

RACE, RACISM AND EVERYDAY COMMUNICATION in Aotearoa New Zealand

ELIZABETH REVELL, EVANGELIA PAPOUTSAKI, ELENA KOLESOVA

The racism here is not overt, but it's the small things that make us feel that maybe we are not welcomed (Indian migrant in New Zealand quoted in Tan, 2014).

As a 'Eurasian' New Zealander, I have at times struggled and still do struggle with my identity. Though my homeland is generally considered to be a 'non-racist' country, political correctness having long been ingrained into our national conscious, being half majority and half minority in identity has given me a particular perspective from which to see the nuances of, and feel distress at, well-concealed racism towards Asians in my everyday life. I have also felt unable to express my intermittent agitation to others, as racism is a taboo discussion topic in New Zealand (Voice of Elizabeth Revell, principal author).

●
INTRODUCTION

Some racism is so subtle that neither victim nor perpetrator can fully comprehend what is going on which may be especially 'toxic' for non-white people in multicultural societies (DeAngelis, 2009). The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination singled out New Zealand's 'persistent discrimination against migrants, particularly of Asian origin' (Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination [CERD], 2013). This was supported by previous research on Indians in Auckland which has found "widespread presence of discrimination" (Lewin et al, 2011) and the New Zealand Human Rights Commission which has reported to receive over 550 complaints about racial prejudice and abuse, a third of which are substantiated (Tan, 2014).

Although more recent research by Gendall et al (2013) on migrants in New Zealand showed a noticeable increase in positive attitudes towards Asian people in the last 15 years,¹ race and racism continue to be underexplored and avoided

¹ This demonstrated by a 55 percent of the surveyed population thinking positively about Asian immigration compared to a just 32 per cent in 1997.

not only in public discourse but also in research in the New Zealand context (Callister, 2008, 2011; Lowe, 2008), including in the field of communication studies (Robie, 2009). Despite multiculturalist claims that present-day society has moved beyond race as an organizing principle, New Zealand (see above) and international academics (such as, but in no way limited to Bonilla-Silva, 2013; Goldberg, 1993; Trepagnier, 2010; Lentin, 2011; Hill, 2008; Chakraborti, 2010) and non-academic writers (such as, but again in no way limited to Wise, 2010; Adichie, 2014; Clark, 2001; Janmohamed, zahirjanmohamed.com/bio/) continue to draw attention to race, racism and issues of identity.

This essay is based on theories of 'new racism', which explain how race and racism continue to play an integral role in our lives, but in subtle and often hidden ways. This approach informs the discussion in this essay that focuses on some of the issues that emerged from a critical collaborative autoethnographic project that explored how race is manifested in everyday communication interactions in New Zealand. The discussion, more specifically, draws on what we call here 'conversational tact' and its three sub-themes of 'everyday racialised ethnic terms', 'the everyday racialised use of ethnic stereotypes', and 'everyday censorship and silence around race in conversation'. These themes have been chosen as the focus of this essay because they sit together under a larger theme that looks at the way in which people communicate race through their everyday patterns of speech and vocabulary in New Zealand and help us unmask 'racial micro aggressions' (DeAngelis, 2009; Sue et al, 2007).

BICULTURAL AND/OR MULTICULTURAL NEW ZEALAND?

Empirically, New Zealand society can be described as 'multicultural', despite its foundational and constitutional biculturalism (Culpitt, 1994; Lowe, 2009). New Zealand's relatively short history of race-relations began in the second half of the 18th Century during the colonisation era. The signing of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* established the biracial or bicultural relationship between the indigenous or Māori people and the immigrant or Pākehā people,² an intergroup relationship that is officially regarded as first and foremost in the New Zealand context. Problematically, ever since its beginnings this relationship has been characterised by inequality and injustice. To this day, a number of Māori grievances for past Pakeha acts of violence remain unsettled. Māori continue to fare comparatively worse in many statistically researched social areas such as socio-economic level, child abuse, crime, educational achievement and health (Human Rights Commission [HRC] Race Relations Report, 2011).

