82% (N = 54) lived in urban environments. In response to gender, 87% (N = 58) indicated they were female, and the mean age of the participants was 36 years old.

A smaller group of four participants responded to the invitation to be interviewed. Again, the only pre-requisites for eligibility to participate were being bicultural Māori and over the age of 18 years. Of the four respondents, three were female, and one was male. They came from four geographically different

locations in NZ. Three were psychology students, with one also in full-time employment in the education sector. The fourth participant was a full-time health professional in a DHB. The ages of the participants varied greatly, ranging from the 18-24 group to over 55 years. This gave a good depth of experiences across the age ranges and historical contexts of NZ's recent past.

#### 4.5.2 Online Survey

The online survey was hosted on the Qualtrics platform, and comprised a total of 75 question items, which included the following:

The first 54 questions were taken directly from the *Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE2)* (Houkamau & Sibley, 2014a). The MMM-ICE2 is as previously described, a 54-item measure assessing Māori identity. It comprises the seven subscales of: group membership evaluation, perceived appearance, socio-political consciousness, authenticity, cultural efficacy and active identity engagement, interdependent self-concept, and spirituality. Responses are made on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree), and example items include: *"I love the fact that I am Māori"*, *"My Māori ancestry is important to me"*, *"I have a clear sense of my Māori heritage and what it means to me"*, and *"I can sometimes feel my ancestors watching over me"*.

A second section containing an additional 15 questions was incorporated to collect experiences which highlight the expansiveness of the divide between self-identity and socially assigned identity, and insight into the varying experiences of discrimination or racism which may occur as a result of this position. Responses were used to identify the pertinent themes and subthemes to the research. This was achieved by:

Replication of two contrasting questions from Te Kupenga (2018), an official Statistics NZ measurement of Māori well-being (see appendix F), which directly measures individual self-identity, along with the individual's perception of their socially assigned identity (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). As with SIT, socially assigned identities are largely constructed using beliefs about others and alignment with prototypical exemplars of groups, suggesting that social assignment of Māori identity relies heavily on phenotypical and behaviour characteristics being present (Hogg, 2018). Therefore, these two questions

were included as a quantitative assessment of the prevalence of disconnect between self and socially constructed identities, particularly for non-stereotypical Māori.

The remaining questions included six extended questions, that invited participants to share narrative details of their various experiences of identity authentication, discrimination and racism. Four demographic questions, collecting the participants geographical location, rural or urban locality, age and gender were included to assess for diversity (see Appendix A. for full questionnaire). Finally, the survey closed by offering the opportunity to kōrero with those who had experiences, which aligned with the kaupapa of the research. This provided the opportunity to collect more in-depth narratives of the experiences of discrimination and racism participants has experienced throughout their lives, focusing on experiences where the individual does not feel like they belong to their self-identified cultural group or groups, with emphasis on those who can “walk the line” between both Māori and Pākehā realities. These narratives provided opportunity to enhance understanding and deepen awareness of the various realities non-stereotypical Māori are confronted with. As with IPA techniques, the narratives were analysed for emergent themes, which were subsequently explored during the interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Langdrige, 2007; Smith, 2004).

While 80 responses were obtained for the survey data, the sample was not considered large enough to ensure enough statistical power to perform bivariate and multivariate analyses. Given the timeframe of this research, the ongoing impacts of COVID-19, and the fact the research had already been delayed, a decision was made to not seek further participants to respond to the survey. Consequently, statistical analyses of the MMM-ICE2 and other key questions were not performed. Instead, it was decided that the most logical method was to combine the responses of the qualitative material (i.e., the interview data and qualitative responses to the survey questions) and generate qualitative findings for this study. However, some frequency data from the online survey and the Te Kupenga data from Statistics NZ were retained and included in the thesis, to better contextualise the qualitative data.

#### 4.5.3 Kōrero / Interview

Due to the ongoing COVID-19 restrictions of 2020, interviews were all held via Zoom, and ranged in duration from 40 minutes to 1 hour and 40 minutes long. The guiding questions asked during the interviews are provided in the interview schedule in Appendix D. The open-ended questions aimed to guide conversation, but ensured the conversation was not restricted by them, instead allowing the participants control over where the conversation flowed. The questions were designed to allow participants the opportunity to share their personal experiences of walking the line as a Māori with bicultural heritage. The participants were asked to discuss their experiences with as much detail as they were comfortable sharing. Interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed by the researcher into a word document (Langdridge, 2007; Noon, 2018; Smith & Osborn, 2007; Smith, 2004; Willig, 2013). Through this, familiarity with the content of the transcripts was formed (Moyle, 2014). The transcriptions were re-read and audited for accuracy. As noted above, transcriptions were provided to participants for reviewing and editing as they wished, prior to being returned for analysis. As with IPA, the transcripts were individually analysed, notes made, manually coded, dissected and sorted into themes (Langdridge, 2007; Noon, 2018; Smith & Osborn, 2007; Smith, 2004; Willig, 2013). Throughout this process, respect for the participant's stories was an important consideration, and the integrity of the data maintained (Moyle, 2014; Willig, 2013). The analysis uncovered a series of themes, and subthemes as presented in the results.

#### SUMMARY

This mixed methodology research was undertaken via an established social network and snowballed wider across the population. Utilising KMR and phenomenological research approaches, a mixed quantitative/qualitative online survey was distributed which gathered experiential texts and other data that enabled comparison with existing statistical data. Extending on this, four participants agreed to participating in semi-structured interviews via zoom, in which richly detailed experiences were shared. In total, this research generated data from 80 participants nationwide, with only prerequisites for participation being: a) of mixed Māori descent, and b) over the age of 18. The data collected was analysed using IPA techniques. The results, with supporting quotes, are presented in the following pages of chapter five.

## CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

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This chapter outlines the quantitative and qualitative results arising from the study. Quantitative findings will be presented first, with the findings based on the Te Kupenga public data and participant responses regarding self-identity and socially assigned identity being provided. The qualitative findings will follow with themes and sub-themes summarised, along with quotes that explicate each. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the combined findings.

### 5.1 QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

The following section provides a comparison of quantitative data from two separate surveys. The first section analyses the responses to two specific questions, among 8500 individuals who took part in the Te Kupenga 2018 survey. The second section provides the data obtained from the present survey of 80 participants, for these same two questions.

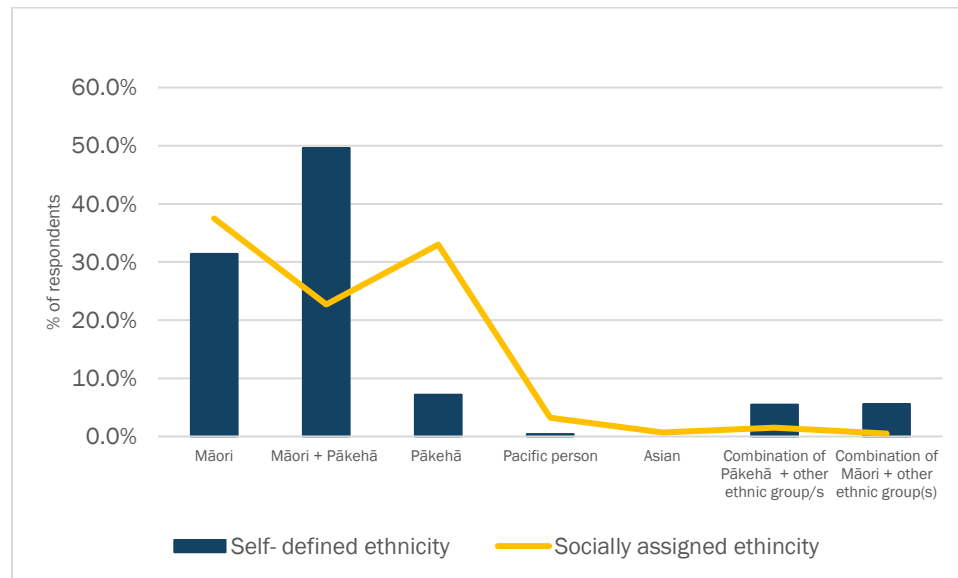
#### 5.1.1 Replication of the Te Kupenga questions

Frequency information from the customised dataset (N=8500) of individuals who identified as Māori in the 2018 Statistics New Zealand census and were subsequently enlisted in the Te Kupenga 2018 study, revealed 31.4% of the sample self-identified solely as Māori. The majority (49.6%) self-identified as mixed Māori-Pākehā ethnicity, while only 7.2% self-identified as solely Pākehā.

When comparing socially assigned identities from the same dataset, most participants reported believing the perceptions of others led them to be categorised differently to their self-identity. The results showed 37.5% believed they were socially assigned as solely Māori, 22.7% as mixed Māori-Pākehā, and 33% believed they were identified by others as solely Pākehā. This equates to 2193 individuals who identified as Māori or mixed Māori-Pākehā, that believe others see them as solely Pākehā. Figure 1 provides a diagrammatical depiction of the differences between self-identity and socially assigned identities from the Te Kupenga 2018 dataset.

