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Tirani i tona hohia hoki kia tohunga ki a ratou o ratou rangatira me te ratou
toma hoki te ratou ki a ratou me te tona hoki kua wakarua ia he mea tika kia tuku maori te
hei kai wakarua ki nga Tangata maori - Na Tirani - Kia wakarua e nga Rangatira maori te
te Kiuini ki nga wakarua o te weina me nga Motu - Na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga Tang
Kua moho ki teui weina a e haere mai nei.*

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WHAKATIKA

WHAKATIKA: A SURVEY OF MĀORI EXPERIENCES OF RACISM





AUTHORS

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HE MIHI

Whakarongo mai e te iwi nei! Whakarongo mai e te motu nei! Whakarongo mai ki ngā kōrero e hāngai pū ana ki ngā mahi kaiā a te Karauna, ki ngā mahi kaikiri a tauwiwi, e pēhi tonu nei i a tātau, te iwi Māori. Inā te kōrero a Tohu Kākahi ki ngā iwi e rua, ā ka hakaina e te motu katoa: “E kore e piri te uku ki te rino, ka whitingia e te rā, ka ngahoro”. Ahakoa ka whakapiri atu tātau ki a tauwiwi, he Māori tonu tātau, kāore he āhua kē atu. Kāti, mā ngā hīhī e whiti mai ana i te aranga ake o te rā Māori e ngahoro i ngā pēhitanga. Ā ka puta tātau ki te whai ao, ki te ao mārāma. Tīhei mouri ora.

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Glossary of terms

This research is being undertaken from Whanganui and we have used Whanganui preferred kupu. We have not included all kupu Māori within the glossary as some are in common usage, even among English-only speakers. This glossary is instead focused on terms that were either in the Survey questions or are used in this report. Where there is a specific kupu that may not be recognised by other iwi dialects, we have included those kupu also.

Note also that for some key terms (such as rangatiratanga) we have provided explanations in the text of the report.

kaitiakitanga	guardianship, stewardship
kaumātua	elders; in this report it specifically refers to people aged over 65 years old
kupu	vocabulary
mamae	physical or emotional pain
manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness, generosity, support; the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others
māuiui	weary, sick, fatigued
mātua	adults; in this report it specifically refers to people aged 45 to 64 years old
pōuri	deep sense of sadness or psychological pain – ranging from general anxiety to deep depression (Smith, 2015)
rangatahi	youth; in this report it specifically refers to people aged between 16 and 24 years old
rangatakapū	adults; in this report it specifically refers to people aged between 25 and 44 years old
riri	to be angry, enraged, annoyed or furious
te taiao	the natural world, environment, nature
whakaiti	to belittle, to make someone feel small

Racism is an attack on our rangatiratanga. It maintains colonial power structures, systematically disadvantaging Māori.

Definition of racism.

“Angry because our tūpuna suffered and they want to put a statue up and celebrate their so called ‘victory’ ”

Survey respondent, 22, wahine



Executive summary

“Racism is alive and well. It is intentional it is calculated; it is precise at ensuring the power and control of colonial structures remain in place”

Survey respondent, 41, wahine

This report presents findings of the Whakatika Survey, which aimed to capture the nature, extent and impact of everyday experiences of racism faced by us as Māori in Aotearoa.

Everyday racism attacks our rangatiratanga and prevents us from living our lives in the ways we want to, both as individuals and as groups (whānau, hapū, iwi). Racism enables and maintains existing power structures that systematically disadvantage Māori. Racism also damages our connections with tūpuna and compromises our ability to pass on Māori ways of knowing and being to future generations.

Running the Survey was eye opening for us. So many Māori were willing to share with us their experiences of racism, and the emotional and other harms experienced by themselves, their whānau and their wider communities. But equally, people shared with us the tangible ways Māori assert rangatiratanga, in the face of racism, on a daily basis.

This report aims to do justice to the over 2,000 Māori who completed our Survey and to honour their voices. It is meant to give a snapshot of what people told us and to link our findings to other existing evidence of racism, here in Aotearoa and overseas. However, we collected such a wealth of information that this report can only be the start of sharing what we gathered.

The Survey ran from 21 February 2019 to 29 February 2020 and drew Māori participants from across Aotearoa. Overall, more females than males completed the Survey, and the largest age group of respondents was rangatakapū (aged 25 to 44 years old). About half of the Survey respondents said they lived in a small city or town.

KEY RESULTS

- The vast majority of Māori (93%) felt racism had an impact on them on a daily basis and even more (96%) said that racism was a problem for their wider whānau at least to some extent.
- While most Māori feel comfortable identifying as Māori all of the time, this varied by location. Māori felt most comfortable on marae, at home or at iwi events. Comparatively, Māori felt less comfortable identifying as Māori in education and workplace settings and some shared concerns about racism in workplaces in particular.
- Māori are left feeling pōuri (a deep sense of sadness) or riri (anger) at their experiences of racism.

- Being with whānau and being able to talk to whānau are critical to Māori identity and to Māori responses to racism.

Getting service / shopping

- When it came to getting service in shops, 89% of Māori said they were less likely than other customers to get assistance because they are Māori, at least some of the time. Most have also been followed, watched or asked to open their bags in a shop and a quarter of Māori say they are followed all of the time or often. This unfair treatment leads to feelings of anger and many also felt pōuri at the racist treatment they received when seeking services.
- 87% of Māori had observed other Māori being treated unfairly in shops. Only eight per cent said they had never observed such treatment.
- In response to not receiving fair treatment at a counter because they are Māori, people employed a range of strategies including talking to whānau (40%), confronting the person serving them (38%) and never going back to the store (31%).

Media representation of Māori, Indigenous peoples and colonial monuments

- Colonial statues caused anger for 63% of Māori.
- Most Māori (79%) said that non-Māori media negatively portray Māori all of the time or often, and there was a lot of worry amongst Māori that high profile news stories would be about a Māori person.
- In response to negative media stories about Māori, people were most likely to talk to whānau and friends (62%), although many chose to post comments online or post a social media story in response.
- 91% of Māori recall seeing clips from overseas about racism and violence towards other Indigenous people and nearly all respondents had negative feelings (such as anger) towards what they had seen in the coverage.

Tūpuna or Māori names

- 71% of Māori have a Māori name (it could be a first name, middle name or surname) and a little over half of all respondents (53%) said they had to spell their name all of the time or often and similar numbers said they had to explain their Māori name(s) regularly.
- 86% of Māori, when given the chance to name a child, have chosen a Māori or tupuna name. Most of these people have also talked to that child about what to do if their name is mispronounced (75%).

Māori kai

- 76% of Māori said that most of their whānau had knowledge about Māori kai.
- 64% of Māori said that their whānau actively harvest, gather or buy Māori kai all of the time or often, and 87% of Māori said that it was very or extremely important to be able to do so.

- Most respondents (76%) were involved in cooking Māori kai for their whānau, hapū or iwi and a little over a third of people were involved in growing kai or rongoā.
- 38% of Māori said they are left feeling sadness and grief at not being able to access kai or to have kai shared at marae or at home. Feeling pōuri increased with age, as kaumātua were more likely to identify feeling the sense of sadness than rangatahi.

IMPLICATIONS

Whakatika has confirmed that racism impacts Māori on a daily basis, in a number of ways. The harms of racism include grief and anger, and it impacts our connections to tūpuna and mokopuna across generations.

Whakatika has highlighted that legal definitions of racism and discrimination, which look only at an individual without looking at the impact on whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities, fall short of capturing the true costs of racism as an attack on rangatiratanga. They also fail to give adequate recognition to the role played by whānau as we navigate the many ways racism invades our daily lives.

The results of Whakatika show the need for broad anti-racism activities that are based on mana motuhake and that strengthen Māori connections to te taiao, our lands, rivers, mountains and harbours. Similarly, the results indicate that racism and discrimination are so widespread that they will never be conquered through isolated activities, such as unconscious bias training, alone. Addressing racism requires a constant, consistent, Māori-focused multipronged approach.

Since finishing our work on the Whakatika Survey, we have observed a number of moves to acknowledge and address racism. This includes media acknowledgement of racism and bias in reporting, worldwide support for the Black Lives Matter protests originating in the United States, and the Ministry of Education drafting a new Aotearoa history curriculum for public feedback, which includes a deeper look at Māori history and at colonisation (including consequences and ongoing impacts) (Ministry of Education, 2021). However, we are well aware that hard fought gains can be eroded, and that widespread discussion on racism can be forgotten by governments, as it was in the decades following *Pūao-te-ata-tū* (Department of Social Welfare, 1988). For these reasons, we see recent developments as positive but will remain vigilant in shining a light on continued manifestations of racism and their impacts on Māori.

Lastly, we also note that the information for Whakatika was collected before the Covid-19 response throughout Aotearoa and globally. While we do not believe the Covid-19 experience would have dramatically altered our findings, we consider the Government response to Covid-19 and other pandemics would be strengthened by an understanding of the Whakatika findings.

93% of Māori felt racism impacted on them on a daily basis. 96% said it was a problem for their wider whānau, at least to some extent.

Whakatika Survey.



About the Survey

For decades, Māori researchers have paved the way in naming racism and understanding its impacts on us as Māori – across areas like health, justice, socio-economic well-being, media, business and housing. However, there was a gap in calling out and identifying the full spectrum of everyday experiences of racism faced by Māori across Aotearoa and the ways in which Māori cope with, oppose and challenge racism.

We decided a survey was the best way to quantify and examine these experiences and set out to survey more than 2,000 Māori between February 2019 and February 2020.

Our Kaupapa Māori team and approach

This Survey is part of a wider research programme, *He Kokonga Ngākau: Māori ways of healing, recovery and well-being*, funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand, looking at intergenerational trauma. More information on our research programme is available on our website: www.teatawhai.maori.nz and the Whakatika Research Project website: www.whakatika.teatawhai.maori.nz.

Our Survey was driven by Kaupapa Māori theory, which is “underpinned by Māori philosophies of the world, that has Māori foundations, that has Māori understandings” (Pihama, 2011, p. 49). For us this included centring Māori in everything we did, at every stage of the Survey development, delivery and analysis.

The project is led by Dr Cheryl Smith and Dr Rāwiri Tinirau, and project managed by Helena Rattray-Te Mana for Te Atawhai o Te Ao, Independent Māori Institute for Environment and Health.

A project advisory group was established and provides expert knowledge and guidance to the project leads and management, consisting of Sr Makareta Tawaroa, Professor Helen Moewaka Barnes, Associate Professor Donna Cormack, Eljon Fitzgerald and Kerri Kruse.

Te Atawhai o Te Ao staff involved in administering the Survey included Tania Kara, Susie Wakefield, Meri Haami, Miriama Cribb, Ana Te Putere O Te Rangi Allen, Hine Maraku, Ngareta Patea, Cruz Pauro and Connor Pauro. Whānau members also assisted with the Survey where required.

Te Atawhai o Te Ao also had biostatistics support from Associate Professor Nick Garrett and support in preparing this report from Gabrielle Baker and Natalie Talamaivao.

DESIGNING THE SURVEY

“Racism is so abhorrent and life-threatening that it is possible to lose sight of its real purpose, which is to deliver and maintain unearned privilege for groups constructed as superior within racism hierarchies. This privilege is so normalised that it is invisible to those who benefit from it ...”

(Reid et al., 2019, p. 120)

To be able to ask Māori about everyday experiences of racism, we had to be clear what we meant by racism.

This started with a critique of existing definitions of racism. Specifically, the project advisory group highlighted the shortcomings of definitions, like those in the Human Rights Act 1993, which focus on discriminatory acts against individuals. This type of approach can ignore the Indigenous experience of racism, which includes intentional disconnection from whenua, from culture and from whānau.

LINKS BETWEEN RACISM AND RANGATIRATANGA

Rangatiratanga is a term widely used and understood by Māori, and as a team we have used it as a shorthand term for describing the well-being that whānau, hapū and iwi had prior to colonisation as well as an aspirational state, guaranteed under Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Rangatiratanga is conceptualised in three main ways:

- 1. As a system of Māori leadership**, extending across generations, connected to hapū and mana over specific areas of land and sea
- 2. As a term** used in the 1835 Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, translated into the English phrase ‘a most-high form of chieftainship’
- 3. As encapsulating Māori political struggle to uphold sovereignty and self-determination** as whānau, hapū, iwi, and as a nation.

RANGATIRATANGA PRE-SURVEY

In 2018, we approached 65 Māori knowledge experts about rangatiratanga and racism in a pre-survey. These people were approached because they had publicly spoken or written about rangatiratanga in publications, theses, speeches, presentations, or seminars. Although the pre-survey participants represent a diverse range of occupations, including iwi and urban Māori governance, the majority came from the health and education sectors.

In the rangatiratanga pre-survey we asked:

- What does rangatiratanga mean to you?
- Since European arrival, what has impacted on rangatiratanga and how?

The responses we received highlighted not just the harms caused by racism, but the ways Māori are constantly resisting, pushing back and reclaiming Māori spaces – in other words we saw how Māori are asserting rangatiratanga.

“Tū rangatira [stand proudly as chiefs] encapsulates my rights, responsibilities, and obligations to stand. It enables me to make decisions and choices for myself and others. It also relates to mana-enhancing, protecting mine and others”

Rangatiratanga pre-survey respondent

We have published about the rangatiratanga pre-survey separately.¹

The rangatiratanga pre-survey helped us to focus our thinking about racism as an attack on rangatiratanga. It also reinforced our experiences – that racism takes many everyday forms and can happen across the life course, can be vicarious (and include witnessing racism), can be intergenerational and can impact a collective – not just individuals. For Indigenous peoples, racism began with colonisation.