A number of people from other ethnic groups made their way to New Zealand from the second half of the 19th Century. For instance, the Chinese first arrived during the 1860s gold rushes. Their experiences with institutional and social

² In some contexts, 'Pākehā' are conceptualised of as the British settler, in others as non-Māori, and in others still, as New Zealand Europeans or 'White' New Zealanders.

hostility have been documented and analysed (see for example Ip, 2003). A separate Indian population, somewhat protected from being denied citizenship rights by virtue of their British subject status, but also socially ostracised, began to arrive after the First World War (Swarbrick, 2009). Pacific Island peoples arrived on New Zealand's shores in significant numbers following WWII, in response to favourable immigration policies aimed at solving the country's shortage of unskilled labour. They have also suffered from being scapegoated and stigmatized, and, as an ethnic group, fare poorly in a socio-economic sense (Anae, 2004). In 1986, the Labour government implemented a merit-based appraisal for potential immigrants (Ip & Pang, 2005) and as direct result, an influx of East Asian immigrants in the 1990s has meant that the Asian presence and voice in New Zealand has become noteworthy, and, one could say, feared.

Though 'Māori'/'non-Māori' is the ethnic distinction employed in much health research, four ethnic groups are increasingly used in New Zealand in health and social research: European, Māori, Pacific Island Peoples, and Asian. With less regularity, social scientists and policy makers take 'MELAA' (Middle Eastern, African and Latin American), and 'Other' categories into account (Callister, 2008).

In Huijser's (2004) opinion, New Zealand society has become multicultural in a relatively short space of time. With increased racial, ethnic and cultural diversity, issues around social cohesion have come to the fore. New Zealand joins many other immigrant nations in dealing with issues relating to living together well in a multicultural society. Such concerns are increasingly significant for New Zealand as its demographics continue to shift rapidly. The 2010 ethnic population projections by Statistics New Zealand (Bascand, 2010) indicate that the Asian population will equal the Māori population by 2026 at 16 percent. It also reports that New Zealand is expected to become more ethnically diverse in terms of the numbers of people identifying with non-European ethnicities and that the number of non-European people is set to overtake the number of Europeans by 2021. According to Joris de Bres, former Race Relations Commissioner, these numbers indicate that in the future, "no single ethnic group is likely to constitute a majority of the population" (Racial prejudice 'still entrenched in New Zealand', The Dominion Post, 8/3/2012).

It is reassuring that with regards to managing racial/ethnic/cultural diversity, New Zealand is regarded as having some of the best race relations in the world when compared with other immigrant nations such as Canada and Australia (Meijl and Miedema, 2004, in Hippolite and Bruce, 2010). New Zealand identity itself is based on ideals of egalitarianism and lack of racism (Liu et al, 1999). In part, this recognition and self-awareness has come about because unlike these other immigrant countries, New Zealand formally recognises its indigenous population, the Māori, as a distinct group who share the guardianship of many resources and contribute in a special way to national identity and culture (Sibley et al., 2008). However, there are still persistent and inexcusable issues that need to be addressed such as various and serious socio-economic inequalities between the main ethnic groups, majority discrimination towards minorities, and intergroup animosity (Ward and Liu, 2012; Kukutai, 2007; Fodzar, 2011).

In sum, in the face of increasing multiculturalism, ethnic inequality, and long-standing hostilities, it is in New Zealand's interest to continue to refine and implement proactive strategies to accommodate and legitimise its different ethnic groups and their historical and contemporary claims on New Zealand's identity. To this end, these authors contend that such a project requires consideration of the lingering vestiges of 'race' and 'racism' and how they have manifested themselves in New Zealand. The exploratory research project that this essay draws from was conceived of as an initial foray into what it is hoped will become a more robust body of work aimed at understanding what race means in New Zealand.

RACE AS A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION PHENOMENON AND THE ROLE OF EVERYDAY COMMUNICATION

Despite race being considered an abstract concept, contemporary scholars acknowledge that race is meaningful in that it has real consequences for people's lives and well-being (Lemonik Arthur, 2007). Even if race has no biological reality and has simply been created by humans to justify the unequal allocation of resources, ordinary people believe in it as a fundamental social structuring principle.