**Figure 1.**

*Comparing self-defined and socially assigned ethnicity from Te Kupenga 2018*



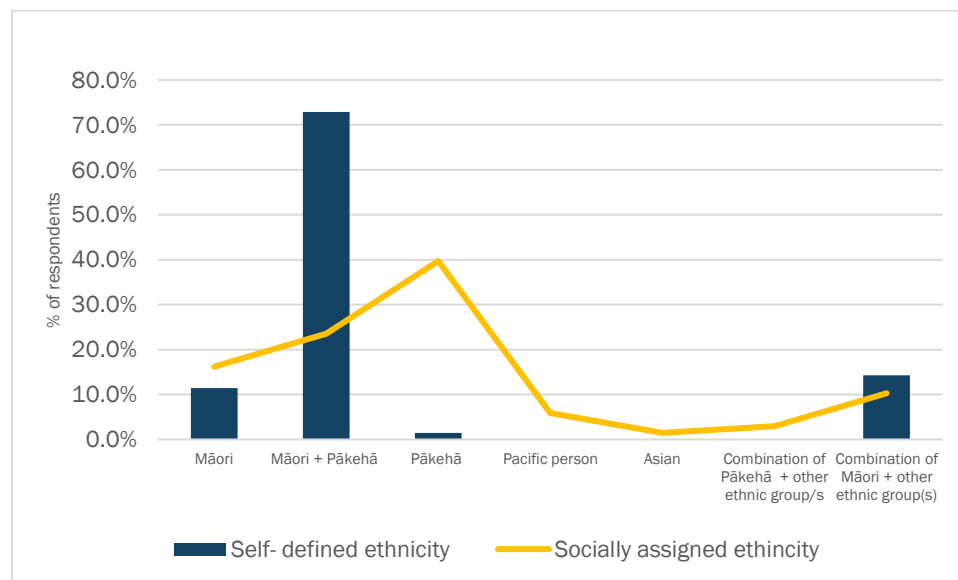
*Note.* The graph demonstrate the differences between individual self-defined ethnicity and their perceptions regarding socially assigned ethnicity among 8500 Māori participants, from the Te Kupenga 2018 survey. (Statistics New Zealand, 2018)

Frequency results from the present study (N=80) revealed the majority of the sample self-identified as mixed Māori-Pākehā (72%). Approximately 31% self-identified solely as Māori, 8% solely as Pākehā, and 6% respectively, as either a combination of Māori and other ethnic groups or Pākehā and other ethnic groups.

Socially assigned identities were most frequently reported as solely Māori (38%) or solely Pākehā (32%), while only 23.5% believed they were identified by others as mixed Māori-Pākehā. Figure 2. provides visual comparisons between the self-identities and socially assigned identities for the present sample.

**Figure 2.**

*Comparing self-defined and socially assigned ethnicity from Walking the Line Survey 2020*



*Note.* The graph shows the differences between individual self-defined ethnicity and the perceptions regarding socially assigned ethnicity among 80 Māori participants, from the Walking the Line survey data (Arnold, 2020).

## 5.2 QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

Jonathan Smith's (1996) IPA is a method designed to allow in-depth exploration of phenomena from a idiographic-subjective mode of enquiry and is concerned with how individuals perceive the world and the meanings they assign to their experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith, 1996). IPA acknowledges the role of interpretation for both the participants in meaning making, and the researcher in analysing the participant's responses (Biggerstaff & Thompson, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith & Shinebourne, 2012). A central premise of IPA is that the themes emerge *from* the data during the analysis process, rather than being applied *to* the data (Biggerstaff & Thompson, 2008; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith, 1996). Therefore, the analysis commenced with reviewing the transcripts one by one, generating initial notes and codes for each. The codes were then assessed for patterns and organised into common themes, and sub-themes (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Integration across transcripts uncovered shared themes, which led to the creation of the final superordinate themes that best captured the essence of the participant's



experiences. The emergent themes were re-analysed for certainty. Four final superordinate themes transcended the data:

1. Identity development
2. Biculturalism and Hybridity
3. Experiences of Racism (indirect, by non-Māori, by Māori)
4. Explanations for Racism

Within each of these, several sub-themes were also identified. These are discussed below. Quotes from participants are included. Names have been changed to protect anonymity. The quotes are drawn from both the survey and interview participant's kōrero. Participants from the interviews are assigned letters A-D. Quotes from a single interview are consistently assigned the same identifier. The remaining quotes represent the survey responses and are assigned randomised identifiers.

### ***Theme 1: Identity Development***

This theme explored the beliefs participants held about their identity, including factors that contributed to their identity formation. Participants emphasised the importance of the social and cultural influences during their upbringing. They recognised a disconnect from cultural influences led to uncertainty regarding their cultural identity. Sub-themes identified were (a) *beliefs about identity*, (b) *lack of access to cultural factors that support development*, and (c) *insecure identity*.

#### **Beliefs about identity**

The way participants described their identities was largely dependent on their formative histories. Frequently, their beliefs about their identity were reliant on social acquisition of culture and the many influences and experiences that have shaped them. Validation of group membership and having a strong supportive family connection assisted in determining security and freedom of identity expression.

There was probably only three of us that were of Māori descent [at school]. One of the guys looked more Māori, he had the Māori features, was darker skinned, whereas I probably look more Māori now, but I didn't when I was younger. My doctor used to wonder if I was Mediterranean. (Participant A)

So I grew up with my solo father, me and my sister. He's Welsh. I actually remember when I found out that I was Māori. It was when I first met my mother. I said to my Dad, who's that lady? Because obviously she doesn't look like me. And he said, oh that's your mother. And I said to him, Well, how come I don't look like her? Visibly coloured, you know, because I'm fair and she's not. So there was that. There I realised I was a bit different. (Participant C)

My view of ethnicity around Māori is if you whakapapa to Māori, you are. The choice you have to make is to participate, or not, in te ao Māori. (Participant D)

My dad used to describe this Māori continuum. It started with a brown Pākehā and finished with an educated Māori. For him, a brown Pākehā lives like a Pākehā, thinks like a Pākehā, and acts like a Pākehā. The other end of the continuum was the educated Māori. But for him an educated Māori was someone that was immersed in te ao Māori, fluent in their reo, but also educated in an academic or Pākehā sense. (Participant D)

Mixed Māori, Cook Islander, Pākehā. Most of my culture comes from my loved ones like my whānau and friends. Though, I'm still on my own cultural journey and hope to learn te reo to further connect. (Participant E)

My cultural identity is Māori. I believe my Pākehā side doesn't have a culture. Well I don't think my family does. (Participant F)

Sometimes I just identify as European because I was raised by my European Mum and stepdad and do not look Māori or know much about my heritage. (Participant G)

Indigenous. Māori, NZ European (Welsh) I don't like to categorize my identity in terms of numerals and fractions. I don't care how much percentage etc I am of something, if I have Welsh ancestors, I am Welsh, if I have Māori tipuna I am Māori. Nationality, I am New Zealander. But in terms of what and who I am, who gives a fuck how much of something you are. We simple are what we are. (Participant H)

### **Lack of access to cultural factors which support development**

Cultural engagement and parental transmission of culture during upbringing can influence how cultural identity forms. Participants described the influential adults in their lives, determining the level of engagement with their cultural heritage, which connected to the acquisition of cultural knowledge. Participants described having limited or no access to cultural factors, in particular te reo Māori, due to

assimilation or the belief that Māori culture was not socially valued. Many expressed regret that they had not had, or recognised, the opportunity to be more engaged as children.

Nana and grandpa weren't very Māori. I would have described they weren't very Māori in the way that they lived.... but the neighborhood, the area I grew up in, as far as I'm aware, I'm related to everyone there. The families around us were more Māori. I guess the thing that made it a little bit different for me was that my mum was of that generation when they spoke te reo or did anything culturally Māori, they were beaten (Participant A)

My nana, she would teach us Māori and use te reo in sentences, and it's probably something I regret, that I didn't learn more while I was at school. I wish we had more learning at school (Participant B)

So growing up with my dad it was accepted that we are Māori, but it was never celebrated. And probably because my dad didn't know how to celebrate being Māori because he's not Māori. Was there things that he could have done? Yeah, probably. Were those resources available to them then? Mmmm. (Participant C)

Grew up for a couple of years with my grandparents straight across the road from our marae, but my, my grandfather who is an Anglican minister, he was a fluent speaker of te reo, but he wouldn't teach us. He said no boy, it's better for you to get on in the Pākehā world. (Participant D)

I love the language and always felt I should learn it as it is part of my culture. I wish my mum had taught me. (Participant I)

My grandfather didn't want us to learn it (te reo Māori) because it was a white man's world. (Participant J)

### **Insecure identity**

Various influences shape the way individual self-identity and secure identities form, including cultural engagement, knowledge, and active participation in, and acceptance from, the group they associate with. Participants described feeling conflicted or having an insecure sense of belonging, to one, any, or all of their cultural heritages, due to their perceived phenotypical appearances not conforming to social expectations, or a detachment from cultural engagement due to a lack of perceived value for Māori culture, reflecting the power dynamics in society.