As part of our thematic analysis of the rangatiratanga pre-survey we created a blanket flag. The creative process involved in translating the pre-survey findings into a tangible piece of art was an essential stage in our thinking, and helped to solidify areas for us to focus on in the Survey. The blanket flag was developed in a creative workshop led by Frances Goulton in Waitangi.



ILLUSTRATION OF RANGATIRATANGA PRE-SURVEY BLANKET FLAG, 2019

Description: In the centre of this flag, the red image of a 50 cent coin features Captain Cook’s ship The Endeavour as a symbol of violent colonisation and is surrounded by words that relate to the ongoing impacts of colonisation for Māori: momotu or severing of connections, denial (including of identity) and racism. The faces on the lower left hand side of the blanket flag represent Māori responses to racism and attacks on rangatiratanga – from humour, sadness, anger and confusion. Around the outside edges of the flag are words that represent factors that are ‘protective’ for Māori: rangatiratanga, whenua, tiaki, manaahi and the Treaty of Waitangi. Across the left side of the blanket flag is the research project name, WHAKATIKA.

1. This is available for download: www.teatawhai.maori.nz, under the resources page

WHAT THE LITERATURE SAYS

We undertook two literature reviews, one focused on research undertaken in Aotearoa and the other looking at international research, which helped us to draw a direct line between the Aotearoa experience of colonisation, with its dispossession of lands and rights and the devaluing of Māori ways of knowing and being, and racism.

Combined, the literature also tells us that racism operates at four main levels, captured in the following table.

Table 1: Levels of racism, as articulated in literature

Internalised racism	Belief and acceptance of negative stereotypes, attitudes, values or ideologies by members of a disadvantaged or stigmatised ethnic/group regarding the inferiority of one's own ethnic or racial group.
Interpersonal and/or personally mediated racism	Interactions with people that continue and perpetuate unfair and avoidable inequities within ethnic or racial groups. Interpersonal racism involves prejudice based on differential assumptions on the abilities and intentions of others based on their ethnicity or race. This can be acted out through discrimination and encapsulates both explicit and implicit bias.
Institutional and/or systemic racism	Legislation, policies, practices, material conditions, processes or requirements that maintain and provide avoidable and unfair differences and access to power across ethnic/racial groups. This includes differential treatment and access to quality services in sectors such as education, health care, housing, employment and income as well as living in a clean environment.
Societal racism	The maintenance of negative stereotypes, attitudes, values, beliefs or ideologies that perpetuate the inferiority of a particular disadvantaged ethnic or racial group (e.g. Māori), which are upheld by the privileged ethnic or racial group (e.g. Pākehā). Societal racism upholds the privilege of an ethnic or racial group (e.g. Pākehā) by forming obstacles to the historical, socio-political and colonial education required to deconstruct and critically analyse the systems that do not allow for other ethnic or racial groups (e.g. Māori) to gain power by having access to societal sectors and resources.

Table notes

This content is derived from a range of sources that discuss each of the four levels including internalised racism (Barnes et al., 2013; Jones, 2000; Paradies et al., 2008; Paradies & Cunningham, 2012), interpersonal or personally mediated racism (Barnes et al., 2013; Jones, 2000; Paradies et al., 2008), institutional or systemic racism (Barnes et al., 2013; Jones, 2000; Paradies et al., 2008) and lastly, societal racism (Barnes et al., 2013; Paradies et al., 2008).

Refining our Survey questions

Pulling together the literature, the themes of the rangatiratanga pre-survey and our personal experiences, the Project Advisory Group and the wider team started with a long list of possible types of everyday racism. Through an iterative process we were able to remove areas we thought were already covered in research (such as racism in health and health care settings) and to prioritise areas we knew were issues for Māori in Whanganui (where we are based) and surrounding rohe. The following table outlines the four areas included in this Survey.

Table 2: Topic areas in Whakatika Survey

Getting service/ shopping	For example, being served at a counter or in a shop, or speaking to someone over the phone about a service. This set of questions looked at an everyday task and examined both direct/interpersonal racism and the impacts of witnessing racism.
Media representation of Māori, Indigenous peoples and colonial monuments	For example, in public spaces, in traditional media (tv, radio, newspapers) and online. This set of questions looked at the impact of societal and institutional racism in the way colonisation and racism, as attacks on rangatiratanga, are experienced in public spaces and through media.
Tūpuna or Māori names	For example, what names people gave children, experiences of using tūpuna names. This set of questions aims to understand the collective and intergenerational impacts of racism, particularly within whānau.
Māori kai	For example, access to/knowledge of kaimoana. This set of questions also aims to understand the collective and intergenerational impacts of racism for Māori, as well as the links between te taiao, colonisation and Māori well-being.

Throughout the Survey we asked people about the emotional impact of racism to get an understanding not just of the types and frequency of racism experienced by Māori but the impact this has on wairua, well-being and health.

The Survey also asked for demographic information and some general questions about the impact of racism.

Over 2,000 Māori completed the Whakatika Survey from February 2019 to February 2020 – telling us about their experiences of racism.

Whakatika Survey.

“If I’m trying to get a motel room, I get my Pākehā missus to do it. So there is no hassle”

Survey respondent, 51, tāne



How did we carry out the Survey?

KEY INFORMATION

THE SURVEY WAS IN THE FIELD FROM **22** FEB 2019 **to** **29** FEB 2020

THE SURVEY WAS RUN AT **22** EVENTS ACROSS AOTEAROA

2,073 MĀORI COMPLETED THE SURVEY

Who could fill out the Survey?

People were eligible to participate in the Survey if they identified as Māori and were 16 years of age or older.

The Survey was delivered in-person

"This Survey with this technology really helps. I hope many more people take the time to fill out such good Survey as this, this subject is happening and needs to be heard"

Survey respondent, 50, wahine

The Survey was designed to be filled out in person (not via the internet), using an iPad with online survey software. This approach balanced the need to provide support to people completing the Survey (particularly important given the subject matter covered by the Survey) and the need for people to be able to answer questions privately if they preferred.

A \$10 petrol voucher was provided as a koha to Survey respondents. We also provided information on a range of supports available, in case participating in the Survey triggered feelings of anger, fear, sadness or worry. This included contact details for Youthline, Samaritans, I Am Hope, and others.²

The Survey was available in te reo Māori and in English

Most people answered the English language version of the Survey, with 67 respondents completing the Survey in te reo Māori.

2. This is available for download: www.whakatika.teatawhai.maori.nz/where-to-access-support

How did we find people to do the Survey?

Stalls were set up at 22 events across Aotearoa. These events were selected because they were likely to draw significant numbers and be safe places for Māori. The largest gathering was Te Matatini Kapa Haka Festival in Wellington, where over 500 participants took the Survey. We attended the most events in Whanganui (11), reaching over 430 participants.

Table 3: Number of Survey participants, by Survey collection point

Location	Event	Participants
Waitangi	Waitangi Day celebrations 4-6 February 2020	230
Ngāruawāhia	Koroneihana 17-18 August 2019	199
Rotorua	Tuakana Māori rugby league tournament 26-27 October 2019	73
Te Kōhanga Moa Inglewood	Taranaki Tū Mai 1 December 2019	105
Whanganui	Various events February 2019- February 2020	438
Rātana	Rātana celebrations 23-25 January 2020	189
Te Papaiōea Palmerston North	Rangitāne regional kapa haka event 29 February 2020	43
Whakaoriori Masterton	Ngāti Kahungunu regional kapa haka event 22 February 2020	56
Te Awakairangi Lower Hutt	Te Rā o te Raukura 1 February 2020	113
Te Whanganui- a-Tara Wellington	Te Matatini Kapa Haka Festival 21-24 February 2019	511
Whakatū Nelson	Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Māui regional kapa haka event 22 February 2020	39
Waihōpai Invercargill	Ngāi Tahu Hui-a-Iwi 21-24 November 2019	100

Table notes

This table is based on the number of people who started the Survey (2,096). Slightly fewer people (2,073) completed the Survey.

Each site was staffed by at least two people, with Te Matatini Kapa Haka Festival in Wellington requiring the full Survey team (of 11 people).

We found that attracting participants was easiest at events where we were set up next to kai stalls. We also found that at some events friendly competition helped to increase the number of participants, for example at the Rātana celebrations, different groups vied to have the highest numbers of respondents recruited.

To increase the number of participants we also learned over time how important it was for us to be highly visible to everyone. For example, we had t-shirts printed with quotes from the rangatiratanga pre-survey and they proved so popular people asked where they could buy them.

Overall, while we definitely know that some people were emotionally impacted by questioning around everyday experiences of racism, we also had positive responses on the Survey itself.

“Love the Survey and it has inspired me to help keep my whānau informed about their obligations to stand up to fair treatment, regardless of ethnicity or circumstance”

Survey respondent, 52, wahine

Demographics: Who completed the Survey?

This section describes who completed the Survey, their age, gender and where they live.

Age

Participants had to be 16 years or older to complete the Survey.

For the analysis in this report, we have separated respondents into four groups:

- Rangatahi, aged under 25 years old
- Rangatakapū, aged 25 to 44 years old
- Mātua, aged 45 to 64 years old
- Kaumātua, aged over 65 years old.

Most Survey participants were in the rangatakapū age group.

Figure 1: Age of Survey respondents

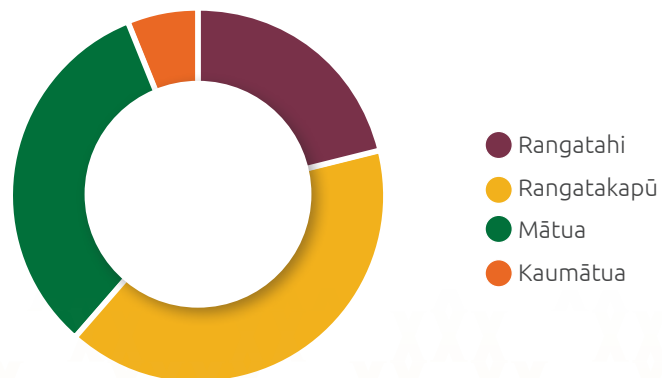


Figure notes

Missing responses: 64.

Gender

We asked a broad gender question to ensure people were given a range of gender options as well as options to not answer or to add their own preferred terms.

Around two thirds of Survey participants (over 66%) identified as female. Four respondents identified as gender diverse and one respondent selected 'prefer not to respond'.

Figure 2: Gender of Survey respondents

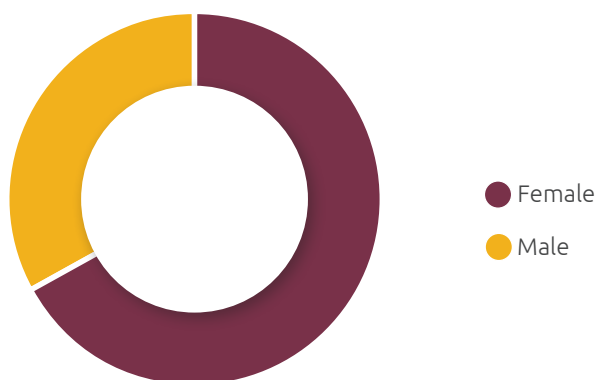


Figure notes

Missing responses: 2.

Figure 2 does not include responses for gender diverse ($n = 4, 0.2\%$) and 'prefer not to respond' ($n = 1, 0.1\%$), due to the low number.

Location

When people completed the Survey, we asked them whether they lived in a:

- Large city,
- Small city or town,
- Rural area,
- Marae/papakāinga.

Respondents made their own call on which of the categories they used for the place they lived. Around half of the Survey respondents said they lived in a small city or town.

Figure 3: Residential location of respondents

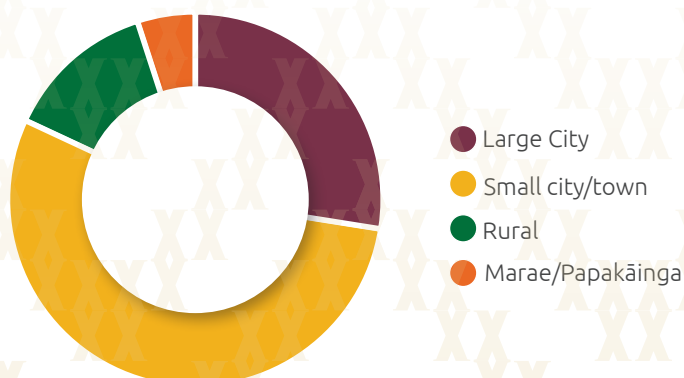


Figure notes

Missing responses: 34.

How to interpret the data in this report

This report covers the main findings of our Survey. Throughout each chapter we use line graphs and pie charts to show patterns.