Race and racism have been under explored and even avoided in research in the New Zealand context, including in the field of communication studies. However, according to Lowe (2008), race is of mounting significance in New Zealand, while Callister (2008) notes an avoidance of the term in policy and academic research in New Zealand. At these elite levels, discussion revolves around culturally constructed ethnicity as opposed to skin colour. For census purposes, the term 'race' was discarded and replaced with 'descent' in the middle of the 20th Century, followed by 'ethnic origin' in the 1970s and 'ethnic group' in the 1990s (Callister, 2011), the term that continues to be used today. Goldsmith (2003) writes of 'culturespeak' in New Zealand, contending that culture has replaced race as the preferred tool for categorising people and their actions. According to him, discussions around multiculturalism and biculturalism bypass the hard issue of the lack of definition of culture and its purpose in use by both academic and non-academic contexts. He suggests that there may be political agendas, and perhaps even elements of racialisation and racism, hidden behind this celebratory, supposedly neutral term.

Callister and Didham (2009) suggest that even though the term race is not employed for academic inquiries, it is possible that clearly bounded racial groups are entrenched in the minds of many New Zealanders. They note that race is used at times in public debates such as over race-based social policies. In determining eligibility for ethnicity-based scholarships and school quotas, definitions of ancestry rely on biological concepts. This implies a reliance on old biological conceptions of race. Finally, 'ethnic' groups that are used mainly in

public policy analysis (European, Māori and Pacific peoples, Asian) can too easily be linked to continental-based 'racial' groups (respectively Caucasian, Negroid, and Mongoloid categories). Lowe (2008) suggests that a researcher would do well to problematise these labels using qualitative methods, as it would reveal how the terms function as a hierarchical organisation system in different social contexts. In addition, Callister's (2008) article entitled, *Skin colour: Does it matter in New Zealand?* calls for more qualitative investigation into young New Zealanders' perceptions of ethnicity. Callister's concerns over the significance of 'skin colour' in New Zealand seem to resonate with a broader question that this research aimed to contribute towards answering: "Race: How does it still matter in New Zealand?"

Everyday communication is a complex but important type of communication that encompasses all communication events in mundane settings. Leeds-Hurwitz (1989) is acknowledged as the particular communication studies scholar who first validated a focus on everyday communication interactions as opposed to interpersonal or non-verbal or intergroup communications. She defines communication as pattern, learned, contextual, multichannel, and multifunctional, and encourages the study of all the channels of communication simultaneously. For the research this essay refers to, it was felt that focusing on one type of communication would limit the researcher in being able to answer the question of how race is manifested in everyday communication interactions. It was considered necessary to review all social action in order to fully come to terms with the occurrence of race in the daily lives of individuals.

RESEARCHING EVERYDAY RACISM

My aim in pursuing this research project, was to see if there were others out there who, like me, had experienced or witnessed this sort of subtle racism and, for lack of an appropriate discussion outlet, had felt they had to keep it to themselves (Voice of Elizabeth Revell, principal author).

An important element of research in this field is the methodological approach. This essay's research base was informed by autoethnography, an ethnographic derivative methodology that attends enthusiastically to concepts such as *positionality* (the particular social position and identity of the researcher) and *reflexivity* (considering how one's positionality may influence their perspective on the social phenomena under investigation) (Ellis, 2004). Autoethnographic texts employ these concepts in unpacking the experiences of their author, as a means to uncovering new understandings of the broader social world.

More specifically, the chosen methodological approach was categorised as 'partial collaborative autoethnography' (Chang et al, 2012), an emergent approach that involves balancing multiple autoethnographic voices with the single autoethnographic voice of a main co-participant in performing various

tasks at various stages during the research process. The main co-participant conceived the initial topic and designed the research and collaborated with nine co-participants over the period of four weeks during the data collection period, to identify and evocatively reflect on their perceptions of their experiences in everyday life that triggered thoughts around race in diary entries. Following this, findings were shared with the others in one-on-one interviews and focus groups, facilitated by the main-co-participant. The main co-participant was then responsible for analyzing the data and producing the report.

A collaborative autoethnographic methodology was chosen because it was deemed to suit the research question in that it would allow and encourage sensitive and hidden information to emerge and be confirmed through reflexivity and discussion. Moreover, the power of the findings is increased as they emerged from an analysis of raw narratives detailing the everyday personal lived experiences of individuals.