When I was at high school, Māori was not anything, Māori was not important. You know, the languages that were of real interest were French and Latin. And so, I'm talking about the 70s the early 70s. And so, you know, I think there was really, quite a divide, between the Māori and I suppose, Pākehā students there. But like I said I never really sort of felt like I fitted because, it was almost like at a foot

in both camps, but just didn't really have any way that I could put them both down at the same place.  
(Participant A)

I mean when I, when I was 16, or 17, I sort of thought far out I don't quite fit into any of these worlds, because my Māori cousins used to call me half caste, my Pacifica cousins would call me palangi.  
(Participant D)

I feel disconnected from my Māori heritage and would love to know more about my Māori ancestors.  
(Participant K)

My parents never taught us te reo because they endured racial discrimination and say my parents would say "It's a Pākehā world learn Pākehā". I never truly identified as Māori after learning this label was just hung on us, and felt the intent was to separate us as tāngata whenua to the whenua they (settlers parliament) desired most of all. I always felt different. As much as I tried to fit into society, the more society made it clear I did not belong. (Participant L)

I have been brought up Pākehā and didn't know my Māori family till I was in my late teens. I feel like I'm not Māori enough for my Māori side. (Participant M)

From two worlds. Not 'brown' enough for some and too 'brown' for others. Never really felt I truly belonged in either the Māori world or the Pākehā. Adrift. (Participant N)

## ***Theme 2: Biculturalism and Hybridity***

This theme explored the ways individuals described their bicultural or hybrid identities. A bicultural identity acknowledges the separate cultures that contribute to the individual's identity and allows for expression of one culture more, whereas hybridity is defined as an individual who holds an identity that is a culmination of multiple cultural influences. Participants expressed various understandings of how their hybrid position allowed them to navigate their worlds. This included acknowledgement of privileges accorded as a result of their hybrid identity. Sub-themes identified were therefore (a) *Acknowledgment of a bicultural identity*, (b) *Acknowledgment of hybridity*, (b) *Modifying behaviour to meet social expectations*, and (c) *Privileges received as a result of hybridity*.

### **Acknowledgement of a bicultural identity**

Participants who have experienced greater engagement in one of their cultural heritages, typically due to parental influences during upbringing, expressed an identity where one culture was more influential in their day-to-day life and would typically prefer to identify with that prominent culture.

I would have I would have said I'm, you know, I'm European, because that's what I am the most, and that I've got Māori ancestry. (Participant A)

So I am probably more, tend towards, what I would call *āhua* Māori. So I have more... I want to say Māori personality. But I have stronger beliefs and values that align more towards Māori (Participant C)

My mum raised me. She is Māori, my dad is full Pākehā. I hardly know him, so therefore I feel more connected to my Māori side of the family. I never met my dad's family. I feel I am way more Māori than Pākehā and prefer to be called a Māori than a Pākehā. (Participant O)

I know I'm Māori , but don't usually use the Māori description. I more so just use the NZ European because I just identify as a New Zealander. (Participant P)

### **Acknowledgement of hybridity**

Participants who have experienced engagement with more than one of their cultural heritages, expressed a self-identity that allowed for all those influences to be nurtured and expressed. They tended to have pride in their mixed heritage and more confidence in disclosing all the cultures that are a part of them.

I would say a mix of Māori and European and I would definitely bring up my iwi and our island. I'd like to tell them that coz it's, well it is where I came from and it's pretty cool to say that. (Participant B)

So, what I would usually do, is I would say you know I am Māori and Welsh, because I identify with both of those two cultures. (Participant C)

I do have a very mixed ethnicity so my, my dad is Ngā Puhi, he is Māori, Niuean, and Samoan. Ka pai? And my mother was Irish. Yeah. So what dad was really strong on, was making us go to be a part of the other ethnic worlds we belong to (Participant D)

I am Māori with Scottish and Swedish whakapapa too. (Participant Q)

Kiwi with English, Scottish, Dutch and Māori blood. A New Zealander with some understanding of their lineage (both iwi and immigrated) But a mixed feeling of where to stand in overall cultural identity. Kiwi is the easiest label to use. (Participant R)

I culturally identify as Māori and uphold the Māori tikanga throughout my days. Although my dad is born and bred Canadian, I say I am a Māori Canadian to people who ask (Participant S)

My culture is my heritage and my connection to those who fought for the life I am so privileged to live today. In saying this, I am bicultural and continue to advocate for the importance of being ALL of who you are. I am fully Māori. I am fully Pākehā. I am fully Kuki Airani. (Participant T)

### **Modifying behaviour to meet social expectation**

The position of hybridity provides some individuals adaptability. Some participants described adapting their social behaviours in certain contexts, in order to meet social expectations and blend into the current environment.

I will be honest, it'll depend on the scenario and who's there, I'm a little bit careful you know, it's about being diplomatic and playing the games when you have to, to get the outcome that you want. (Participant A)

You know what, sometimes it depends on what space I'm in. A difference I have known from, know just like what context, from coming up north to coming down here. I didn't realize how different the environments would be. And I mean that as in like, up north. I didn't realize how privileged we were to be around a lot of strong and proud Māori. Coming down here, I actually feel, and I don't even look hard out Māori, but I feel like I get stared at because of like my ta moko and stuff. (Participant C)

I used to describe myself as a chameleon...[name]'s exactly the same person, but I can adapt to my environment. So, can adapt to the corporate Pākehā environments and I didn't actually think I was Māori. Yeah, I could walk into the marae, or I could walk into Samoan or Niuean Church and adapt to and be in that environment. (Participant D)

I second guess, and I don't know if it is because I'm in a new environment, but I second guess whether I announce that I am Māori. But see, my kids have just started kōhanga and kura. So, in that space. I proudly say I'm Māori, I'm Ngā Puhi, Te Rarawa. But then in other spaces, especially down here, and I can feel the vibes are quite different. (Participant U)

### **Privileges received as a result of hybrid position**

Participants were aware of the unique position hybridity, and their non-stereotypical appearance, placed them in, often providing the ability to navigate in a variety of social settings. Participants also expressed an awareness of privileges afforded to them, which they had experienced as a result of their hybridity.

I figure I can pass as Italian, Spanish, or Mediterranean or something you know like that rather than outright Māori, but that had its advantages. (Participant A)

I feel that it's an advantage because I feel that I have a right to have an opinion on both sides. And I suppose you know I feel I have the right to, you know, choose what I get engaged with, you know, or not, and use it to my advantage, too. (Participant A)

Yeah, I quite like being mixed actually because you do have both sides. But it is good being able to mix with both and still, like, a lot of patients. If I'm having trouble with the patient and want to connect

to them more, I might introduce myself in te reo and then you can see they're like oh, you're actually one of me, although maybe you don't look like me, but you are. And so I think that's really cool because I can still relate to the little white old lady and then you know the Māori 's, so it's actually quite cool and I find it good within my work as well. It kind of makes a difference, I dunno, I feel like they listen to you more. (Participant B)

Over the years, I've been able to blend. And I haven't come up against major racism from European people because I look like I'm cut from the same cloth. I feel like it's a really privileged position, and I say that because I've benefited from a lot of it.... reflecting on my partner and my kids, who majority of them are coloured. You can tell they're Māori and thinking, you know, I'm feeling a little bit uneasy or affronted by this. Yet, they feel this every single day. So that's the privilege that I've seen because I've having fairer skin, that I've enjoyed.... So, I do feel like, because of my skin colour I've been afforded a lot of privileges that if I was darker, that I wouldn't have (Participant C)

So, what I felt, and I shared with some of the students is... as you get older, you realize that you actually are, it's the other way around. All those worlds are a part of you. You can choose to access them, or you can choose not to access them. But they're always there for you. You see your identity becomes stronger. (Participant D)

### ***Theme 3: Experiences of Racism***

This theme explored the narratives of socially assigned ethnicity that depicted instances where the participants had experienced indirect discrimination or racism, as well as accounts of explicit racism. Participants expressed being the targets of racism directed from either in-groups or out-groups. This provided the following sub-themes (a) indirect racism, (b) challenges to identity, (c) experiences of racism from non-Māori, and (d) in-group experiences of racism inflicted by Māori.

#### **Indirect racism**

Participants were aware that due to their appearance not aligning with specific cultural stereotypes, they were able to seamlessly blend into different social situations. Some described being indirectly exposed to racism as a result of their socially assigned identity being mis-matched, leading others to say things that are denigrating toward Māori in their presence. Others described people talking about them directly as if they are invisible.