The following chart will help you interpret our figures:

Responses – the order of these categories mirrors the order they were included in the Survey. For pie charts, which usually group responses together, we have opted for a consistent order throughout

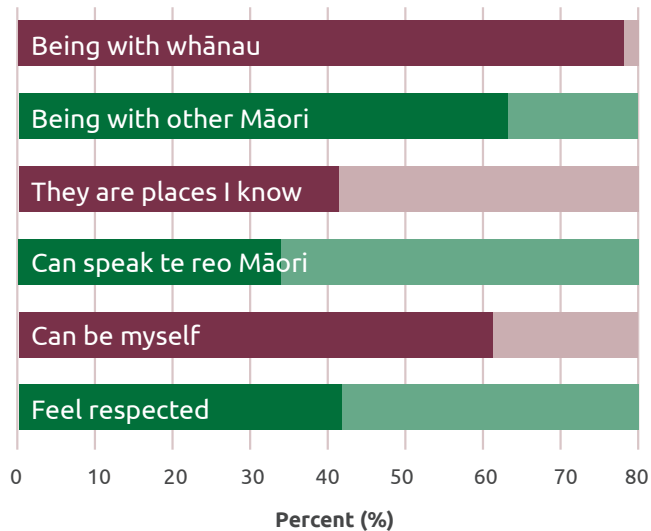


Figure notes

*Missing responses: 15.
Possible to select more than one response to this question.*

Any figure notes are included here. For most figures the only notes relate to how many people did not answer this question, referred to as "missing responses"

Percentage of responses. Note that for some questions people were able to select more than one response so the answers together add up to more than 100%. This is included in figure notes where relevant

Following each bar graph or pie chart, a narrative description is provided of any statistically significant findings when responses are analysed by age, gender or location. Statistical significance is based on chi-square statistical testing where significance was measured at the $p < .01$ level (meaning there is no more than a 1% chance that this was due to random chance). For findings by gender, the small number of gender diverse responses ($n=4$) means we are only able to compare female and male responses to each other.

Where questions allowed a free text or "other" option, we often include insights from the Survey comments. These insights are driven from a thematic analysis of responses and direct quotes are often used to illustrate main points. Quotes are anonymised although in most cases we have provided the age and gender of the respondent.

“Racism infiltrates our everyday experiences. I’m hopeful the work that many of our people are doing at many levels will contribute towards our tamariki having more positive experiences in [the] future. We can all contribute to change. The political system and government initiatives are also critical towards creating positive change. Ka whawhai tonu mātou.

Survey respondent, 42, wahine

Māori are left feeling pōuri or riri at their experiences of racism.

Whakatika Survey.

“I feel more respect overseas as Māori and feel I can be more of myself than I can in [my] own papakāinga because there is a lot of criticism and negative kōrero at home about measuring Māori value. Also in New Zealand, there feels to be a sense of awkwardness or ‘hassle’ in being Māori”

*Survey respondent,
30, tāne.*



General experiences of racism and impact on Māori identity

"I mean, I think New Zealand is the best place on the planet, but it's a racist place."

(Waititi, as cited in Denney, 2018)

Over the past few years, there has been a growing discussion on racism in Aotearoa. Talking about racism is not new to Māori and many of us might point to the landmark report *Pūao-te-ata-tū* (Department of Social Welfare, 1988), released a generation ago, which identified racism and its impacts on Māori. But this was not the first time Māori identified racism and its impacts. Well before the 1980s, marae, churches, Māori communities, Māori researchers, whānau, hapū and iwi were naming and protesting racism and colonisation, and the way they both attack rangatiratanga.

EVERYDAY RACISM

We therefore knew that racism was a common experience for Māori and wanted to know more about its impact.

Figure 4: How much does racism impact you on a daily basis?

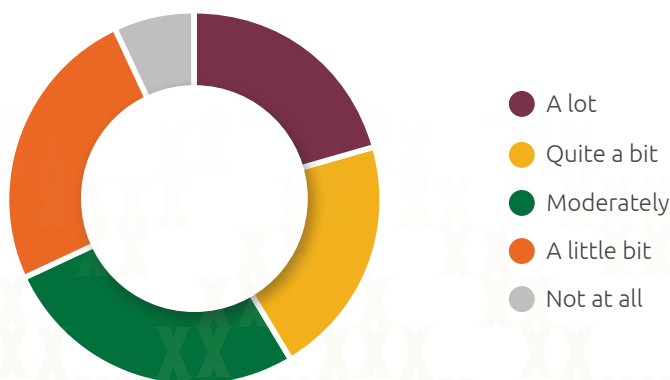


Figure notes

Missing responses: 6.

Most respondents (93%) felt racism had an impact on them on a daily basis. More than 40% of respondents said there was “a lot” or “quite a bit” of an impact. Only seven per cent of the people we surveyed said it had no impact at all. This was the same regardless of age, gender or where people lived.

Figure 5: Impacts of racism for wider whānau

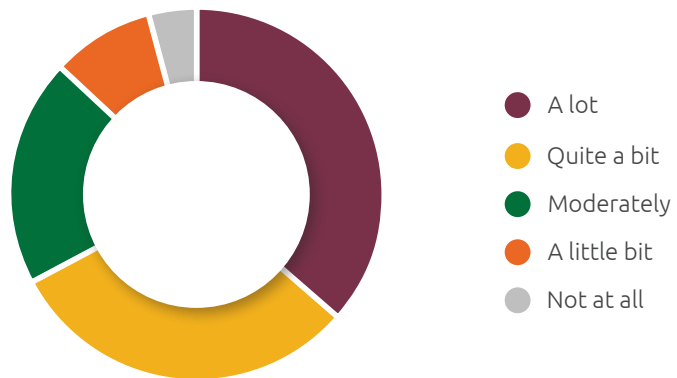


Figure notes

Missing responses: 8.

Most respondents (96%) saw racism as a problem for their wider whānau to some extent. Only four per cent said it was not a problem at all. Sixty-eight per cent of people said racism was “a lot” or “quite a bit” of a problem.

Females were more likely to feel that racism was “a lot” of a problem for their wider whānau (49%) compared to males (29%).

**“I MEAN, I THINK
NEW ZEALAND
IS THE BEST
PLACE ON THE
PLANET, BUT
IT’S A RACIST
PLACE.”**

(Waititi, as cited in Denney, 2018)

Being with whānau and being able to talk to whānau help us to form and express our Māori identity and support us to respond to racism.

Whakatika Survey.

“Overseas — there is more of an appreciation of Māori outside of Aotearoa”

Survey respondent, 44, wahine.



RACISM AND MĀORI IDENTITY

We know that one of the ways racism works is to create a sense of inferiority for some, and a feeling that they are less important or “other” (Te Hiwi, 2008).

Most people we surveyed felt comfortable identifying as Māori and expressing their Māori identity, however this did not mean that people felt safe to express their identity everywhere. People felt safest expressing their Māori identity with whānau or when surrounded by other Māori. Strength in Māori identity was connected to the whenua and whakapapa for many respondents.

“I feel comfortable anywhere on my whenua (Te Ika-a-Māui)”

Survey respondent, 40, tāne

Figure 6: Do you feel comfortable identifying as Māori or expressing Māori identity?

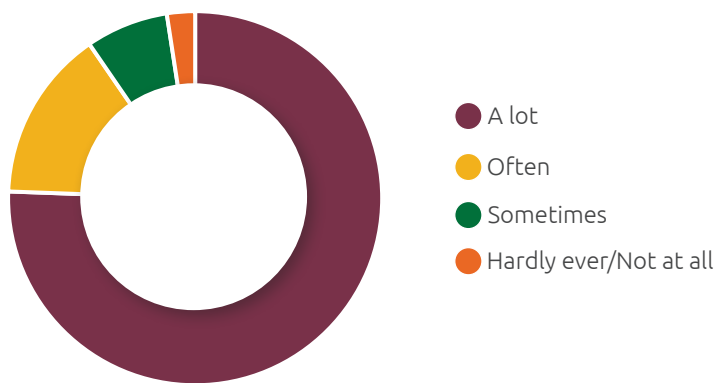


Figure notes

Missing responses: 13.

The categories “hardly ever” and “not at all” have been combined due to small numbers. Fewer than 1% of respondents said “hardly ever” and 1.6% of respondents said “not at all”.

Most people (76%) felt comfortable identifying as Māori all of the time. Nearly ten per cent of respondents said they only felt comfortable identifying or expressing themselves as Māori “sometimes”, “hardly ever” or “not at all”.

Figure 7: Where do you feel most comfortable being Māori?

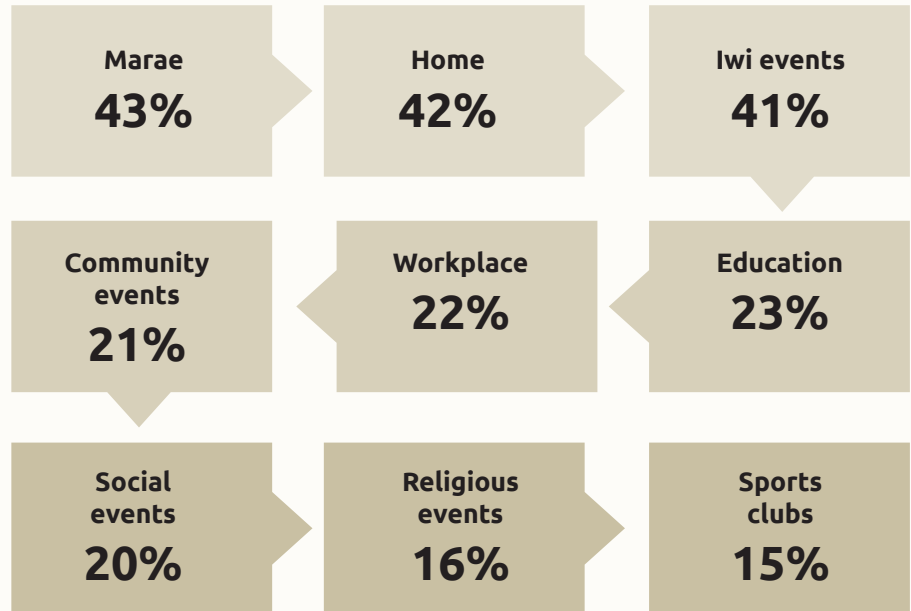


Figure notes
Missing responses: 13.
Possible to select more than one response to this question.

Around 64% of all respondents said they felt comfortable identifying and expressing themselves as Māori “everywhere”.

Other than this, people felt most comfortable in their Māori identity at marae (43%), at home (42%) or at iwi events (41%).

Thirty-two per cent of respondents chose to write in their own response to this question. With these answers there was acknowledgement of the natural environment as a place where people felt comfortable in their Māori identity, awa and moana in particular.

“Mai i Te Kāhui Maunga ki Tangaroa, ko au te Awa, ko te Awa ko au”

Survey respondent, 60, wahine

Less than a quarter of respondents (23%) said they felt most comfortable expressing their Māori identity in education settings and slightly fewer people said they felt comfortable in workplaces (22%). Throughout the Survey there were multiple comments on education settings and workplaces as sites of racism, rather than being places where Māori felt comfortable.

“I’m over racism in Aotearoa. I want to be free to be myself and I feel in the current environment, many Māori are made to assimilate forcefully via workplaces and education”

Survey respondent, 41, wahine

Figure 8: What makes you feel most comfortable to express your Māori identity?

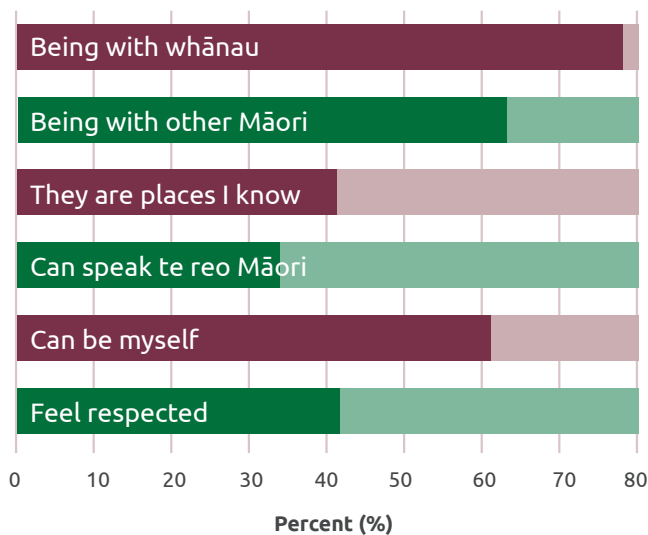


Figure notes

Missing responses: 15.

Possible to select more than one response to this question.

Over half of the respondents (64%) said being with other Māori made them feel comfortable.

Throughout the comments to this question many respondents said they found strength in their whakapapa, helping them to feel comfortable in their Māori identity.

“Knowing where I come from (my pepeha, whakapapa) helps ground me when I’m away from home”

Survey respondent, 16, wahine

89% of Māori said they were less likely to receive assistance in shops because they are Māori. This unfair treatment leads to feelings of anger at the racist treatment they receive when seeking services.

Whakatika Survey.

“Some shop assistants are racist because they serve the Pākehā people first, even if I was standing in line before them”

Survey respondent, 32, wahine.



Getting service

“As I walked out lots of people were staring at me and I felt shamed. I will never go back to that store again... That lady just took one look at me – young Māori guy – and decided that I was a thief and let everyone in the supermarket know that she thought I was a thief. Later the supermarket told us that their staff felt they were “amicable” to me and that I had misinterpreted what happened.”

(“Growing up Māori in NZ: My daily experience of racism at school, playing rugby, at university and at the shops,” 2017)

Receiving poor or no service is a common form of interpersonal racism for Māori (Barnes et al., 2013; Cormack et al., 2020). Research has shown Māori commonly encounter racism in shops: receiving disrespectful service, being ignored at the counter or in queues and being followed unnecessarily by store security (Pack et al., 2016). As in other countries, this has a long legacy in Aotearoa, from the first moments of colonisation to the present day. There have also been periods of explicit, racist, segregation through to the 1960s in some parts of the country, for example in Pukekohe, restricting Māori use of swimming pools, public transport, bars and barbershops (Bartholomew, 2020).