EXPERIENCING RACE AND RACISM IN NEW ZEALAND: “CONVERSATIONAL TACT” AND RACIAL MICRO-AGGRESSIONS

One of the emerging themes from the autoethnographic project grouped issues around *‘Conversational tact’*, which explored *‘everyday use of racialised terms’*, *‘everyday use of negative stereotypes’*, and the *‘everyday censorship of and silence around race’*. These themes relate to what Sue et al (2007) call microaggressions, the study of which looks at the impact of these subtle racial expressions from the perspective of the people being victimized. Sue et al groups these microaggressions into microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations (DeAngelis, 2009). *Microassaults* are considered to be conscious and intentional actions or slurs, such as using racial epithets. *Microinsults* refer to verbal and nonverbal communications that subtly convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person’s racial heritage or identity. And *microinvalidations* involve communications that subtly exclude, negate or nullify the thoughts, feelings or experiential reality of a person of color, such as asking a person of colour where they were born, conveying the message that they are perpetual foreigners in their country.

EVERYDAY USE OF RACIALISED TERMS AS MICROINVALIDATIONS

One way in which race was found manifesting in speech in everyday communication interactions was in the underlying racialised meanings of the seemingly neutral terms participants used to talk about race. Terms that were used in ways that implied racial connotations included ‘race’, ‘ethnic’, ‘Chinese’, ‘Indian’, ‘Asian’, ‘Kiwi’, and ‘New Zealander’. ‘Race’, appeared to mean ‘non-whiteness’ in the minds of some participants. Experiences of ‘race’ seemed to only be the experiences of non-white minority groups, not of white individuals.

White participants wrote about non-white friends of theirs, implying that they felt their friends had more authority to speak on the subject of race because of their potential experiences with racism and as victims. Only one participant felt that she had experienced racism as a white person but even she spoke mainly of her observation of the experiences of non-white people. Likewise, the term 'ethnic' was used to demarcate non-white individuals and practices. At times, it seemed as though 'ethnic' was a new term for oriental, a word whose purpose was to 'other', a term that separated 'us' from 'them'. A participant spoke of his parents not having any 'ethnic' (meaning "non-Anglo-Saxon-New Zealand-European") friends, while another one quickly corrected herself when saying that most jokes were about 'ethnic' people, as, in her words, "White people have an ethnicity too."

The terms 'Chinese', 'Indian' and 'Asian', when they were spoken in everyday communication interactions, seemed to be what one participant referred to as 'trigger' words, or words that another participant described as a 'cringe'. These words evoked an instant emotional reaction. This idea is best exemplified in the following extract from one participant's diary:

We had a company briefing dinner tonight and the General Manager stood up and talked about how it was tough at the moment and that in the Pacific the Chinese had come in bringing their...containers of rice etc. and were doing work incredibly cheaply and effectively forced [the company] out of the market in the Pacific. Mentioning Chinese put me on the 'racism' edge. It is as though 'Chinese' or 'Indian' are now trigger words to the point of it meaning we actually can't talk about them without being racist in some form or another. We can quite happily talk about 'Americans' but mention Chinese and you are in dangerous waters because of all the stigma behind it. It's a bit silly really now that we can't even talk normally.

Moreover, the labels 'Kiwi' and 'New Zealander' seemed most often to refer to New Zealand Europeans or white New Zealanders. Although participants felt that it was politically correct to think of New Zealanders/Kiwis as of many different skin colours, and, in one case historically correct to think of New Zealanders as Māori, they consciously and subconsciously 'slipped' in ordinary interactions by associating the terms with New Zealand Europeans. For example, for one participant a Kiwi was 'anyone who lives in New Zealand'. However, in his interview he seemed to exhibit the sub-conscious belief that a New Zealander/Kiwi is European-looking in the following statement to do with who hung out with whom at lunchtime when he was at high school:

...the Islanders had their own sports type of things um, Kiwis would have their own like the New Zealand Europeans would have theirs own ones, Asians tended to fit in more with I suppose the New Zealander like at least the ones in my year were always with the New Zealand Europeans...