Some of the situations that I've been in, you know, people have been talking about the Indigenous of New Zealand and, and I've been part of that group, and these are friends that were, you know, friends of mine, neighbours, and part of the coffee group because our kids were the same age. And honestly,

I didn't, you know, when they were talking, I didn't cotton on to what they're talking about, because I just sort of thought, you know, who are they talking about, like kind of, who would be talking about, because I thought, surely, they're not talking about Māori. So, it's just things like that and these are teachers! (Participant A)

These older ladies in the break room, a break room sort of environment. So, you know, I wanted to keep the peace. And I'm not really one to confront things or be upstanding so it was sort of along the lines of "Why do we have to pronounce it like this. We've always pronounced it this way", or "Why are we helping Māori 's out so much?" and it was just a lot of misunderstanding and I felt quite hurt by it, I felt like I wanted to cry. (Participant B)

But I've been told 'you're not really a Māori, you don't act like one'. Two Pākehā friends each talking at me. One says, I don't think of you as a Māori. The other one says in response to the first one "I do. She looks it". Me - walking in between them like I'm invisible. (Participant U)

Because I am white people will make racist jokes and talk down on Māori (Participant V)

My Pākehā family will make racist comments around me like I'm not there...Until an in-law pointed out she's Māori, with which my uncle replied, she doesn't count. (Participant W)

### **Challenges to identity**

Failure to meet the stereotypical expectations of Māori, leads some Māori to be socially assigned with other cultural identities. This mismatch can sometimes lead to disenfranchising, conflicting or confronting situations. Many participants talked about negative experiences of having their Māori authenticity challenged. Although there were various experiences described, many referenced their skin colour or appearance.

So, it happened with one of the kaitakawaenga the other day. I said "Oh hi. Where are you from?". I introduced myself and said where I was from, and he was like "Oh really, you're a pale one, aren't you?". I was like "Yeah I know". (Participant B)

As a child, always being brought to my attention that I was a lot fairer than anyone else. People questioning, you're not Māori. Yes, I am! No you're not! You're dark enough, you're not. And then, as an adult, I think, is there a colour spectrum where we should sit on, that makes you brown enough to be Māori? (Participant C)

I have been told that I am not full Māori. To me there is no full, half, quarter et cetera. (Participant X)

I was accosted at a high school kapa haka group and abused for being too white by other 'browner' members. I didn't stay in the group long. It was very unwelcoming. (Participant Y)



I have experienced judgement and shaming from other Māori because of my fair skin - which I fully accept as privilege. (Participant Z)

Too white to be Māori, too Māori to be white. Can't win. (Participant AA)

Being told I'm 'Not Māori enough' (by a Māori parent) to lead the Māori curriculum at school. (Participant BB)

Judged by other Māori, making me feel like I am not really Māori, just because of the way I look. I don't fit their stereotype. Sometimes feel I have to act and talk really hori before they believe me. I can't just be me. I have to conform to their idea of what Māori is. This stereotyping has come from both Māori and Pākehā. (Participant CC)

My Māori identity is invalidated all the time by both Māori and Pākehā. Too white for brown people and too brown for white people. (Participant DD)

### **Racism by non-Māori**

Racism toward Māori who have stereotypical behaviours or traits has been demonstrated throughout history. Participants described experiences of racism that aligned with those outlined in previous research (Barnes et al., 2013; Harris et al., 2012; Houkamau & Sibley, 2015; Houkamau, Sibley, & Stronge, 2017; Huria, Cuddy, Lacey, & Pitama, 2014; Nairn et al., 2006; Pack, Tuffin, & Lyons, 2016a). Many perceived their appearance as the triggering factor, and stereotypes and beliefs others hold about Māori as the motivation for the experience.

I remember my first day in the class, and the teachers calling out names. If you're present you stand up. Present sir, present sir. And he calls out [my name] and I stand up, present sir. And he said, what is a Māori boy doing in this class? And I went, I don't know sir, must be a mistake. (Participant D)

I was walking with a group of mates from the first 15, heading back to one guy's place before I took off home, and the cops pull up. My mates are just walking along and I'm a big afro looking Māori at night. So, the cops stopped me, they didn't stop my mates. My Pākehā mates, they just left me. (Participant D)

There are many examples. On several occasions I've been asked to leave a store for no apparent reason, and when I've asked for an explanation, been told "you people always cause trouble!" (Participant FF)

I've been followed around by retail workers at various shops. I have had a child told not to play with my child (Māori) at the pools. I have had people hold their bags closer to them in lifts. I have been

asked what drugs I'm on by a doctor because I live in a small Māori community, so I must be on drugs. I have been educated multiple times by people on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and how my ancestors were dumb because they couldn't read. (Participant GG)

Blatant racism in the workplace in the 1980's. Regularly tormented by a senior accountant at my workplace that said he would like to "round up all you Māori s and push you off Bluff Hill". He hated me and he made no bones about that fact. He hated Māori. (Participant HH)

My ex-boss use to continue to discriminate against me, making jokes when I was learning. Saying, she's Māori so she can't do it, and saying, all Māori's are dumb. This was just last month when I quit. And then all the other workers who were Pākehā would laugh at her 'jokes' about me. (Participant II)

I have been stopped outside and inside of shops. I have been asked if there's an easier name they can use instead of my Māori name, and just general vibes that you get from some people knowing that they already have their prejudices about you. (Participant JJ)

I worked with a senior Midwife who had never worked with Māori. The most telling example was when I walked into the office once and overheard a conversation the senior Midwife was having with a colleague, which ended with 'she must be thick or something'. Later the other colleague went to the manager. (Participant KK)

When staying at a friend's house during high school, her little brothers laughed when I went into the shower stating, Māori s have dirty skin and don't shower. When doing my Bachelor of Nursing I was told that scholarships are unfair because they get handed to Māori and that Māori get free education. (Participant LL)

Variations occur when non-stereotypical Māori are subjected to direct racism. Participants who had described themselves as non-stereotypical indicated racism from others was often experienced once it was acknowledged they possessed Māori ancestry, despite their outward appearance.

It was Māori language week or something. So we were trying to learn all these new words and I was teaching my friends all these new words. And then one of them said, I don't know what you're saying. Please stop, or something, and that just rubbed me the wrong way. (Participant B)

I do feel like there's a prejudgment and I pre-empt that judgment. And then I sort of, check with how I am feeling, do I feel like getting into a yucky vibe with someone or do I feel strong enough to be like, no! today I'm feeling very Māori and you're going to know it. (Participant C)

I've been called half Caste dirty ass. I was once told by my employer when I was wiping a bench at work "that's why I like hiring you Māori girls, you're so clean". (Participant MM)

I was told I looked Italian and not as ugly as actual Māori!!! (Participant NN)

Someone has said I have been the most 'plastic' Māori someone has met and asked for me to talk to them in Māori to 'prove' myself. They later explained it's because of the way I dress and how I am doing well in life. (Participant OO)

People saying I don't deserve 'extra help' having tuakana at school/ university, saying there shouldn't be scholarships for Māori, saying equity schemes are 'racist', calling me half caste (Participant PP)

When I'm in hospital with my darker skinned Māori family we are treated differently. I am often made spokesperson (when dealing with pakeha) by this group of family due to my pale skin. (Participant QQ)

### **Racism by Māori**

In-group racism often results from a socially assigned identity mismatch which is typically due to phenotypical appearances. Participants described situations where their in-group did not recognise them as belonging to the group, resulting in the perceiver behaving in a discriminatory or offensive manner due to their perceptions. Sometimes the experience challenged their sense of belonging. In other instances opportunities arose, including self-disclosure, that allowed the participants to be seen differently and occasionally things would occur that challenged those initial formed perceptions.

Well I sort of see it more like colourism. But then at the same time it's internalized racism, where you know Māori look at us being fairer, and take all that racist colourism and place it on us. Which is this internalized narrative. But since, on the flip side, having my ta moko, it's sort of like, Oh yeah, I see that you're Māori. It's sort of like a beacon, like... so you're Māori. (Participant C).

I remember this time [my partners cousin] called, me, um, a white bitch. And I remember saying to her, I'm not white! Why are you saying that I'm a white bitch? And she was like, oh you know I'm just joking, and I said, well if I called you a black bitch, is that still funny? The whole room went quiet. (Participant C)

I feel like there's a lot of deeper stuff with wahine Māori and light skinned Māori and the colourism. White is prettier, white is smarter, white is more beautiful, white is for writers rights and all that sort of stuff, and the internalised narrative comes out. (Participant C)

I've had Māori purposely speak about me in Māori, thinking I would not understand. Asking someone I was with, who is this Pākehā girl and why is she here? (Participant RR)

My boss was an older kuia Māori. No one who I worked with realised I was Māori until I told them. One day, I was doing some orientation exercises which included reading off a sheet. It was just her and I in her office. As I was reading some kupu/rerenga Māori, she commented saying how good my

pronunciation was. I said, "you know I'm Māori aye?" and she replied "really? Oh how Māori are you?" In a tone of disbelief. (Participant SS)

#### ***Theme 4: Explanations for Racism***

The final theme explored the explanations participants provided for their experiences of racism. Acknowledging that people involved in an experience know what the action means to them in the context they are in, participants offered a variety of insightful explanations for the racism they experienced. They sometimes afforded those responsible for an experience with benefit of doubt.