While it is illegal to discriminate against any ethnic or national group or deny service on the basis of colour (Human Rights Act 1993), people still share their experiences of racism in shops regularly through the media (for example, Chanwai Earle, 2018), or online – revealing the ongoing harms, including the shame and embarrassment, this creates. Despite it both being common for Māori and harmful (including to our health and well-being), there is relatively little research into everyday experiences of racism in shops or while receiving services, which was part of the reason we included a series of customer service questions in the Survey.

GETTING HELP FROM SHOP ASSISTANTS

We asked people about their experiences in shops and the quality of services they receive. It was overwhelmingly common for people to say they received differential and unfair treatment because they are Māori, including being subjected to surveillance or having bags searched.

Figure 9: Do you think that you are less likely than other customers to be helped by a shop assistant because you are Māori?

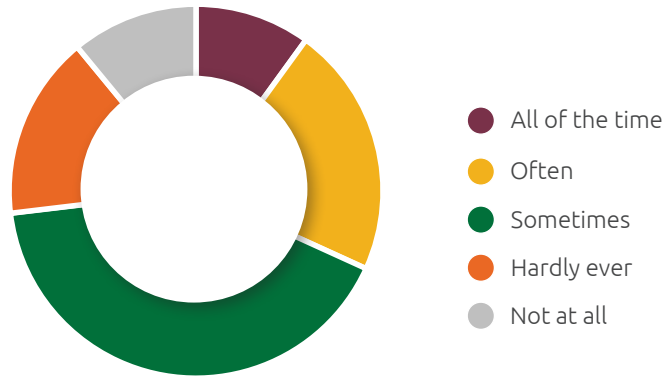


Figure notes
Missing responses: 13.

Most respondents thought they were less likely than other customers to be helped by a shop assistant because they are Māori (89%). Only 11% of respondents said they did not think this happened to them at all.

Forty-six per cent of Māori who lived in rural areas said they were less likely to be helped by a shop assistant “all of the time” or “often”, compared to 32% of all respondents.

Figure 10: Why do you think you are less likely to receive service?

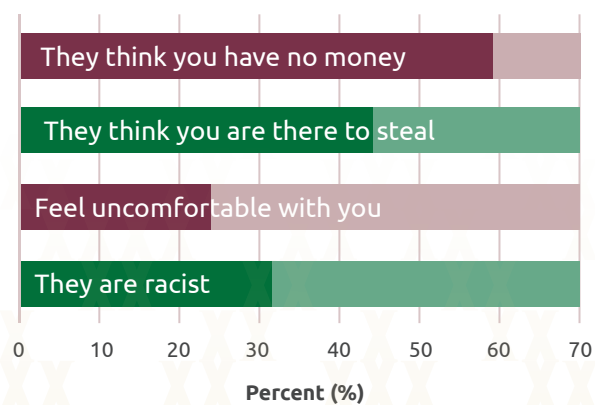


Figure notes
Missing responses: 247.
People who answered “not at all” to previous question were not given this question to answer, hence the large number of missing responses.
Possible to select more than one response to this question.

Most people (59%) said they thought they were less likely to receive service because they were perceived as having no money. This was most common in the rangatakapū age group (67%).

Around 44% of respondents believed people in customer service roles thought they were there to steal, and this was most common amongst rangatahi (57%).

Respondents were able to enter text into the “other” option for this question. These answers often talk about the racism of people in customer service roles.

“Some shop assistants are racist because they serve the Pākehā people first, even if I was standing in line before them”

Survey respondent, 32, wahine

In this question there were also numerous responses that referred to skin tone and “looking Māori” as influencing the level of service a person received. In these cases, white privilege was not seen as beneficial – even if it did lead to quicker or better service. Instead, it acted as a reminder of the racism experienced by other Māori – particularly within their whānau – and the denial of their own Māori identity.

“I am often not recognised as being Māori, therefore I am treated as others are treated. That is not the case for my darker skinned children or husband. My son gets followed through shops regularly.”

Survey respondent, 63, wahine

Figure 11: Have you ever been followed, watched, or asked to open your bag by a shop assistant?

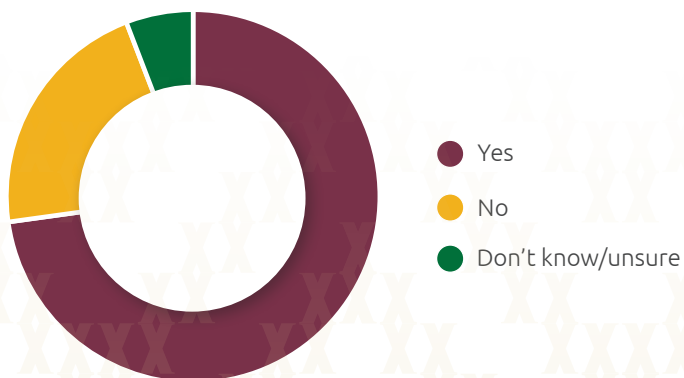


Figure notes

Missing responses: 13.

Most respondents (73%) have been followed, watched or asked to open their bags in a shop, although for kaumātua the pattern was different, with nearly half of that group (48%) saying they had not been followed or monitored in a shop.

Respondents were followed fairly frequently, with over a quarter of respondents (28%) saying they are followed “all of the time” or “often”.

RESPONSES TO RACISM IN SHOPS

In response to not receiving fair treatment at a counter because they are Māori, people employed a range of strategies.

Figure 12: Responses to unfair treatment in shops



Figure notes

Missing responses: 18.
Possible to select more than one response to this question.

It is most common for people to talk to whānau about their experiences of racism in shop settings (40%), followed by confronting the person serving them (38%). Talking to friends and whānau also helps people to process the situation and identify it as an example of racism.

“It’s not until I talk to my friends or whānau about the situation I realise that I’ve been subjected to racism/discrimination”

Survey respondent, 30, wahine

Respondents also said they would never go back to the store (31%). In the comments to this question, people expanded on the use of market forces to fight back against racism in shops. This included telling friends and whānau to shop elsewhere (for example, by posting on social media), as well as spending their hard-earned cash in other places.

“[use] my consumer power and tell them I will purposely shop elsewhere”

Survey respondent, 45, wahine

People were most likely to feel riri or angry (64%) when being treated unfairly in a shop or retail space. And many (28%) felt pōuri, a deep sense of sadness or grief, at the racist treatment they received when getting service. There were some variances between different Māori groups. While riri was most common across all ages and genders, females were more likely to feel pōuri (31%) than males (22%) and rangatahi were more likely to feel ashamed (27%) than kaumātua (12%).

In the comments to this question, it was also common for people to express feeling hōhā, furious or humiliated when they are being treated unfairly because they are Māori.

“Hot faced, flushed, embarrassed, I want to hide myself”

Survey respondent, 30, tāne

“Disgusted, sick within myself, I feel like crawling out of my skin”

Survey respondent, 21, wahine

There were a number of comments from people who did not think they had ever been treated unfairly because they are Māori, however this was often associated with people saying they are perceived as Pākehā, or that they have ‘lighter skin’. In some of these instances, people indicated their treatment changed if they had other visible connections to te ao Māori (such as wearing taonga, showing moko/kirituhi, or speaking te reo Māori).

GETTING SERVICE OVER THE TELEPHONE

We asked people how they responded in telephone conversations if they think they are being treated unfairly because they are Māori.

Figure 13: Responses to unfair treatment over the telephone



Figure notes

Missing responses: 22.
Possible to select more than one response to this question.

As with shop interactions, people are likely to talk to whānau and friends about unfair treatment over the telephone (30%). However, unlike shop interactions, people are just as likely to confront the person directly (30%). It was also common for people to ask to talk to a manager (29%) or someone else (27%).

Twenty-four per cent of respondents indicated they calmly told the person on the other end of the call that they were being unfair. In the comments, some respondents raised the need to stay calm, because of the damage getting angry can cause them.

“I wish I had a script that would help me calmly guide me in a courageous conversation with someone about this. I think we either fall into violence or silence. I know a lot of whānau fall into silence and hide the problem as it’s deeply shameful”

Survey respondent, 30, tāne

Another common response provided in the comments to this question was to ‘sound’ Pākeha. The existence and use of Māori English has been written about since the 1960s, including negatively by non-Māori and government departments. For example, a Department of Education publication in 1971 referred to it as “a very restricted form of the English language” (Department of Education, 1971, p. 21, as cited in Hardman, 1997, p. 2). It is perhaps not surprising then, given the racist attitudes towards Māori English that Māori may use style switching between Māori English and Pākehā English to ensure appropriate service over the telephone.

“I put on my Pākehā voice”

Survey respondent, 22, tāne

In other comments to this question, further resistance from Māori to the racist interactions was clear, ranging from hanging up through to causing discomfort or confusion for the person on the other end of the call.

“I kōrero Māori to them, then they respond that they don’t know what you are saying, and I say, ‘aroha mai”

Survey respondent, 73, wahine

87% of Māori have observed other Māori being treated unfairly in shops.

Whakatika Survey.

“Makes me want to help that person realise that I’m human as well, and they should treat people like they would like to be treated”

Survey respondent, 36, tāne.



UNFAIR AND RACIST TREATMENT OF OTHERS

Even in areas where we have extensive racism research from Aotearoa, such as in health care and services, most studies focus on self-reported racism, or the experience of the respondent themselves (Talamaivao et al., 2020), and there is little on what it means to witness racism towards others.

We wanted to know how common it was for Māori to witness or be a bystander to racism by shop assistants or staff towards other Māori in shops.

Figure 14: When you are in a shop, have you observed other Māori being treated unfairly?

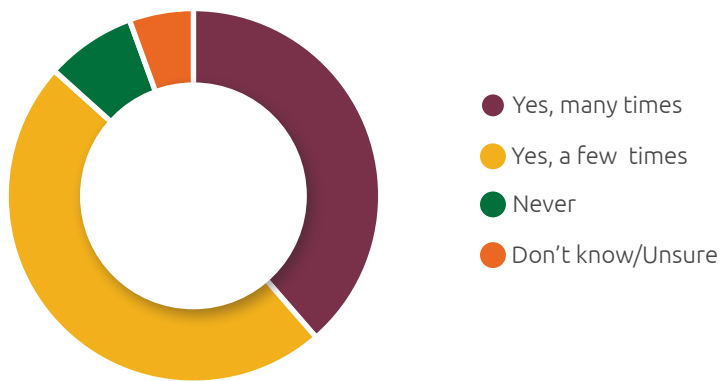


Figure notes

Missing responses: 20.

The overwhelming majority of respondents had observed other Māori being treated unfairly in shops (87%). Only eight per cent said they had never observed such treatment. There was little variation by age, location or gender, although females were more likely than males to say they had observed unfair treatment of other Māori many times (42% for females compared with 32% for males).

Most Māori (63%) feel riri, angry, annoyed or frustrated when shown pictures of colonial statues or monuments.

Whakatika Survey.



“I don’t think that they deserve a statue for taking our land”

Survey respondent, 21, wahine.

Media representation of Māori, Indigenous peoples and colonial monuments

“Journalism arrived on New Zealand’s shores from Europe after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between Māori and the Crown, during a period of unfettered mass migration and the process of colonisation. It became a tool to help colonise Māori”

(Parahi, 2020)

This section outlines the Survey findings in relation to statues, monuments and media portrayals of Māori.

COLONIAL STATUES

“I didn’t know these existed, but I see them as a slap in the face to Māori”

Survey respondent, 35, wahine

Monuments and statues often stand as sites of historical colonial trauma, and through the literature we know that this trauma impacts directly on the health and well-being of Indigenous populations (Bonder, 2009).

A number of statues throughout Aotearoa commemorate our country’s colonisation and celebrate its ‘discovery’ by Europeans. In 2019, when the Survey began, a national conversation was starting about Tuia 250—the marking of 250 years since Captain Cook’s first arrival in Aotearoa. This conversation highlighted the divergent views on our colonial history and the harms caused by ‘celebrating’ a violent coloniser. As Tina Ngata said when talking to the United Nations in 2019, “Māori are still very mamae and we are still labouring under the historical and enduring rights violations as a result of the event that they are commemorating this year” (Ngata, as cited in McLachlan, 2019).

Since our Survey was completed, the focus on colonial and racist monuments has increased. In May and June 2020, for example, in response to the murder of George Floyd by four police officers in Minneapolis, there were media reports of protesters throughout the United States taking down colonial monuments commemorating slave owners, imperialistic ‘discoverers’ and confederate leaders.

We showed Survey respondents four images of colonial statues celebrating European arrival and asked how it made respondents feel. The results show that for Māori, as for other Indigenous populations and the Black Lives Matter protesters, the statues continue to cause ongoing harms.

Figure 15: Examples of colonial statue images shown to Survey respondents



Figure notes

Left: Sir George Grey statue, Middle: Land Wars Memorial, Symonds Street Statue, Right: Colonel Marmaduke George Nixon Statue. Photos supplied by: Atarangi Anderson.

Figure 16: How do colonial statues make you feel?

Figure notes

Missing responses: 13.