In this statement the participant uses the label 'Kiwis' and the label 'New Zealander', and in each case has to clarify his use of the term by indicating that

he actually means 'New Zealand Europeans'. A number of participants exhibited the same primary knowledge in their statements. From the above example and others in the data, it could be inferred that many New Zealanders are aware of how one *should* conceive of New Zealanders (as not solely European and white-looking). However, this mental connection is secondary to the primary 'New Zealander = white' fusion.

EVERYDAY USE OF NEGATIVE ETHNIC STEREOTYPES AS MICROASSAULTS

Race was also manifested in the everyday use of common ethnic stereotypes, both verbally and non-verbally. Stereotypes were used in communication encounters for a number of reasons. These included to amuse, to mock, to hassle, to tease, to express affection, to criminalise, and to assist in the telling of stories. In terms of amusement, one participant wrote in her diary about race in theatre and poetry work in New Zealand and that government funding opportunities were available in this area for performers who were willing to joke about their non-mainstream identity. However as a half-Chinese individual, she talked about not wanting to joke about 'squinty eyes and being teased for being good at maths' as those stereotypes were irrelevant to her. Her assessment of the situation was that 'before we can subvert the racial profiles we're still at that stage where all we can do is laugh at ourselves'. In general, participants felt that there were barriers to serious discussion around ethnic stereotypes in New Zealand.

Stereotypical jokes were found to be used to hassle and tease. In most cases, acts were not overly malicious; although one participant in his observations came to the realisation that repeated joking on a person could 'get to [you] after a while'. He wrote of a number of incidents in which the same Fijian Indian construction worker on his site was made fun of by his co-workers. He was given the title of 'Abo' because of his habit of 'going walk-about' or wandering about on the construction site. When he backed the company van into a bollard, another worker jokingly muttered, 'Fucking foreigners'.

One participant talked about mocking her Indian friend as a form of affection. She said that she teased her friend about being brown to show that she was close to her and that her friend knew she did not mean to bring her down for being brown in a serious way. Another participant admitted that he had friends who 'do sort of racist-ish jokes but that is always very light hearted'. He hadn't felt the need to confront them on these comments as they were usually 'just joking'.

Also discussed by participants were stereotypical accents and mockery. In one of the focus groups, one participant imitated a radio ad for 'Wok Noodle', a fast food noodle outlet spoken in a mock Asian English accent. He attributed this type of mockery to a form of entertainment in which Chinese accents were used for the comedic value. Another participant added the idea that Chang, a

radio presenter on *The Edge*, a popular New Zealand radio station also had such an Asian English accent and was a presenter that the others usually made fun of. The first participant suggested that the reason the dominant group enjoy hearing these accents is that it makes them feel superior in their command of English.

A further way in which stereotypes were used in everyday communication interactions was in criminalising certain ethnic groups. One participant felt very angry about this use of stereotypes and gave several examples, including the stereotypical, criminalising comment of a friend who 'basically said that she was 'sick of all these Māoris sitting around on the dole when they should be getting jobs like the rest of us'. In comments such as these, Māori and Pacific Islanders are racialised, in that brown skin is conflated with discreditable qualities. The participant felt that these sorts of comments about Māori and Pacific Islanders were common in her experience.

Another way in which racial stereotypes were used in everyday communication interactions was in story-telling. An extract from a participant's diary entry describes how this can occur:

Today [someone I know] who lives in Australia was telling us a story about something that happened one night while he was at home. He was in his house...and outside there were about 15 drunk young Aboriginal men. [He] told us that they were making a lot of noise and just drunkenly wandering through their street, he said that one of them came up to his house and unscrewed the security light, but ran away when [he] opened the door. He said he'd, 'never been more scared in his life'.

Following her depiction of this incident, the participant explained that she was using it to illustrate the use of the stereotype that 'black' men are more aggressive or violent. She stated that she 'felt like the way [her acquaintance] was telling the story made the fact that they were Aboriginal an important one' to the events that had happened.