I mean, she was, she's not from here so maybe she doesn't understand that that is one of our national languages. But she should at least try to learn. Yeah. I find it quite hard to speak up in those situations coz it's just so offensive I guess that I don't know where to start. (Participant B)

Especially when they've come from this background, and this is what they've learnt, that's something that they learned, but suddenly it's changing. But they're failing to realize that what they've learnt was actually not the right way. It's not really changing....But they don't want to learn do they. (Participant B)

I don't know if this is me bringing a clinical perspective, but they're always flavoured by in my perception of thinking that people have bought heaps of other stuff going on too. (Participant C)

#### **SUMMARY**

The themes that emerged from the research included identity development, which reinforced suggestions cultural engagement contributes to identity formation. Subsequently, cultural identity security depends on access to cultural resources and parental transmission of cultural knowledge. The second theme biculturalism and hybridity demonstrated how some individuals may choose to identify as solely one of their cultural heritages, dependant on level of engagement and perceived value for their culture. It also outlined how hybridity seems associated with pride in the individuals mixed heritage and confidence as well as acknowledgement of privileges received as a result of the ability to blend into multiple social contexts. The third theme, experiences of racism, outlined the various experiences participants shared, many motivated by levels of stereo typicality and perceived appearance. Indirect experiences where participants were exposed to racism directed at Māori as a result of socially assigned identity mismatch

were described. Direct racism from out-group members, based on stereotypes, mirrored historical accounts. Participants had their authenticity and sense of belonging challenged due to their socially assigned culture, categorised by the phenotypical appearances, and also due to direct racism from in-group members, which can be confronting. In the final theme, explanations for racism, participants offered ideas as to why they are subjected to racism from others.

The next chapter will draw on these themes, along with the material from the previous chapters and existing literature, to discuss how combatting racism towards non-stereotypical Māori resulting from social assignment, perceptions, and stereotypes needs to progress. Furthermore, it will address the need for health professionals to have greater awareness and exposure to the diversity that exists among contemporary Māori, to enable true cultural competence/cultural responsiveness. Concluding with the suggestion the media has an important role in changing and shaping the imagery for Māori, so the diverse realities of contemporary Māori are better represented and socialised, not only within Aotearoa, but across the world stage.

## CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

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“He toi whakairo, he mana tāngata”

Where there is cultural excellence, there is human dignity.

*Whakatauaki - Piri Sciaccia, Ngati Kahungunu.*

The intent of this research was to broaden awareness of the experiences of discrimination and racism encountered by Māori who may be classed as non-stereotypical, due to their appearance lacking the phenotypical traits commonly perceived to be reflective of Māori. Also, to better understand how their bicultural position shapes their cultural identity and sense of belonging, the experiences they have and the way they navigate in society. The following section will discuss the research findings and their implications, before moving onto the research limitations. The overall objective is to provide a piece of research that contributes to the growing body of knowledge in the bicultural psychology field, particularly in the areas of diversification, cultural identity formation, and racism experienced by diverse Māori. Ideally the research provides insights that could contribute to the development of future health professional training programs, psychological interventions, and guidance for culturally responsive practises. Experiences shared by participants, demonstrated varying forms of discrimination and racism non-stereotypical Māori face, including out-group, in-group and indirect instances. Many of which go unrecognised by the general population. By raising awareness and acknowledging the gaps that exist between many non-stereotypical Māori self-identities and the groups they are often socially assigned to, it is possible to see the challenging spaces these individuals are often placed in.

As SIT outlines, society is made up of socially categorised groups of individuals. Membership to those groups is predominantly self-assigned. The strength of belonging to specific groups is dependent on the formation of a secure self-identity, accurate socially assigned membership and acceptance from the group (Durie, 2001a; Hogg, 2018; Hornsey, 2008) . The images of prototypical Māori that the population has been exposed to typically feature individuals with dark skin, dark hair, dark features, tattoos, and traditional cultural garments (Bell, 2004a). Subsequently, external factors such as appearance, body

language and behaviours, combined with historical knowledge about Māori, are the factors used for comparison when assessing those who identify as Māori. This research supported the suggestion that many bicultural Māori are socially assigned an identity that often does not match the self-identity they have formed. In the present study 48% of Māori-Pākehā reported they believed they are socially assigned differently to how they see themselves. More often they felt they were socially assigned as solely Pākehā. The visible shift from the Māori-Pākehā category to solely Pākehā category mirrored the trends noted in the Te Kupenga 2018 survey. This demonstrates that social identity assignment is frequently mismatched for bicultural Māori-Pākehā individuals. Using SIT principles, this suggests many of these individuals do not possess the commonly held 'stereotypical Māori' appearances and traits. Experiences shared in the current survey and kōrero confirmed a number of these individuals are assigned as Pākehā, due to their self-disclosed non-stereotypical appearance. This can impact the individual's worldviews and inhibit them developing a strong cultural identity.

While stereotypes serve as mechanisms to sort large amounts of information into sensible groupings and can be very useful (Wepa, 2018; Wepa et al., 2018), they often operate with very little contextual information. When applied to people, views of individual characteristics are typically oversimplified. What has become the "stereotypical Māori" image is largely based on historical discourse, traditional imagery, prejudices and discrimination, coupled with the many negative representations of Māori in the mainstream media (Maydell, 2018; Rankine & Kupu Taea Media and Te Tiriti Project., 2008; Wall, 1997). Most news articles featuring Māori are guilty of portraying them in a negative light. Unfortunately, this has become strengthened by the over-representation of Māori in negative socio-economic statistics (Dudley et al., 2014; New Zealand Psychological Society, 2016; New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2018; Shepherd & Leathem, 1999). Participants described being exposed to direct and indirect racism, which reflected stereotypical beliefs about Māori. A consequence of the way Māori have been portrayed is they are commonly perceived as a homogenous group. This inadvertently renders any Māori who does not fit within the common stereotypes, as invisible. Indirect experiences were largely a result of others failing to recognise someone as Māori and subsequently feeling comfortable enough to talk about Māori in

denigrating ways. Others described people expressing racist ideologies in their presence, as if they were invisible.

Racism comes in many forms (Barnes et al., 2013; Harris et al., 2006b; Huria et al., 2014; Mohr & Alexander, 2008; Pack et al., 2016b). Due to these identity mismatches, non-stereotypical Māori are likely to experience challenges to their authenticity, as well as discrimination and racism, not only from out-groups, but also in-groups. A number of participants described having their authenticity as Māori questioned by others. Common questions included: “How much Māori blood do you have?”, or “Can you speak Māori?” They also described disenfranchising experiences, where they faced exclusionary statements or being congratulated for an apparently unbelievable ability to pronounce te reo Māori. These sorts of experiences are irritating for some, but for others, particularly those with insecure cultural identities, it can lead to detachment and/or impact their sense of belonging.

Many Māori have been disconnected from their Māori heritage and have consequently struggled to find their place of belonging (Durie, 2001a; Herbert, 2011; Kukutai, 2007). Cultural identity formation relies on parents or role models imparting cultural knowledge onto their offspring (Durie, 2001a; Edwards, 2016; Houkamau, 2010; Kukutai, 2007). However, for various reasons such as: a lack of perceived value in the culture, desire to avoid negative stereotypes, or cultural detachment, these parents may choose not to share their culture with their children, further diluting transmitted cultural knowledge. Due to this, some participants described a preference to identify with only one of their cultural heritages. Typically their Pākehā side. In some instances, there was a perceived privilege in possessing the ability to do so. Yet, a number of reflections simply described it as being easier to be Pākehā.

Participants expressed desires to have had better engagement with Māori cultural resources during their upbringing, in particular te reo Māori. As a result of colonisation and lack of access to cultural resources, many contemporary Māori no longer possess the ability to hold an everyday conversation in te reo Māori and are not connected to their whakapapa or their whenua (Herbert, 2011; Houkamau & Sibley, 2014b; Paringatai, 2014). Some bear a certain shame associated with this, which motivates them to behave in ways that allow them to adapt and blend into the dominant Pākehā cultural space. While others choose to deny their Māori heritage entirely (MacDonald, 2018). This study supported the belief these factors



were important for developing strong cultural identities and sense of belonging in te ao Māori. Participants described feeling out of place on the marae, excluded from discussions because the group did not realise the individual belonged. Likewise, some described being subjected to listening to other people having offensive discussions about Māori, as people did not realise, they are Māori.

It is important the population of NZ develops a better awareness of the diversity that exists within the Māori population. Having a better understanding of contemporary Māori will help break down some of the social barriers which impact the formation of secure Māori cultural identity and encourage whānau to build confidence in their self-identity, helping them to nurture their own diverse realities. Ideally, with time, it would eliminate the challenges to authenticity some Māori face. With a population as culturally diverse as the population of NZ, breaking down existing stereotypes for minority groups, such as Māori, will challenge some of the existing institutional racism and unconscious biases held, establishing a more inclusive society. This research provides both quantitative and qualitative evidence that highlights the importance of taking the time to identify an individual's cultural reality, making space for them to be their true self. It also highlights the need for exposure to a greater range of diverse Māori faces in the media and advertising. The media has a social responsibility to assist in redefining the prototypical image for Māori, in order to create a better awareness and appreciation for modern realities, especially for those who have a foot in both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā cultural worlds.