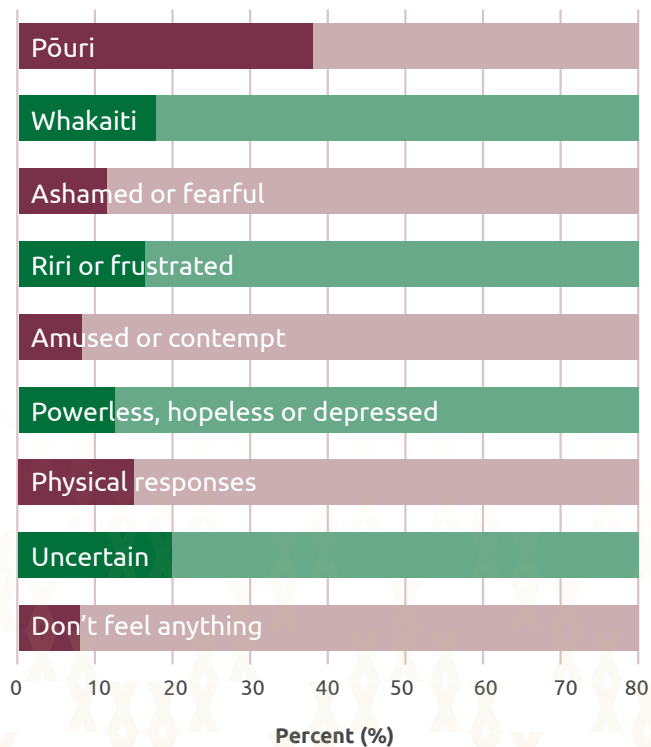
Possible to select more than one response to this question.

The label "ashamed or fearful" is based on a response option in the Survey which was "ashamed, humiliated, anxious or fearful".

The label "riri or frustrated" is based on a response option in the Survey which was "riri or angry, annoyed or frustrated".

The label "amused or contempt" is based on an option in the Survey which was "amused, contempt or sorry for the person who did it".

The label "physical responses" is based on a response option in the Survey which was "upset in the stomach or gut, headache, tensing of your muscles or a pounding heart".



Most respondents felt riri, angry annoyed or frustrated (63%) and only a small proportion (8%) did not feel anything at all.

People aged over 45 were more likely to feel amused, contempt or feel sorry for the people who supported the statue or monument, and those under 25 years were more likely to feel powerless, hopeless or depressed in response to the statues.

“Hurt and constantly reminded of that hurt. And forever in the shadow of what that statue means”

Survey respondent, 49, wahine

In the comments for this Survey question there was a strong call for the teaching of Māori/Aotearoa history in schools, including more hui, and consciousness-raising. Many respondents wanted teaching that shows the effects of colonisation and ensures mokopuna are better informed about our history in future. Other responses reminded us of the history of Māori survival and a desire and need to have Māori rangatira statues erected to offset the unbalanced picture of history currently on display in Aotearoa’s public spaces.

“I don’t think that they deserve a statue for taking our land”

Survey respondent, 21, wahine

Most Māori (79%) said that non-Māori media negatively portray Māori all of the time or often.

Whakatika Survey.

“I would be fine if they treated everyone equally; however, they push an agenda to ensure we look at Māori negatively”

Survey respondent, 29, wahine.



Media portrayals

The media in Aotearoa has been described as “a key apparatus of ongoing colonisation” (Nairn et al., 2004) and the use of negative stereotypes by the media in Aotearoa has been credited with showing favour to Pākehā and being damaging to Māori.

“Media is usually based around finding the bad in most situations and quite often take things out of context. I feel if they actually did their job properly and got the WHOLE story or a better understanding of most stories it would cause less outrage and racism”

Survey respondent, 29, wahine

The Survey results confirm that negative media portrayals of Māori, including through social media, cause worry and concern amongst Survey respondents. However, the extent to which this caused respondents to act and react varied by age and gender.

Figure 17: How often do you worry a negative news story will be about a Māori person?

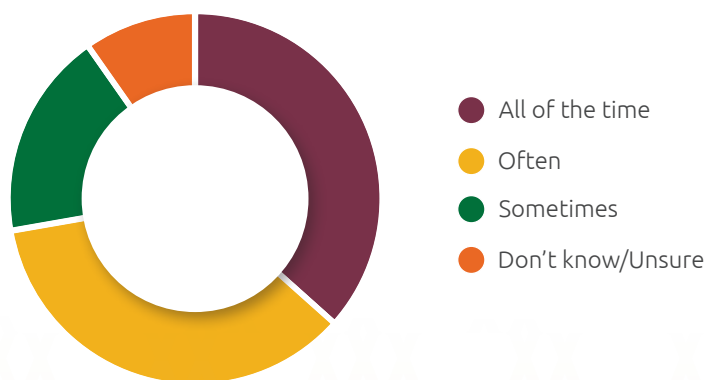


Figure notes

Missing responses: 19.

Most respondents were worried that high profile news stories (for example, around negative events or court cases) would be about a Māori person.

Mātua and kaumātua were most likely to say that they worry some or all of the time compared to younger age groups. Compared with males, females were more likely to state they worried “all of the time” and less likely to say they were only worried “sometimes” or “hardly ever/not at all”.

Figure 18: How often do you think non-Māori media portray Māori negatively?

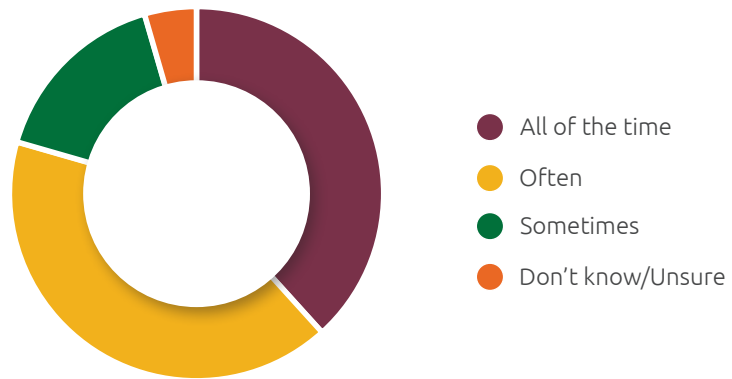


Figure notes
Missing responses: 28.

The majority of respondents said they thought non-Māori media portrayed Māori negatively all of the time or often.

Compared with rangatahi, older population groups were more likely to say that non-Māori media portrayed Māori negatively “all of the time” and less likely to specify this only happened “sometimes”. Those who lived in marae/papakāinga settings were also more likely than those who lived in other locations to state that non-Māori media portrayed Māori negatively.

RESPONSES TO NEGATIVE MEDIA PORTRAYALS

We asked people how they felt about negative non-Māori media portrayal of Māori and what they did in response.

Figure 19: Feelings about negative portrayal of Māori in media

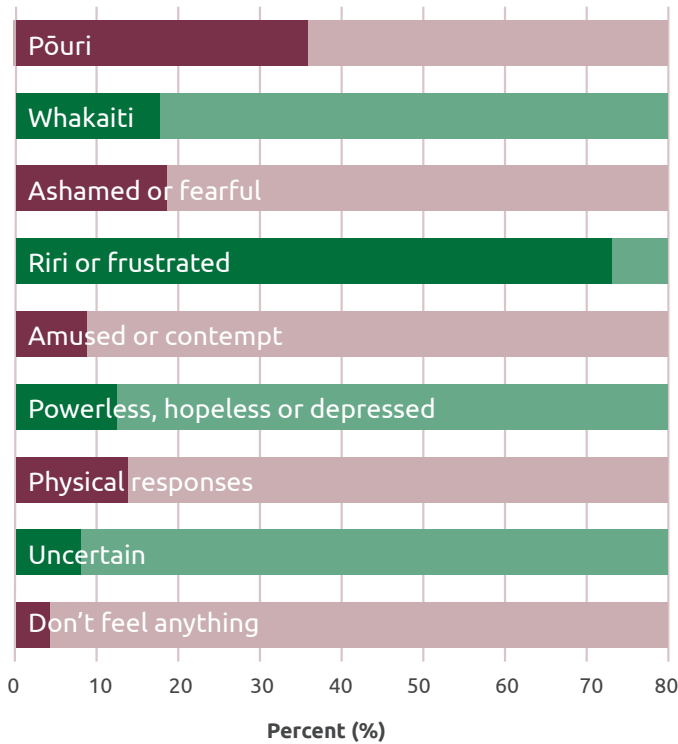


Figure notes

Missing responses: 27.

Possible to select more than one response to this question.

The label “ashamed or fearful” is based on a response option in the Survey which was “ashamed, humiliated, anxious or fearful”.

The label “riri or frustrated” is based on a response option in the Survey which was “riri or angry, annoyed or frustrated”.

The label “amused or contempt” is based on an option in the Survey which was “amused, contempt or sorry for the person who did it”.

The label “physical responses” is based on a response option in the Survey which was “upset in the stomach or gut, headache, tensing of your muscles or a pounding heart”.

Around 93% of the responses given indicated negative feelings (riri, annoyance, whakaiti) in response to negative non-Māori portrayal of Māori in the media. Around nine per cent of responses indicated indifference or uncertainty.

Younger groups (rangatahi and rangatakapū) were most likely to feel uncertain or state they “don’t feel anything” in response to negative non-Māori media.

In comments to the Survey, a number of respondents noted the difference between the positive portrayals in Māori media.

“Glad that we have Te Karere to portray the story differently”

Survey respondent, 67, tāne

Figure 20: Responses to negative media portrayal of Māori

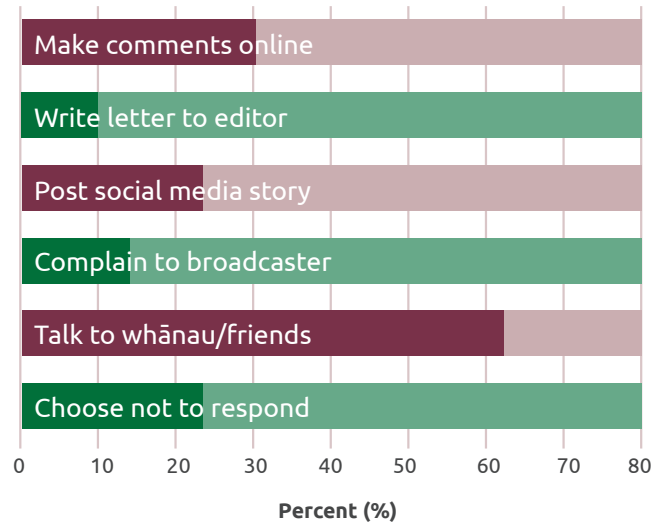


Figure notes
Missing responses: 25.
Possible to select more than one response to this question.

Over half of Survey respondents (62%) talk to whānau and friends in response to negative portrayals of Māori by non-Māori media.

It was also common for people to make online comments or social media stories about the negative portrayal(s). Around 24% of people indicated they chose not to respond to the negative portrayal(s).

Rangatahi were the least likely group to make online comments and the most likely to choose not to respond to the negative news stories.

Compared to males, females were more likely to talk to whānau/friends about negative news stories and less likely to choose not to respond.

Not responding was described by one respondent as the healthiest option, indicating again the range of harms caused by racism:

“Unfortunately, the daily injustices happen too often to count. I would be writing complaints daily. Why would I want to surround myself with ongoing negative energy which would eventually make me māuiui?”

Survey respondent, 65, wahine

INTERNATIONAL MEDIA COVERAGE OF RACISM AND VIOLENCE

Either directly (through internet or social media news sources) or indirectly (through Aotearoa media outlets picking up stories from overseas sources), many of us in Aotearoa are exposed to international media and news coverage.

At the time of the Survey there were increasing numbers of stories of Indigenous fights to protect land (such as the Standing Rock water protectors' movement in the United States which gained momentum in 2016 and 2017 (see for example, Anderson, 2016)) and the disappearance and murders of Indigenous women (see for example, Cecco, 2019). This question aimed to understand the extent to which these stories impacted Māori.

Most people we surveyed (91%) recalled seeing clips from overseas about racism and violence towards other Indigenous people.

Figure 21: Feelings about media clips on racism/violence towards other Indigenous peoples

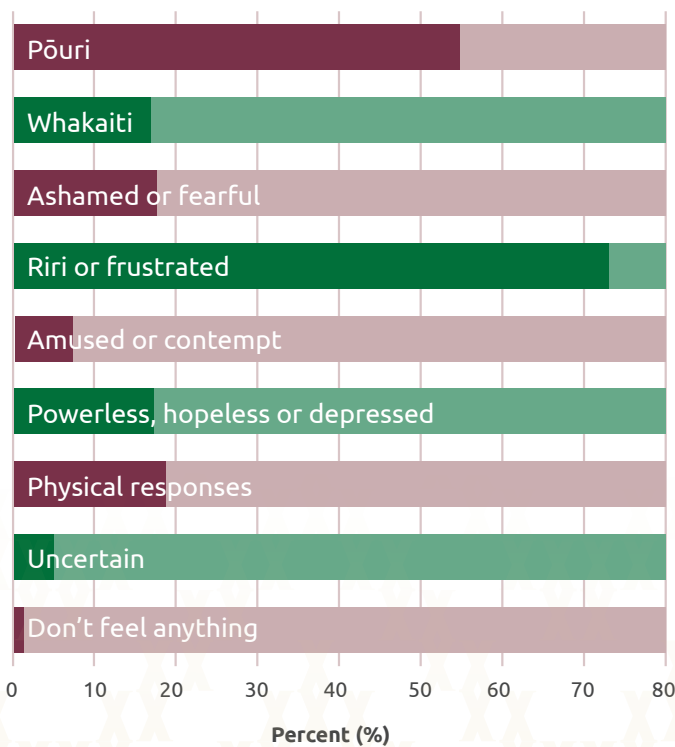


Figure notes

Missing responses: 5.

Possible to select more than one response to this question.