EVERYDAY CENSORSHIP OF AND SILENCE AROUND RACE AS MICROINSULTS

Race was also manifested in everyday communication interactions through social censorship norms or the rules of 'political correctness'. The idea that the topic of race is taboo in New Zealand was prevalent throughout the data. One participant felt like 'race' and its derivatives ('racism' and 'racist') were 'swearwords' in New Zealand and that they 'offended her more than actual swearwords'. Racism for another participant was 'the worst thing you could do'. A number of facets of this finding are explored here.

Participants illustrated a tacit knowledge of what one should and should not say in public, regardless of whether one is thinking it or not. One participant assessed that some of her inner thoughts were definitely not ones she would say out loud. She wrote:

I often think what people say aloud is just as bad as someone's thought but I guess the consequences in society are less when you keep the comment or thought to yourself.

The people who do say things aloud - are they just saying what everyone is thinking? Not sure – I think there is an arrogance with people who say such things in the open.

Another participant recounted feeling shock at an incident in which an Indian colleague praised her white skin and how it was the reason she looked so nice in the clothes she was wearing, saying that 'us blacks could never look as nice as you'. To her, this was not an acceptable thought to communicate out loud, or even to think.

Some comments were perceived as legitimate in the company of similar persons but were censored in front of others. One participant noted how a colleague 'freely referred to the workforce at his old job as Indians', but he was not sure how comfortably his colleague would use that term if his old workforce were present. Due to their ability to be accepted or 'pass' as 'white' whilst being part Chinese, two participants had witnessed others making derogatory comments towards Chinese people that, it was presumed, would not have been made if the orators were conscious and aware that individuals of Chinese descent were present. Similarly, because of her capacity to be accepted in white social circles, another participant, who was part-Islander, had often found herself privy to the fear of white people from Remuera (a 'rich' 'White' suburb in Auckland) that young brown Islander guys from ('poor', 'brown') South Auckland were plotting to rob.

In discussing such a sensitive topic, it became apparent that participants used a 'buffering' technique to prepare listeners before expressing potentially offensive views and opinions. Preambles such as 'this might sound racist, but...' were common in the data. This pattern of 'aversive racism' refers in part to whites' aversion to being seen as prejudiced, given their conscious adherence to egalitarian principles (DeAngelis, 2009). However, despite having to censor interpersonal communication around the subject of race, one participant noted that people seemed to be able to express these non-politically correct views in everyday online environments. One such comment was in response to a Facebook wall post about ethnic jokes being partially true: '*Fucking niggers*'.

The idea that a somewhat suppressed white backlash at having to be politically correct exists in New Zealand was also raised. Moreover, white participants felt that a double standard existed around having to be politically correct: they were not allowed to make non-politically correct comments but non-white individuals were able to say what ever they wanted. One participant's allegation that the rhetoric of some Māori politicians is what would be considered 'hate speech' in any other country, exemplified this. He seemed to feel that Māori were able to get away with saying whatever they liked, no matter how offensive, about white New Zealanders. On the other hand, a non-white participant raised the point

that when individuals said to her that they were 'sick of this P.C. (politically correct) bullshit' it was a way to 'silence' her. What she seemed to be saying was that ridiculing political correctness invalidates the feelings of minorities and nullifies the damage inflicted on their sense of self-worth that occurs when individuals, particularly from the majority group, feel uninhabited in their everyday speech.

CONCLUSION

In this essay, the authors used evidence from recent research to highlight that race continues to be manifested in New Zealand through the 'everyday use of racialised terms', 'everyday use of negative ethnic stereotypes', and 'everyday censorship of and silence around race'.

In regards to the everyday use of racialised terms, the authors indicated that a number of terms used to talk about race in New Zealand are not neutral, but rather imbued with underlying racial and even racist meanings. When it comes to the everyday use of negative ethnic stereotypes, some of the ways in which they are invoked come in racialising ways in everyday conversational situations in New Zealand. In terms of everyday censorship of and silence around race, the authors identified a number of conversational political-correctness tactics used in New Zealand, that suggest New Zealanders often keep their 'unsavoury' thoughts to themselves or buffer their potentially racist comments in order to present themselves to others as non-racist. As social psychologists Dovidio and Gaertne have demonstrated across several studies, many well-intentioned whites who consciously believe in and profess equality, unconsciously act in a racist manner, particularly in ambiguous circumstances (DeAngelis, 2009).