As this research has discussed, contemporary Māori are diverse (Durie, 1998b; Giorgio & Houkamau, 2021; Herbert, 2011; Kukutai, 2003). Many are not recognisable as Māori from appearance alone, as they often possess features and traits of their other cultural heritages. As research has demonstrated, the level of cultural engagement and knowledge varies greatly among Māori and the ability to speak te reo Māori, although increasing, has been severely impacted by the nation's assimilation policies (Durie, 2001a). From the experiences shared, it is very easy to make mistakes about other's identities when stereotypes are involved. It is incredibly important to be aware of how biases and prior knowledge prime perceptions, or there may be a failure to recognise an individual's cultural identity and inadvertently subject them to discrimination or racism. There are many implications that arise from this knowledge.

Over the past two decades, there has been a significant increase in research focusing on issues faced by Māori and how to best tackle them . However, a large portion of the data informing recommendations, appears to also focus on a homogenous view of Māori (Cormack et al., 2013; Durie, 2001a, 2001c; Moeke-Maxwell, 2005). As this research has outlined, a number of Māori, for various reasons, are not identifying as Māori socially and/or statistically . This suggests data may not be representative of all Māori. Furthermore, a number of Māori are not socially recognised as Māori and are instead assigned as Pākehā. This may lead them to be excluded from offers of support, or resources they are allowed, as they have not been perceived as entitled, leaving them vulnerable. Further research could aim to explore these aspects of incorrect social assignment for contemporary Māori. An expansion on the current survey, focus group discussions, or interviews could be utilised to gather experiences of those Māori socially assigned as Pākehā, investigating the level of access they have to resources, barriers they face, and the social implications of their socially assigned position. For example, assessing whether these individuals feel it is socially acceptable for them to access scholarships, support services, or utilise mentoring services, could garner data that would complement this and similar research, as well as expand on the depth of understanding for this group.

Cultural competencies have been introduced into a variety of social and professional settings over the past 10-20 years. There is increasing literature describing what this means and suggestions on how to achieve it (Heke, Wilson, & Came, 2019; New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2018; Wepa, 2018). The majority focus on the professional's self-awareness, intervention strategies and worldviews. Despite the push towards cultural competence, research among Māori health-service users, demonstrated that cultural responsiveness remains elusive in reality (Dudley et al., 2014). It is important health services, and their interventions meet the needs of all Māori clients, to be effective (Durie, 1998c, 2001b, 2001c, 2006; Kingi et al., 2017; Pitama, Huria, & Lacey, 2014; Sibley, Harré, Hoverd, & Houkamau, 2010; Sibley, Hoverd, & Houkamau, 2011; Slater et al., 2013). Healthcare professionals have progressively been required to make space for culture in their practice (Hickling, 2012). An understanding of one's own worldview and how that contributes to perceptions and engagement, then developing understanding and making space for the clients culture, is essential when working with Māori clients (Nairn et al., 2011).

Identifying the self-identity, cultural identity and cultural needs of clients early on is particularly important (Baxter, Wheeler, & Tapesell, 2010). This research demonstrated the diversity which exists among Māori and highlights how if this is not recognised, it can lead to a failure to meet an individual's needs (Bennett, 2018b). There is potential health professionals who do not take time to discuss their client's cultural identity, may incorrectly socially assign non-stereotypical Māori as Pākehā (or another culture), which will likely lead to erroneous assumptions (Hirini, 1997). It is also important to ensure that they have had the opportunity to express their cultural needs, as treating all Māori the same may cause embarrassment for the client and will likely harm the professional relationship.

Increasingly, T.T.O.W has provided guidelines from which cultural competency is incorporated into private policy, public policy and cultural frameworks (Kingi, 2007; Pitama et al., 2014). Developing a Māori workforce across all public sectors, including law, education, politics and health. Interestingly, there has been a number of public challenges to authenticity or outright criticism for some non-stereotypical Māori who currently hold positions of influence in these arenas, when they have asserted their identity and the public perception did not align (Apiata, 2017a; Elder, 2018; Lloyd, 2018; Peters, 2015). This begs the questions, are non-stereotypical Māori going to fully meet the needs of the Māori communities they aim to service, and are they going to be accepted when they take on these roles? If not, this is going to be an issue as the nation continues to evolve. Furthermore, is cultural competence really enough?

Research has suggested cultural responsiveness is the way to tackle the discrimination and racism which exists towards Māori in NZ. Cultural responsiveness is not about cultural immersion or learning every culturally specific custom, but instead requires teaching the formative history of the nation, obtaining a good understanding of T.T.O.W and effects of colonisation, as well as addressing institutional racism and health provider biases (Ellison-Loschmann & Pearce, 2006). There has been a shift towards this already, which is comforting. There has recently been discussion in the media acknowledging the historical injustices caused by heavily negative portrayals of Māori, and assertions this will be remedied (Williams & Te, 2020). However, this research also suggests steps must be taken to illuminate the modern realities for contemporary Māori, drawing attention to the diversity to limit mis-matched social assignment and to combat or adjust common stereotypes, enabling society to broaden their perspective of what being Māori

looks like. This will allow space for those who, for these reasons, do not currently see themselves as authentic Māori, to claim their unique Māori identity, increase security in their cultural identities and see the space where they feel like they can place both their feet and belong.

## 6.1 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

While this research focuses primarily on experiences of bicultural Māori, particularly those with Māori-Pākehā heritage, there exists a vast array of Māori with various other multiracial heritages. The reality of Globalisation is the population of NZ is continuing to evolve. With this the diversification of the Māori population will continue to expand and so too will variations to cultural identities. While this research contributes to the body of research concerning cultural psychology, it provides only one of many different perspectives that need to be shared.

Reflecting on the data in this research, the primary pool of participants was comparatively small ( $n=80$ ) and limited the ability to perform strong analysis of the quantitative data, which could have added another layer of clarification to this study. It also became apparent during the data analysis, that the anonymous nature of the survey inhibited the ability to draw correlations between the quantitative and qualitative data. This meant for example, that it was impossible to determine the level of security in an individual's cultural identity and how it altered perceptions of experiences, or the types of experiences they encounter from either of their in-groups. Therefore, it was decided the focus of this research would be the qualitative data. Furthermore, the low numbers of respondents means some data may not be generalisable or an accurate reflection of the population. Therefore, adapting and repeating the survey to allow for this deeper level of analysis is advisable.

As with Root (2002), it is possible the methods utilised to enlist participants may have inadvertently targeted certain groups of Māori or excluded some Māori. For example, perhaps those who possess well-developed identities were more inclined to participate. Future research could focus on obtaining participants responses from a group with a similar formative identity stage, such as those taking their first steps to learn te reo Māori, as it would limit some of the context variables, enabling deeper analysis due to specificity.

The COVID pandemic, specifically the lockdowns and uncertainty the pandemic created, potentially impacted the level of participation in this research. Had the lockdown not occurred, timelines would have been different and the ability to perform more interviews would have been likely. Furthermore, the preference to undertake real *kānohi ki te kānohi* interviews, rather than virtual zoom interviews, would have been possible. Online interviewing relies on individuals having access to reliable internet with zoom capable equipment and without data limitations, which may have prevented some individuals from participating.

It is also possible, without the uncertainty caused by the COVID outbreak and the many demands placed on individuals due to the lockdown, the response rate to the online survey may have been larger. This would have allowed for the full complement of intended quantitative analyses to be performed.

Finally, the possibility exists that the written responses from the survey may not have produced the in-depth data that might have evolved from interviews. It is acknowledged that the preferred method of data collection for IPA is semi-structured interviews (Langdridge, 2007; Noon, 2018; Smith, 2018). Although this does not invalidate the data produced in this work, interviews often garner more in-depth responses from participants as the conversation flows to wherever the participant leads, and the researcher is able to follow up with enquiries based on the participant's responses.