The label "ashamed or fearful" is based on a response option in the Survey which was "ashamed, humiliated, anxious or fearful".

The label "riri or frustrated" is based on a response option in the Survey which was "riri or angry, annoyed or frustrated".

The label "amused or contempt" is based on an option in the Survey which was "amused, contempt or sorry for the person who did it".

The label "physical responses" is based on a response option in the Survey which was "upset in the stomach or gut, headache, tensing of your muscles or a pounding heart".

Ninety-seven per cent of the responses we received indicated negative feelings towards the coverage of racism and violence towards other Indigenous populations. There was little variation between population groups, regardless of age, location or gender.

The examples provided in these questions included personally mediated racism, rather than the more obtuse or difficult to pinpoint types of racism (institutional, societal). This perhaps explains why, compared to the questions on negative non-Māori media portrayals of Māori, respondents were more likely to have a negative reaction and less likely to be indifferent. Some Survey respondents suggested that it was more impactful, simply because it was happening overseas.

“Interesting that I don’t relate these same feelings when this happens to Māori in New Zealand. It always feels more impactful when you see it overseas. Like I feel more of my white friends relate to it more when it’s overseas, yet it’s a huge problem here in New Zealand (their home).”

Survey respondent, 26, wahine

Figure 22: How did you respond to media reports of racism/violence towards Indigenous peoples?

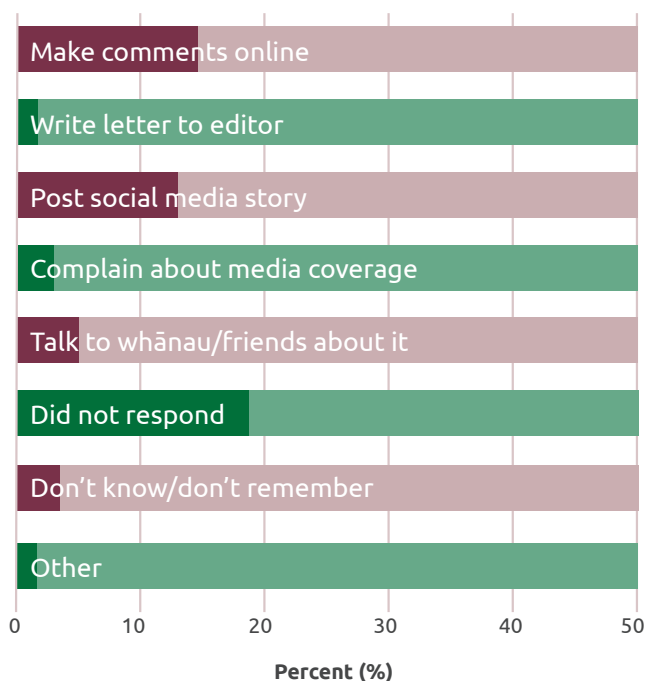


Figure notes
Missing responses: 6.
Possible to select more than one response to this question.

In response to stories of racism and violence towards other Indigenous groups, the Survey respondents were most likely to talk to whānau or friends about what they had seen. People were given the option of stating what other responses they had. Overall responses confirmed that people talked widely about the Indigenous media stories – in workplaces, in churches and amongst whānau (both kanohi-ki-te-kanohi and through social media).

Other responses to this question included donating to international causes and responding through creative expression/art or through their work to effect change in Aotearoa.

71% of Māori have a Māori or tūpuna name – and most (53%) have to explain or spell their name regularly to others.

Whakatika Survey.

“The worst thing is being constantly asked to spell my name. It even happens at my own workplace”

Survey respondent, 31, wahine.



Tūpuna and Māori names

“Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their languages, oral traditions, writing systems and literatures”

(Article 13 UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples)

Our names are intensely personal and help to frame our identity, especially when the names are connected to our whānau and our tūpuna and our whakapapa. They also reflect the hopes and dreams of those who named us.

Māori names might honour our whakapapa, events or tohu around our birth or feelings related to or about a child (Goodyer & Hurihanganui, 2019; Opai, 2018). They can also act as an assertion of rangatiratanga in the wake of Aotearoa’s racist legacy of removing te reo Māori, for example in schools, going back at least as far as the Education Ordinance of 1847, which made the use of the English language in schools mandatory.

Figure 23: Do you carry a tupuna or Māori name?

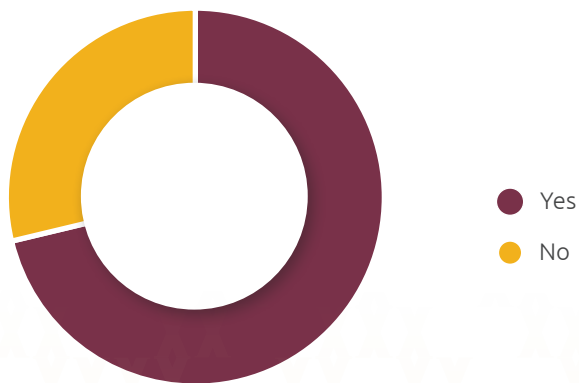


Figure notes

Missing responses: 6.

An additional 89 respondents opted to skip the question.

Most of the people who we surveyed (71%) had a Māori name (it could be first name, middle name or surname).

Older age groups had more respondents with Māori names, for example, 80% of kaumātua respondents reported having Māori names. Māori names were also more common amongst Māori who lived in marae/papakāinga (81%).

Of those who have a Māori name, most (94%) knew the history behind their name and where the name came from.

SPELLING AND EXPLAINING

We were interested to know how often Māori were asked to spell their tūpuna names or to explain the history behind their names. In the right context, these questions could be an expression of care – where people want to gain a better understanding of a name and where it comes from (especially since our names often reflect whānau stories). However, in an unsafe context it can be another example of Māori being ‘othered’ and made to feel different or like a curiosity. It can be exhausting to have to explain yourself constantly.

Figure 24: How often do you get asked to spell your tupuna or Māori name?

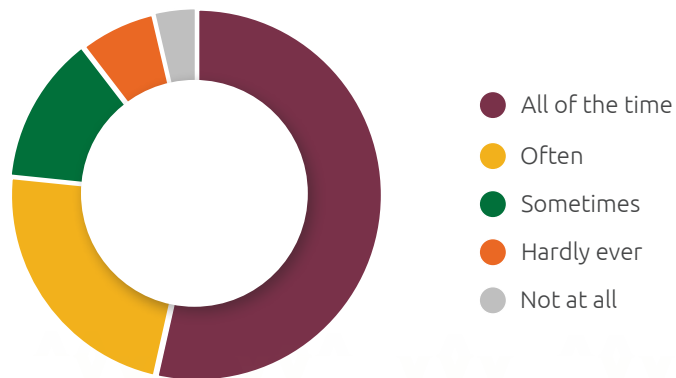


Figure notes
Missing responses: 1.

A little over half of the respondents with Māori names (53%) said they were asked to spell their Māori name all the time. This was especially true for females, who were more likely to be asked to spell their name all the time (59%) compared to males (43%).

Figure 25: How often do you get asked what your tupuna or Māori name means?

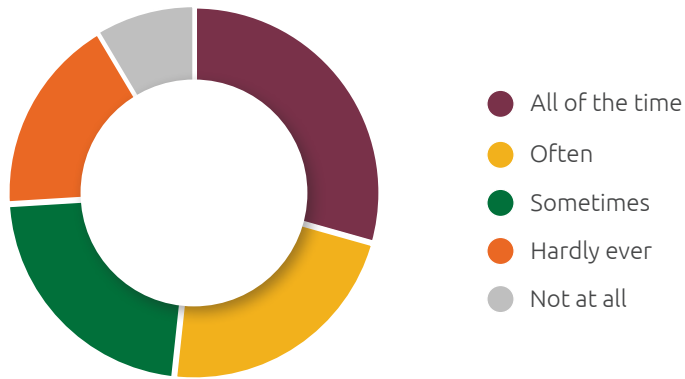


Figure notes
Missing responses: 2.

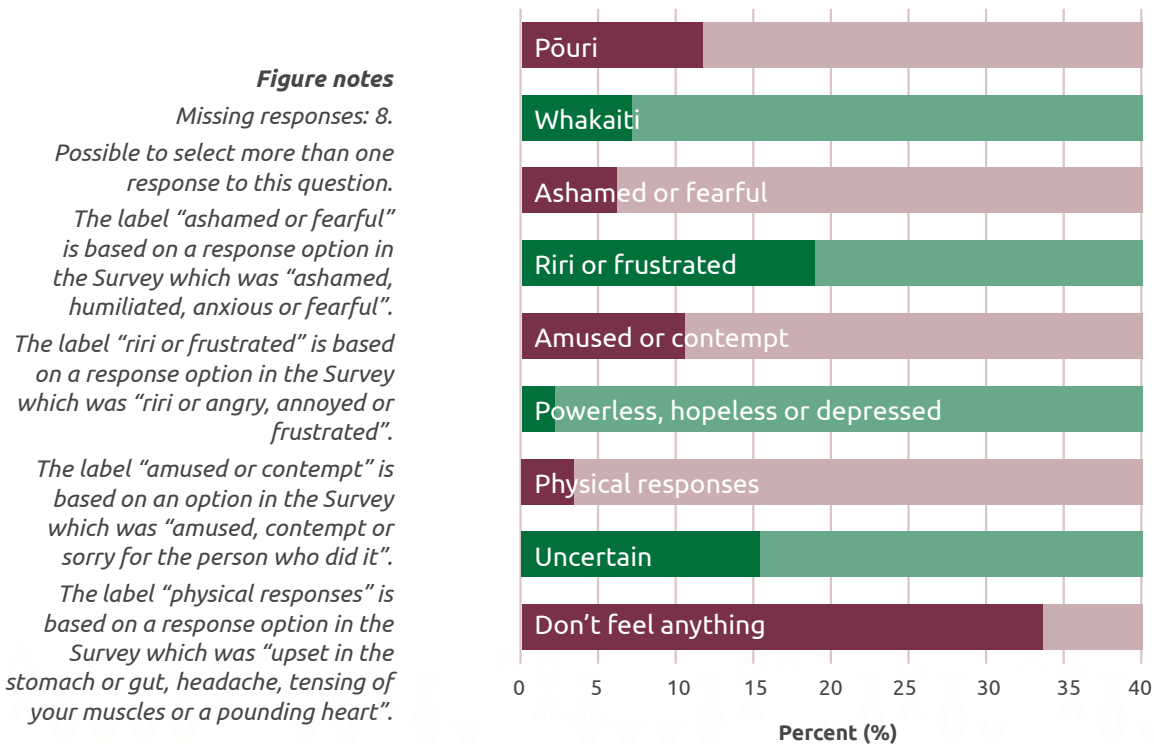
Around half of the respondents with Māori names said they were asked “all of the time” or “often” about the meaning behind their name (51%). As we found with the question regarding spelling of names, female respondents were more likely than males to be asked all the time what their name means (32% for females, compared to 23% for males).

TELEPHONE INTERACTIONS

Telephone conversations may be rarer today than ten years ago, but they are still a necessary part of the day-to-day life of many people – even if only to make health appointments or engage with government agencies. When making these kinds of phone calls, it is hard to control who we are talking to or whether they will express racism in some form.

We wanted to know how Survey respondents felt about giving tūpuna or Māori names to non-Māori over the phone.

Figure 26: Feelings about giving a tupuna or Māori name over the telephone



It was most common for people to say they didn't feel anything when sharing their Māori name over the phone (34%), however around 40% of responses indicated some kind of negative feeling(s) about the experience including pōuri, anger and fear.

People over 45 years (mātua, kaumātua) were more likely to have negative feelings about giving their Māori name over the phone.

In the comments to this question, it was common for people to say they felt whakahīhī or proud sharing their Māori name.

“It’s my name so therefore I am proud of my name and who I am and where my name comes from. I am Māori and proud”

Survey respondent, 26, tāne

However, some respondents talked about the stress involved in sharing their Māori name over the phone with non-Māori (both because of fear of being judged for being Māori or because of not wanting to hear their name mispronounced).

“Can feel a bit anxious that they may judge me differently when learning that I am Māori”

Survey respondent, 24, wahine

Giving a Pākeha name instead of their own (either an anglicised version of their name or just a made-up name) was a common strategy to counter and avoid this discomfort and annoyance.

We asked people specifically about how they respond to their name being mispronounced over the phone. The vast majority of respondents said they calmly corrected the person (73%), although in the comments it appears that how calm people remain depends on how much effort they sense the person on the other end of the call is making.