Future research could overcome some of these limitations by focusing on a single method of data collection. While it is not practical to suggest avoiding a pandemic, with the current health environment and likelihood COVID will continue to be a factor for some time, the method selected for the data collection should consider the potential for a lack of access to individuals, as well as sufficient recognition of the complexities involved in online interviewing, including potential for a lower participant uptake. Lastly, extending the period of data collection for the quantitative survey to enable a larger pool of participant responses, aiming for 250 individuals or more. This could yield more analysable data, allowing for even deeper understanding of the experiences of discrimination and racism among these bicultural Māori

## 6.2 CONCLUSION

This research has shown how human nature renders us reliant on stereotypes to make efficient categorisation decisions about others, despite the potential for errors. It is important that awareness of the cultural diversity within our population is raised. In particular, for bicultural Māori. Non-stereotypical bicultural Māori, the group most likely to be socially assigned as Pākehā, report a lack of access to cultural resources during upbringing and challenges to their cultural authenticity, as factors that impact their cultural identity development. Greater exposure to the diversity that exists within the Māori population, by producing a wider range of imagery depicting Māori in the media and advertising, would provide a better reflection of the contemporary Māori population and normalise the diversity. The media hold a responsibility to lead this change, adjusting current practises to develop new understandings and generate awareness and acceptance. This could minimise the frequency of challenges to authenticity these Māori face. It may also break down some of the stereotypes which contribute to the levels and types of discrimination and racism in they experience. The protective benefits associated with possessing a secure cultural identity has been well documented in research. This illustrates how important it is that contemporary Māori are recognised and accepted as Māori without challenge, in order for them to develop a strong sense of belonging to their cultural groups and walk confidently in both, or all, of their cultural worlds.

## APPENDICES

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### Appendix A: Survey

#### Section 1.

**All of the statements below are opinions. To varying degrees you will probably agree with some of them and disagree with others. There are no right or wrong answers. The best response is your own opinion, whatever that may be.**

*Response options for all questions are 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=mostly disagree, 4=neutral, 5=mostly agree, 6=agree, 7=strongly agree*

1. I reckon being Māori is awesome.
2. I love the fact I am Māori .
3. Being Māori is cool.
4. I don't really care about following Māori culture.
5. I wish I could hide the fact that I am Māori from other people.
6. My Māori ancestry is important to me.
7. Being Māori is NOT important to who I am as a person.
8. Being Māori is NOT important to my sense of what kind of person I am.
9. I don't know how to act like a real Māori on a marae.
10. I can't do Māori cultural stuff properly.
11. I can't do Māori culture or speak Māori .
12. I know how to act the right way when I am on a marae.
13. I'm comfortable doing Māori cultural stuff when I need to.
14. I have a clear sense of my Māori heritage and what it means for me.
15. I try to kōrero (speak) Māori whenever I can.
16. I sometimes feel that I don't fit in with other Māori .
17. My relationships with other Māori people (friends and family) are what make me Māori .
18. I consider myself Māori because I am interconnected with other Māori people, including friends and family.
19. My Māori identity is fundamentally about my relationships with other Māori .
20. For me, a big part of being Māori is my relationships with other Māori people.
21. How I see myself is totally tied up with my relationships with my Māori friends and family.
22. My Māori identity belongs to me personally. It has nothing to do with my relationships with other Māori .
23. Reciprocity (give-and-take) is at the heart of what it means to be Māori for me.
24. I believe that Tupuna (ancient ancestors) can communicate with you if they want to.
25. I don't believe in that Māori spiritual stuff.
26. I believe that my Taha Wairua (my spiritual side) is an important part of my Māori identity.
27. I can sense it when I am in a Tapu place.
28. I can sometimes feel my Māori ancestors watching over me.
29. I have never felt a spiritual connection with my ancestors.
30. I think Tapu is just a made-up thing. It can't actually affect you.
31. I feel a strong spiritual association with the land.
32. Māori would be heaps better off if they just forgot about the past and moved on.
33. All of us, both Māori and Pākehā, did bad things in the past—we should all just forget about it.

34. I'm sick of hearing about the Treaty of Waitangi and how Māori had their land stolen.
35. I think we should all just be New Zealanders and forget about differences between Māori and Pākehā.
36. I think that Māori have been wronged in the past, and that we should stand up for what is ours.
37. What the European settlers did to Māori in the past has nothing to do with me personally. I wasn't there and I don't think it affects me at all.
38. I stand up for Māori rights.
39. It's important for Māori to stand together and be strong if we want to claim back the lands that were taken from us.
40. You can always tell true Māori from other Māori. They're real different.
41. I reckon that true Māori hang out at their marae all the time.
42. True Māori always do karakia (prayer) before important events.
43. You can tell a true Māori just by looking at them.
44. Real Māori put their whānau first.
45. To be truly Māori you need to understand your whakapapa and the history of your people.
46. You can be a real Māori even if you don't know your Iwi.
47. You can be a true Māori without ever speaking Māori.
48. I think it is easy to tell that I am Māori just by looking at me.
49. You only need to look at me to see that I am Māori.
50. When people meet me, they often do not realize that I am Māori.
51. I think it is hard to tell that I am Māori just by looking at me.
52. I think it is clear to other people when they look at me that I am of Māori descent.
53. People would never know that I am of Māori descent just by looking at me.
54. People who don't know me often assume that I am from another (non-Māori) ethnic group.

## Section 2

55. Thinking about your heritage, what ethnic groups do you identify with?  
Options Reflect te Kupenga = Māori, Māori + NZ European, NZ European, Pacific Person, Asian, as combination of NZ European + Other, or combined Māori and any other ethnic group(s)
56. How would you describe your culture? **Box to describe**
57. Now thinking about how others see you rather than how you see yourself, how do you believe individuals from other cultures perceive you?  
Options Reflect te Kupenga = Māori, Māori + NZ European, NZ European, Pacific Person, Asian, as combination of NZ European + Other, or combined Māori and any other ethnic group(s)
58. How do you believe individuals from your own culture(s) perceive you? **Box for answer**
59. How fluent is your te reo Māori? **Scale No interest, First step on the journey, bit rusty, I'm ok, it's like riding a bike, I'm a pro.**
60. Have you ever taken te reo classes? **Y/N**
61. If yes, what was your main reason? **Box to provide answer**
62. If no, have you ever considered it? **Y/N Box to provide answer**
63. Thinking about how others see you, have you ever been asked to validate your Māori identity? (examples could include – being told you do not look Māori or being asked how much Māori blood you have?) **Y/N**
64. If yes, are there any examples you are willing to share? **Box to provide answer**
65. Do others ask you for support or advice regarding te ao Māori? (i.e. Tikanga, te reo ) **Y/N**
66. Has there ever been a time where you have felt uncomfortable to say you are Māori? **Y/N**



67. Have you ever been a victim of racism? Y/N
68. If yes, are you willing to share some of the details? Box to provide answer
69. Do you feel you walk in both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā? Y/N

Demographic questions.

1. Where do you live? Mirror demos from te kupenga =

C04A	Region	Northland
C04B	Region	Auckland
C04C	Region	Waikato
C04D	Region	Bay of Plenty
C04E	Region	Gisborne
C04F	Region	Hawke's Bay
C04G	Region	Taranaki
C04H	Region	Manawatū / Whanganui
C04I	Region	Wellington
C04J	Region	Marlborough/ Nelson/ Tasman/ West Coast
C04K	Region	Canterbury
C04L	Region	Otago/ Southland
C05A	Urban / Rural	Urban
C05B	Urban / Rural	Rural

2. What age group? Mirror age groups from Te kupenga survey =1

C02A	Age group	15–24
C02B	Age group	25–34
C02C	Age group	35–44
C02D	Age group	45–54
C02E	Age group	55+

3. Gender? Mirror gender groups from Te kupenga survey =1

Further involvement.

4. Would you like to be contacted for a kōrero about your experiences or this research?

Yes! I would like to kōrero. Please provide contact details. Box for details

Preferred contact time: Evening Weekend

No thanks.

Please provide your email address if you would like to be entered in the draw for a \$40 MTA voucher.

Thank you for taking the time to answer participate in this research.

## ***Walking the Line: Experiences of Racism Among Non-stereotypical Māori***

**Cultural identity, identity formation and experiences of racism among  
Māori who do not meet the stereotypical representations of what it is to be Māori.**

### **What is the research about?**

There are many stereotypes (usually based on visual characteristics) that are used to define Māori. Yet a large percentage of our Māori population do not fit these stereotypes and are frequently subjected to experiences that make them feel a need to defend their identity. Some seek to strengthen their cultural identity by doing things like learning te reo Māori, and there are others who find it easier to let their te ao Māori side remain hidden.

I am interested in hearing about your experiences of living as both Māori and Pākehā, especially times you have felt you do not fully belong within one of your cultural worlds, where your culture has been mis-judged, or if others have questioned you (in an insulting way) about your culture.

### **Who is doing the study?**

Kia ora whānau. I te taha o tōku pāpā, ko Ngāti Raukawa Tainui Whānui rāua ko Ngāi Tahu ngā iwi, Ko te whānau Hirini ōku tīpuna. Ko Tania Arnold tōku ingoa. My name is Tania Arnold. I am completing my master's degree with the School of Psychology at Massey University. My experiences over the past 5 years have led me to question how our population defines and portrays what it is to be Māori. I aim to highlight how some Māori who outwardly appear Pākehā, are judged or treated in various cultural settings, to raise awareness of how common these experiences are and how they affect the individuals.

### **Who can take part in this research?**

If you are 18 years or older and identify as both Māori and Pākehā, then you are welcome to take part in the study.

### **What will I be asked to do?**

If you agree to participate, the link below will take you to an online survey which will take between 15 - 30 minutes, depending on how much detail you would like to give for some of the answers.

At the end of the survey there will be space to add comments, details or experiences if you would like to share. There will also be a space to provide your contact details if you would like to be contacted for a personal kōrero about your experiences.

### **What else do I need to know?**

You are under no obligation to accept the invitation to participate in this research.

You can choose to skip any questions you do not want to answer.

If you exit the questionnaire before completion, your answers will be stored for one week, so you can go back to complete the survey without losing your progress, by accessing the link using the same device and browser.

You can withdraw from the research at any time by not completing the survey.

If at any time you feel uncomfortable, unsure or participation in this research raises concerns for you, please make contact using an email address below.

The data will only be used for the purpose of this research. Data will be stored securely, ensuring your confidentiality is protected. Your answers to the survey cannot be traced back to you through your e-mail address, your IP address, or by any other means

At the end of the survey, you will be able to enter a draw for 1 x \$40 petrol voucher, as a token of appreciation for your time and participation.

### **What do I do now?**

If you are happy to participate, please click on the link provided.

### **Who can I contact if I would like more information?**

If you have any pātai, queries or would like to know more about the study, please contact me or my research supervisor using the following contact details.

- Tania Arnold  
Student Researcher Massey University  
[tania.arnold1@massey.ac.nz](mailto:tania.arnold1@massey.ac.nz)

- Natasha Tassell-Matamua, PhD  
Supervisor  
School of Psychology  
Massey University  
Palmerston North 4442  
[N.A.Tassell-Matamua@massey.ac.nz](mailto:N.A.Tassell-Matamua@massey.ac.nz)

Thank you very much for taking the time to consider this request.

Ngā mihi nui!

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Director (Research Ethics),  
email [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz).



# Walking the Line: Experiences of Racism Among Non-stereotypical Māori

*Cultural identity, identity formation and experiences of racism among  
Māori who do not meet common stereotypical representations of what it is to be Māori.*

## INFORMATION SHEET FOR EXPERIENCE SHARING

### WHAKATAUKI

***“Mā te rongo, ka mōhio; Mā te mōhio, ka mārāma.***

***Mā te mārāma, ka mātau; Mā te mātau, ka ora”***

*“Through perception comes awareness,  
Through awareness comes understanding,  
Through understanding comes knowledge,  
Through knowledge comes well-being”*

### What is the research about?

There are many stereotypes (usually based on visual characteristics) that are used to define Māori. Yet a large percentage of our Māori population do not fit these stereotypes and are frequently subjected to experiences that make them feel a need to defend their identity. Some seek to strengthen their cultural identity by doing things like learning te reo Māori, and there are others who find it easier to let their te ao Māori side remain hidden.

I am interested in hearing about your experiences of living as both Māori and Pākehā, especially times you have felt you do not fully belong within one of your cultural worlds, where your culture has been mis-judged, or if others have questioned you (in an insulting way) about your culture.

### Who is doing the study?

Kia ora ano whānau. I te taha o tōku pāpā, ko Ngāti Raukawa Tainui Whānui rāua ko Ngāi Tahu ngā iwi. Ko te whānau Hirini ōku tīpuna. Ko Tania Arnold tōku ingoa. My name is Tania Arnold. I am completing my Master's degree with the School of Psychology at Massey University. My experiences over the past 5 years have led me to question how our population defines and portrays what it is to be Māori. I aim to highlight how some Māori who outwardly appear Pākehā, are judged and/or treated by others in various cultural settings, to raise awareness of how common these experiences are and in hopes we might understand the position better.

### Who can take part in this research?

If you are 18 years or older and identify as both Māori and Pākehā, then you are welcome to take part in the study.

**What will I be asked to do?**

If you agree to participate, I will contact you at an agreed time via zoom to kōrero about your experiences. The time required will be dependent on how much detail you would like to share. We can commence with whanaungatanga (if you like) and karakia (if you like).

You are free to ask questions about the research at any time.

**What else do I need to know?**

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation to participate in this research.

You can choose what you wish to share.

Any experiences you share, which are quoted in the research, will remain anonymous. To protect your identity, a random letter will be assigned in place of your name.

You can withdraw from the research at any time.

If at any time you feel uncomfortable, unsure or participation in this research raises concerns for you, please make contact using an email address below.

The data will only be used for the purpose of this research. Data will be stored securely, ensuring your confidentiality is protected.

At the end of the kōrero, you will be able to enter a draw for 1 x \$40 petrol voucher, as a token of appreciation for your time and participation.

**What do I do now?**

If you are happy to participate, please complete the consent form attached and return via email, prior to our arranged time.

**Who can I contact if I would like more information?**

If you have any pātai, queries or would like to know more about the study, please contact me or my research supervisor using the following contact details.

- Tania Arnold  
Student Researcher Massey University  
[tania.arnold1@massey.ac.nz](mailto:tania.arnold1@massey.ac.nz)

- Natasha Tassell-Matamua, PhD  
Supervisor  
School of Psychology  
Massey University  
Palmerston North 4442  
[N.A.Tassell-Matamua@massey.ac.nz](mailto:N.A.Tassell-Matamua@massey.ac.nz)

Thank you very much for considering participating.

Ngā mihi nui!

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Director (Research Ethics), email [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz).

## Appendix D: Kōrero / Interview Schedule

### **Karakia Timatanga – (opening blessing)**

Whakataka te hau ki te uru

Whakataka te hau ki te tonga

Kia mākinakina ki uta

Kia mātaratara ki tai

E hī ake ana te atākura

He tio, he huka, he hauhū

Tihei mauri ora!

### **Probe Questions –**

We are discussing experiences that Māori who do not immediately resemble societies depictions of what it is to be Māori.

1. Tell me a little bit about growing up. What are some of the things you remember?
2. Do you remember a time or incident where you were first aware that you might be somehow different?
3. What do you say when someone asks you what your racial/ethnic background is?
4. Have you ever felt like you do not completely fit into either of your inherited cultural backgrounds?
5. What have you liked about being of missed heritage? What has been hard?

### **Karakia whakamutanga – (closing blessing)**

Unuhia! Unuhia!

Unuhia ki te uru tāpu nui

Kia wātea, kia māmā te ngākau, te tinana, i te ara takatā

Koia rā e rongu whakairia ake ki runga

Kia tina! TINA!

Hui E! TAIKI E!

## ***Walking the Line: Experiences of Racism Among Non-stereotypical Māori***

### **PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL**

I have read or have had read to me in my first language, the information sheet provided, and I understand the information. I have had the details of the study explained to me, any questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether to participate in this study and I understand participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time.

1. I agree/do not agree to any discussions being sound recorded.
2. I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.
3. I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

#### **Declaration by Participant:**

By ticking this box ☐, I \_\_\_\_\_ hereby consent to take part in this study.

[full name]

## Appendix F: Ethics Application

[humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz)

Fri, Aug 28, 1:42 PM

to Tania.Arnold.1, N.A.Tassell-Matamua, R.A.Flett, humanethics

HoU Review Group  
A/Pro Ross Flett

Ethics Notification Number: 4000022335

Title: Walking the Line: Experiences of Racism Among Non-Stereotypical Maaori

Thank you for your notification which you have assessed as Low Risk.

Your project has been recorded in our system which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Craig Johnson, Director (Research Ethics), email [humanethics@massey.ac.nz](mailto:humanethics@massey.ac.nz). "

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish require evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to complete the application form again answering yes to the publication question to provide more information to go before one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

You are reminded that staff researchers and supervisors are fully responsible for ensuring that the information in the low risk notification has met the requirements and guidelines for submission of a low risk notification.

If you wish to print an official copy of this letter, please login to the RIMS system, and under the Reporting section, View Reports you will find a link to run the LR Report.

Yours sincerely

Professor Craig Johnson  
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and  
Director (Research Ethics)



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*How others see you (qDEMethViewedbyOthers)*

Thinking now about how other people see you, rather than how you see yourself, in New Zealand, what do most other people see you as?

*[Select only one]*

- ☐ 11 as Māori
- ☐ 12 as someone of combined Māori and NZ European ethnic groups
- ☐ 13 as NZ European
- ☐ 14 as a Pacific person
- ☐ 15 as Asian
- ☐ 16 as someone of combined NZ European and any other ethnic group/s
- ☐ 17 other ethnic group or other combination of ethnic groups – please specify
- ☐ 88 DK
- ☐ 99 RF

---

*Self-defined ethnicity (qDEMethnicity)*

Which ethnic group or groups do you belong to? Select all that apply.

- ☐ 11 New Zealand European
- ☐ 12 Māori
- ☐ 13 Samoan
- ☐ 14 Cook Islands Maori
- ☐ 15 Tongan
- ☐ 16 Niuean
- ☐ 17 Chinese
- ☐ 18 Indian
- ☐ 19 other (such as Dutch, Japanese, Tokelauan) – please specify
- ☐ 88 DK
- ☐ 99 RF

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