“I often correct them, but if I can see they tried really hard I often praise them and calmly say it properly”

Survey respondent, 25, wahine

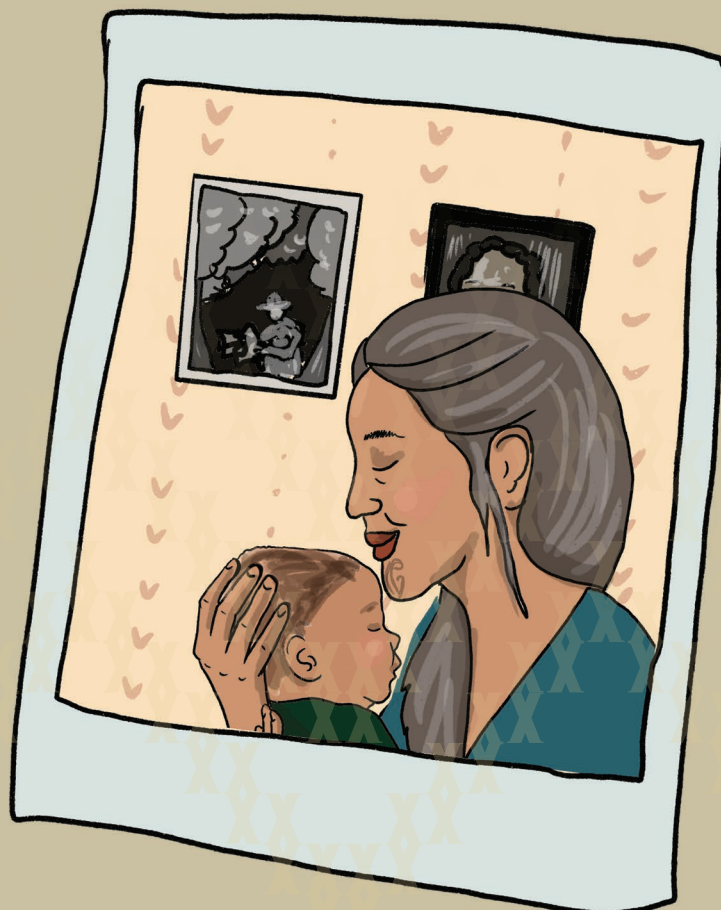
Some people said they talked to whānau about it (6%) when their name was mispronounced over the phone or chose not to respond (5%). An even smaller number of people asked to speak to a manager or make a complaint (4%).

86% of Māori, when given a chance, have chosen a Māori or tupuna name for a child, and most (75%) have also talked to tamariki about what to do if their name is mispronounced.

Whakatika Survey.

“It’s my name so therefore I am proud of my name and who I am and where my name comes from. I am Māori and proud”

Survey respondent, 26, tāne.



Giving children Māori or tupuna names

As already noted, a Māori name can reflect whakapapa or whānau stories, and can be a reflection of the hopes the person giving the name has for the child. In this way, Māori names are an expression of aroha and connection across generations. Māori names can also be an indicator of confidence to use the Māori language.

Most Survey respondents had the chance to name a child in their whānau (71%), but this was less likely amongst rangatahi, where only 31% of respondents had been given the chance to name a child.

Figure 27: If you've had the opportunity to name a child, did you give that child a tūpuna or Māori name?

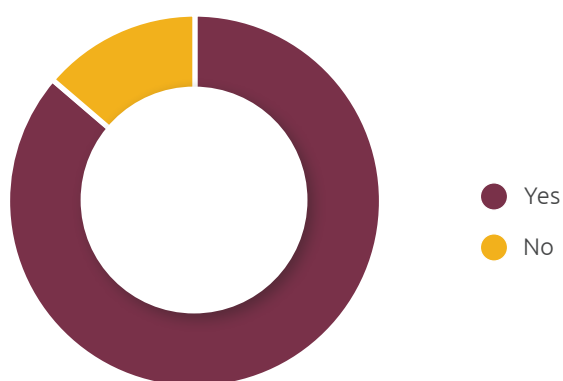


Figure notes
Missing responses: 16.

Of those who have named a child in their whānau, most have chosen a Māori or tupuna name (86%). People aged over 25 (rangatakapū, mātua and kaumātua) were more likely to have chosen a Māori name than rangatahi, although rangatahi still chose a Māori name most of the time (66%).

The majority of people who gave a child a Māori name had also talked to that child about what to do if the name is mispronounced (75%), which again suggests a layer of effort required of Māori in going about our day-to-day lives.

For those who chose not to give a child a Māori name, most said they did not do this deliberately (76%). Of the 19% of people who said they actively avoided giving a child a Māori or tupuna name, they expressed a wish to protect the child from harm.

"I do not want them to go through the hurt and pain that we had to endure. I don't want them to feel ashamed of being Māori."

Survey respondent, 64, wahine

The most common type of harm described in the free text responses was the anxiety of having your name mispronounced. However, some people also noted that at the time they were naming the child they did not know enough about their whakapapa.

Many Māori (38%) feel sadness or grief at not being able to access Māori kai or shared Māori kai on their marae or at home – this increased with age as kaumātua were more likely to identify this sense of sadness than rangatahi.

Whakatika Survey.

“Worried, that it’s been made hard now to access this kind of kai freely for our people”

Survey respondent, 33, wahine.



Māori kai

“It wasn’t always like this, though—why, when I think back to the times we rode many miles over the hills to gather kai moana to supplement our everyday diet. There were paua, kutai, and kaura, big and red, when they were in season. This entailed a whole day’s journey, and more often than not we stayed half the night also, netting for fish at the narrows of the bay”

(Erihi, 1964, p. 5)

In the past, Māori kai – such as kaimoana – not only fed the people but was a sign of mana. The ability to be a generous host, especially at hākari (feasts) was important for whānau, hapū and iwi.

Being able to prepare Māori kai is also a way of keeping traditions alive, connecting us with the past, and provide many of us with tactics for dealing with current day food insecurity (Graham, 2017). We wanted to find out more about what Māori know about Māori kai, their access to Māori kai and the connection of Māori kai to our overall well-being.

EXAMPLES OF TRADITIONAL MĀORI KAI

We asked people whether they could provide three examples of Māori kai served on marae or at their home in the past. Most people could give at least one example of traditional Māori kai (87%), but often other examples were also provided. We categorised responses into three broad areas, keeping in mind both the ingredient and the method of preparation:

- Traditional kai, using ingredients and methods that pre-date the arrival of Pākehā;
- Adapted kai, which might involve traditional cooking methods used to prepare non-traditional food (such as different types of meats) or traditional methods (of hunting or gardening) for collecting food; and,
- Non-traditional kai, which people provided to us – sometimes with Māori names – but are neither traditional nor adapted from traditional kai preparation methods or sources.

Figure 28: Summary of Māori kai categorisation

Traditional kai	Adapted kai	Non-traditional
Hāngī Aitanga pepeke insects such as huhu or snails	Boil-up meats with greens such as pikopiko, watercress or pūhā	Breads Fruits such as āporo/apples
Kai māra vegetables such as kūmara	Creamed pāua Fritters for example, using mussels or whitebait	Fry-up Meats including venison
Ika wai māori freshwater fish, tuna/ eel	Ika mata raw fish	Salads tomatoes, lettuce
Kaimoana seafood such as kōura, pipi, pāua	Kānga corn dishes, rotten corn	Vegetables pumpkin, cabbage
Ngāi tipu harvested plants such as pūhā and pikopiko	Parāoa certain types of bread e.g., rewana, doughboys, parāoa	
Rongoā plants with a range of properties and uses such as kawakawa	parai Rīwai or taewa/Māori potatoes	

Seventy-seven per cent of respondents said that the examples they gave of Māori kai were still served on their marae or in their homes today. There was a slight pattern by age, where rangatahi were more likely (80%), and kaumātua were less likely (71%) to say traditional Māori kai were still served on their marae or at home.

WHĀNAU KNOWLEDGE OF MĀORI KAI

The majority of respondents (76%) said that all or most of their whānau had knowledge of Māori kai. Kaumātua and those living in marae/papakāinga were more likely to say all of their whānau had knowledge of Māori kai (49% and 51% respectively).

Around four per cent of respondents said that hardly any or none of their whānau had knowledge about Māori kai.

Figure 29: How often does anyone in your whānau actively harvest, gather, buy Māori kai?

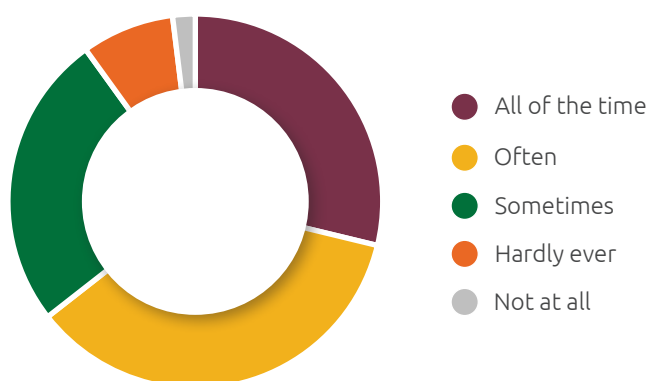


Figure notes
Missing responses: 23.

Sixty-four per cent of respondents said that their whānau actively harvest, gather or buy Māori kai all of the time or often. As with the previous question, kaumātua were more likely than other age groups to say that their whānau accessed Māori kai all of the time (36%) as were those in marae/papakāinga settings (44%) compared to urban locations.

ACCESS TO MĀORI KAI, MĀORI KAI ACTIVITIES

While we traditionally had free access to Māori kai, this changed with colonisation and continues today. Restricted or reduced access to kai is associated with a loss of land, contamination of food sources, introduction of foods from other places and local or national government regulation, restricting for example the collection of kaimoana.

Figure 30: How important is it to you, to still be able to harvest, gather or buy Māori kai?

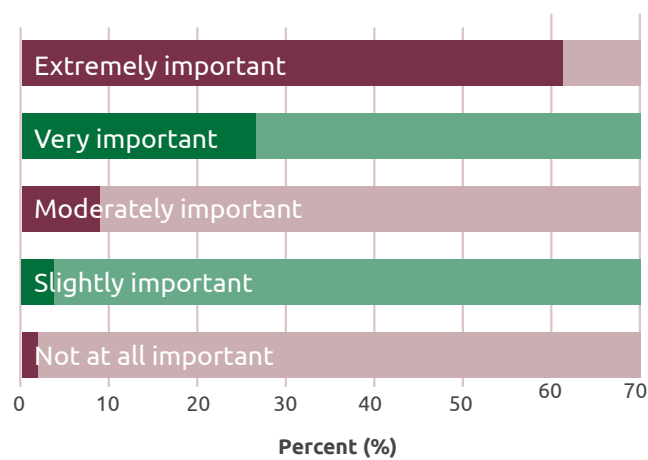


Figure notes
Missing responses: 20.

The majority of respondents (87%) said it was very or extremely important to still be able to harvest, gather or buy Māori kai. There was little variation by gender or location, but there was a slight difference amongst age groups. For example, respondents in the mātua age group were more likely to say that access to Māori kai was extremely important (68% compared to 61% across all age groups).

We also asked people about their current involvement in protecting or preparing Māori kai. This question covered both direct involvement in kai and action to protect the whenua and waterways as a way to secure access to kai.

Figure 31: What Māori kai activities are you involved with?

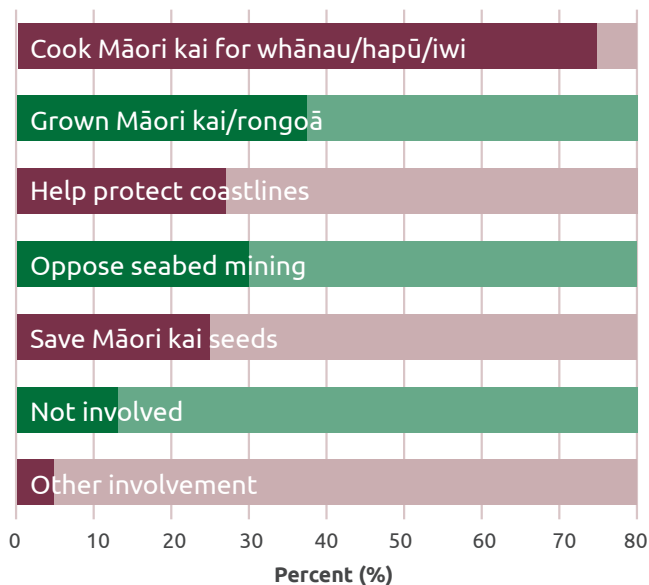


Figure notes

Missing responses: 28.

Possible to select more than one response to this question.

Most respondents (76%) were involved in cooking Māori kai for their whānau, hapū or iwi. A little over a third of people were involved in growing kai or rongoā (37%) and a number of people were involved in activities related to the moana (helping to protect the coastlines (26%) and opposing seabed mining (30%)). Thirteen per cent of respondents said they were not involved in kai related activities.

Hunting and fishing were common examples provided by respondents, including mutton birding/tītī harvesting and eeling. These were also acknowledged in some comments as collective activities – often undertaken by whānau.

“My immediate whānau are hunters and gathers. We hunt a lot and eat our meat and give it out. We also eat tuna and ika from the awa.”

Survey respondent, 51, wahine

A number of respondents also talked about kaitiakitanga over the natural environment and protecting te taiao, and involvement in hapū and iwi governance as a way “to fight for the preservation of mahinga kai sites” (Survey respondent, 63, wahine).

FEELINGS ABOUT MĀORI KAI

“Māori women are retaining traditions and the ways of their tūpuna. The act of gardening represented a chance to return to the land and the ways of the ancestors, including taking care of the environment and reviving traditions, such as traditional foods, rongoā, and tikanga. Māra kai were grown by their parents, their families and their ancestors. The importance of tūpuna cannot be ignored in Māori culture.”

(Stein et al., 2018, p. 151)

Given the importance of kai to Māori, in terms of sustenance, connection to whānau, ancestors and culture, it is not surprising that respondents expressed strong feelings about kai. These feelings were positive when it came to being able to access kai and negative when it came to being unable to access kai.

Figure 32: Feelings about being served Māori kai on marae or at home

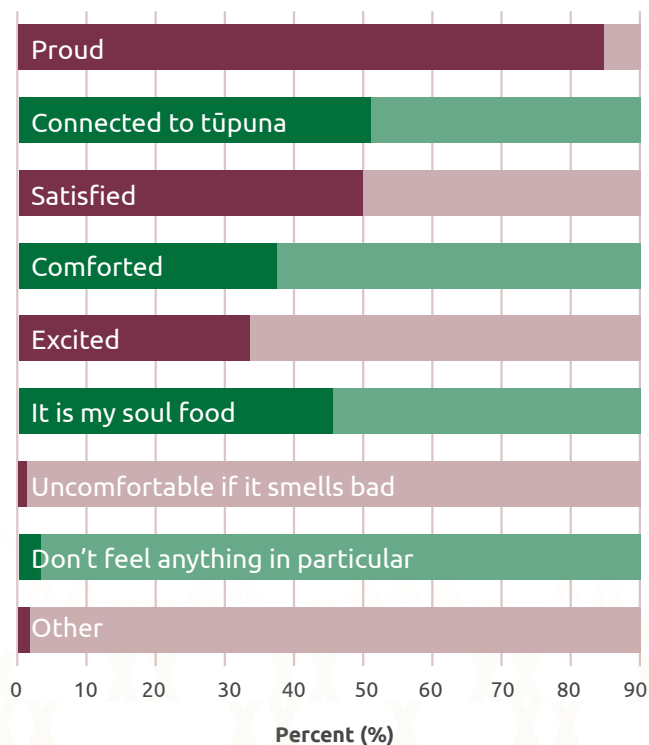


Figure notes
Missing responses: 2.
Possible to select more than one response to this question.

Eighty-six per cent of respondents said they felt proud to be served Māori kai at their marae or in their homes. More than half the respondents felt connected to their tūpuna (51%) through the serving of Māori kai and similar numbers felt satisfied (50%). It was rare for people not to feel anything specific about serving or being served Māori kai (1%).

There was little variation by age or location in these results, although females were slightly more likely to feel connected to their tūpuna through kai (53%) than males (47%) and were more likely to feel satisfied and comforted by Māori kai.

In the comments on this question, a small number of people indicated they do not enjoy Māori kai. Most, however, reemphasised the sense of pride they feel at serving and being served Māori kai.

“I feel Māori!”

Survey respondent, 65, wahine

A number of respondents also talked about kaitiakitanga over the natural environment and protecting te taiao, and involvement in hapū and iwi governance as a way to “to fight for the preservation of mahinga kai sites” (Survey respondent, 63, wahine).

Figure 33: Feelings about not being served Māori kai on marae or at home

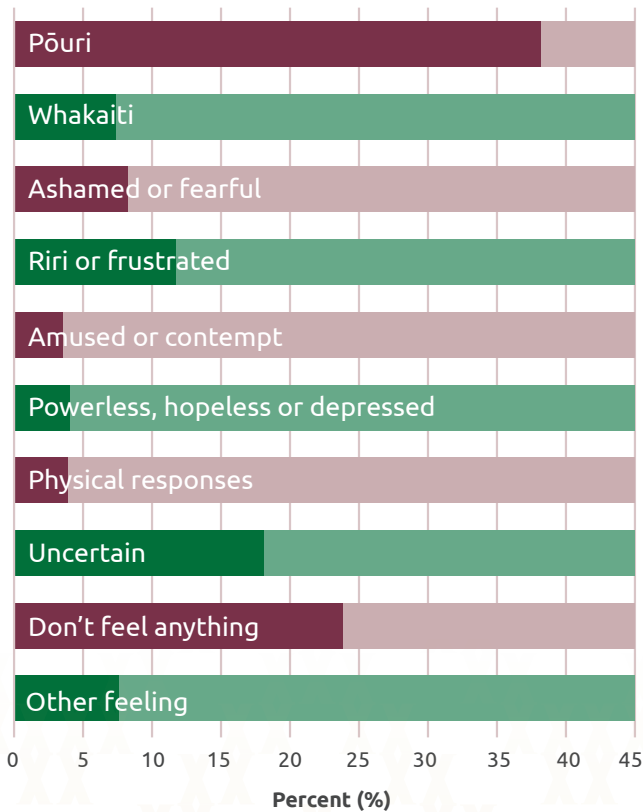


Figure notes

Missing responses: 63.

Possible to select more than one response to this question.

The label “ashamed or fearful” is based on a response option in the Survey which was “ashamed, humiliated, anxious or fearful”.

The label “riri or frustrated” is based on a response option in the Survey which was “riri or angry, annoyed or frustrated”.

The label “amused or contempt” is based on an option in the Survey which was “amused, contempt or sorry for the person who did it”.

The label “physical responses” is based on a response option in the Survey which was “upset in the stomach or gut, headache, tensing of your muscles or a pounding heart”.

There was a sense of pōuri or deep grief among 38% of respondents at not being served Māori kai at their marae or at home. Feeling pōuri increased with age, with kaumātua being most likely to identify these feelings (46%) and rangatahi least likely (27%).

In the comments to this question, people reiterated the sense of sadness and disappointment, but often acknowledged that there was a wider context to reduced access to Māori kai, including limited time and knowledge required to prepare kai, pollution and environmental degradation. Instances where traditional kai was not served were seen as negative, but that did not undermine the manaakitanga of the marae or whānau at home.

“Sad that it’s not as common, not towards the haukāinga, but more towards the fact that this is another result of colonisation”

Survey respondent, 24, wahine

“I think maybe that’s all that they can provide. Any manaakitanga is ka pai. I wouldn’t complain even though I’d prefer a boil up”

Survey respondent, 42, wahine

Figure 34: How does it make you feel when you cannot harvest, gather or buy Māori kai?

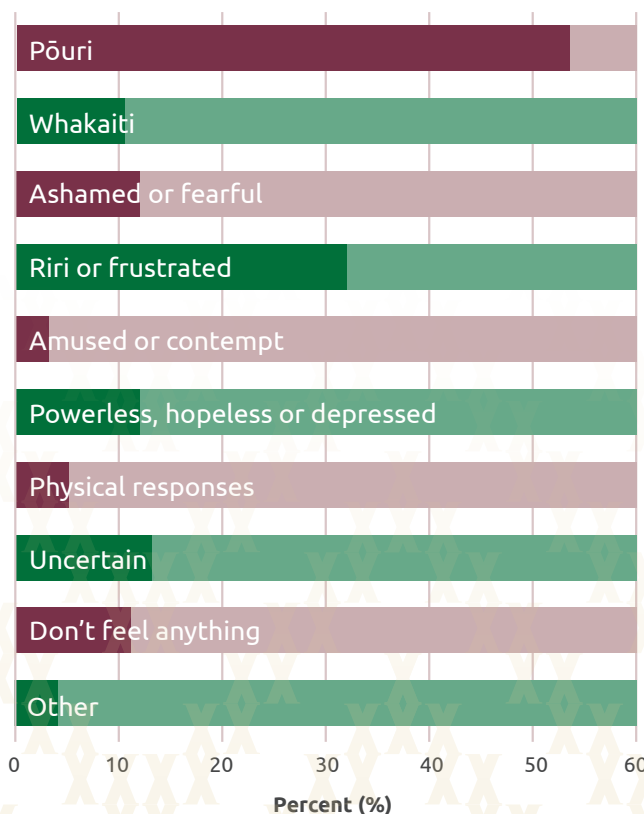


Figure notes

Missing responses: 63.

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The label “physical responses” is based on a response option in the Survey which was “upset in the stomach or gut, headache, tensing of your muscles or a pounding heart”.

When it came to harvesting, gathering or buying Māori kai, the sense of sadness was even more pronounced than when it came to not being served Māori kai on a marae or at home. Fifty-three per cent of respondents felt pōuri when this happened, and a large proportion of respondents (32%) felt riri, angry or annoyed.

Feeling pōuri increased with age, with kaumātua more likely to express deep sadness at not being able to harvest, gather or buy Māori kai (64%) compared to rangatahi (21%).

“The older I get, the more I need the taste of it. When we were young I was sick of it. It’s all we ate. Not anymore. So, I am craving rewana”

Survey respondent, 51, tāne

Conclusion

This research was undertaken to bring forward Māori voices in the struggle to eliminate racism. Here, Māori who are guaranteed rights under Te Tiriti o Waitangi, in particular tino rangatiratanga, speak to the impacts of colonial racism. Colonial racism is both act and omission, through micro and macro-aggressions, media representations, ignorance and disrespect, and the invalidation of Māori and celebration of colonisation through colonial statues, to name a few.

In daily experiences of racism Māori are not passive victims. As well as deep and diverse emotional responses, they react and act. Māori resist by talking back, raising their voices, complaining, taking their business elsewhere and through collective actions. We have captured some of these experiences and responses, painting a bleak picture of the daily struggles Māori face and the strategies they use.

The report also points to growing reclamation of Māori names for children. Although a positive act, this is not without struggle. Māori anticipate they, and their tamariki and mokopuna, will meet with challenges simply because of their names; including mispronunciation, assumptions and racism.

We see consistently across the responses that whānau, home, papakāinga, marae and being in 'Māori spaces' are important refuges where support, comfort and respite from daily encounters of racism are found and where Māori can talk honestly and discuss their experiences.

The study highlights some of the wider and collective impacts of racism through asking about Māori kai, and diminishing of access to Māori kai. Access to Māori kai is one of the basic rights that has been hard fought for intergenerationally under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. We found that Māori kai is highly prized and actively sought out, despite the difficulties. Kai is a key way of showing love and respect to others, whether on a marae, at homes or in other places such as hospitals. To interrupt, diminish or place barriers to Māori kai has deep impacts on the collective.

Because we explore Māori experiences of racism that go beyond more commonly measured discriminatory acts, the findings demonstrate the pervasive nature and high level of colonial racism. The study focused on four areas, so does not capture experiences in other spaces or settings; for example, we did not ask about workplaces or health and education settings. Despite this, there is no getting around the daily exposures to colonial racism experienced by Māori.

Change must happen.

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FURTHER READING

Two literature reviews were also commissioned to inform the Whakatika Survey and its analysis. These literature reviews are available on our website www.whakatika.teatawhai.maori.nz and provide a complete bibliography for this project.

Conceptual design

We use the term rangatiratanga to describe well-being for an individual, whānau, hapū, iwi. We also use this term to describe leadership and self-determination, and along with the prefix of 'tino', rangatiratanga was also used in the second article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Defining racism as anything that is an attack on our rangatiratanga makes this definition uniquely Māori. The mamae we feel when exposed to racism resonates intergenerationally, and each time we experience racism, the mamae ripples outwards. With this in mind, the conceptual design for this Report is based on addressing the past, present and future mamae; and reclaiming rangatiratanga.

The arapaki (or tukutuku, woven panel) design used throughout the Report has various meanings, but exemplifies the kaokao pattern. The pattern is presented within the Whanganui mūmū arapaki that are displayed at the Whanganui Regional Museum. These arapaki were woven by kuia at Pūtiki Wharanui Pā in time for the opening of the museum extension in 1968, which included the Māori Court, Te Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangi (Horwood & Wilson, 2008).

As mentioned earlier, there are various meanings for the kaokao pattern. The downwards slanting chevron is representative of a warrior, in the haka stance, readying themselves for protection and, if needed, attack. In the context of this Report, the kaokao signifies strength and integrity, and protecting our rangatiratanga. The descendants of Hinengākau from the upper reaches of the Whanganui River view kaokao as the armpit, which is symbolic of physical strength, and the repeating pattern represents a group of people swinging their arms as they march forth in unison (Jones, 1975). Within Whanganui, and according to Te Otinga Waretini (1990), the kaokao pattern was used on takapou wharanui (matrimonial woven 'mats'), used for those of high rank, and woven using human hair. The tapu associated with takapou wharanui is therefore apparent, and was used to help with conception and ensure a long line of succession.

Meanings associated with the kaokao pattern are complementary to our definition of racism and at the same time, the design suggests that there are several ways to address attacks on our rangatiratanga. But as rangatiratanga asserts, we will decide how that will be best achieved to address the mamae of our tūpuna, for us, and for our uri. Kaokao, therefore, is a symbol of change, and encourages us to move forward with the original intentions of our tūpuna who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, in our hearts and minds.

The cover image of Te Tiriti o Waitangi is used because accordingly, our rangatiratanga is protected by law. However, we are very clear as to our history, and we know that we have not been afforded the protection that was guaranteed under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The colouring of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, as it has faded, is used throughout the publication, as a reminder that, while the original colour may have faded, the intents, desires and beliefs that our tūpuna had in signing it are stronger than ever and will not wane.

The purple colour is borrowed from the skin of the Ōwairaka kūmara, the most recognisable kūmara variety. The growing, harvesting, eating and ensuring there is enough left to grow again the following season was done with much ceremony, exactness and tapu (“Kumaras and kumara magic”, 1962). Rongomātāne, atua of the kūmara, was acknowledged throughout the various stages of growing, harvesting and partaking in kūmara. Kūmara was the most important cultivating crop for our tūpuna, and at harvest time, was used in festivities amongst whānau, hapū and iwi (“Kumaras and kumara magic”, 1962).

The journey towards whakatika, or making things right, will require commitment and hard work from all, including Māori, Pākehā, government agencies, retailers, educators, health professionals and others, if racism is to be eliminated. A lofty goal, but a worthy one.

The illustrations used throughout the Report are presented in this deliberate style to support the accompanying messages, and be more relatable to everyday acts of racism. The drawings humanise, but also reduce, the severity of the message. Some of the messages are disturbing, but these messages are not new; they reaffirm individual and collective Māori experiences of racism. This Report has helped us feel a greater sense of kotahitanga (unity) and a desire to move forward with confidence, because we are affirmed in our individual and whānau experiences of racism.