The extent of racist attitudes and beliefs in New Zealand may be more extensive than is believed. It is in the silence and taboo perceptions around the topic that New Zealand's every day manifestations of racism is conveniently and effectively obscured.

REFERENCES

Adichie, C. N. (2014). *Americanah*. New York, USA: Anchor.

Anae, M. (2004). From kava to coffee: The browning of Auckland. In I. Carter, D. Craig, & S. Matthewman (Eds.), *Almighty Auckland*. Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore.

Bascand, G. (2010). National ethnic population projections: 2006 (base) - 2026 [Government]. Retrieved from http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/estimates_and_projections/NationalEthnicPopulationProjections_HOTP06-26.aspx

- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2013). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States* (4th ed.). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Callister, P. (2008). Skin colour: Does it matter in New Zealand? *Policy Quarterly*, 4(1), 18–25.
- Callister, P. (2011). The construction of ethnicity and “belonging” in New Zealand: Where we have come from and where we might be going. *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 10, 115–137.
- Callister, P., & Didham, R. (2009). Who are we?: The Human Genome Project, race and ethnicity. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 36, 63–76.
- CERD. (2013, March). Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: 82nd Session: Consideration of reports, comments and information submitted by states parties under article 9 of the convention. CERD. Retrieved from http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/docs/co/CERD-C-NZL-CO-18-20_en.pdf
- Chakraborti, N. (2010). Beyond “passive apartheid”? Developing policy and research agendas on rural racism in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(3). doi:10.1080/13691830903265996
- Chang, H., Ngunjiri, F. W., & Hernandez, K.-A. C. (2012). *Collaborative autoethnography*. Walnut Creek, California, US: Left Coast Press.
- Clark, K. (2001, June 28). The global privileges of whiteness [Organisation]. Retrieved from <http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/news/story30.html>
- Culpitt, I. (1994). Bicultural fragments: A Pakeha perspective. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, (2), 48–62.
- DeAngelis, T. (2009). Unmasking “racial micro aggressions.” *American Psychological Association*, 40(2), 42.
- Ellis, C. (2004). *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. Walnut Creek, California, US: AltaMira Press.
- Fozdar, F. (2011). “I’ve never looked at someone and thought what colour they are”: Contact theory and interracial friendship in New Zealand. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 32(4), 383–405. doi:10.1080/07256868.2011.584616
- Gendall, P., Spoonley, P., & Butcher, A. (2013). *New Zealander’s perceptions of Asia and Asian peoples - 1997 to 2011* (Research report No. 978-0-9876637-6-4) (pp. 1–53). Wellington, NZ: Asia New Zealand Foundation. Retrieved from <http://asianz.org.nz/reports/report/new-zealanders-perceptions-of-asia-and-asian-peoples/>
- Goldberg, D. T. (1993). *Racist culture: Philosophy and the politics of meaning*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, US: Blackwell.
- Goldsmith, M. (2003). Culture, for and against: Patterns of “culturespeak” in New Zealand. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 112(3), 280–294.
- Hill, J. H. (2008). *The everyday language of white racism*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hippolite, H., & Bruce, T. (2010). Speaking the unspoken: Racism, sport and Maori. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 2(2), 23–45.
- HRC. (2011). *Tui tui tuituia: Race relations in 2010* (Research report No. 1178-7716) (pp. 1–100). Aotearoa:
- Human Rights Commission. Retrieved from http://www.hrc.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/RaceRelationsReport_2011_final.pdf
- Huijser, H. (2004). Representing multiculturalism in a bicultural nation: The question of diversity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations*, 4, 395–401.

- Ip, M. (2003). Chinese immigrants and transnationals in New Zealand: A fortress opened. In L. Ma & C. Cartier (Eds.), *The Chinese diaspora: Space, place, mobility and identity* (pp. 339–358). Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Ip, M., & Pang, D. (2005). New Zealand identities: Departures and destinations. In J. Liu (Ed.), *New Zealand identities: Departures and destinations* (pp. 174–190). Wellington, NZ: Victoria University Press.
- Janmohamed Zahir (n.a.) Retrieved April, 13 2014 from zahirjanmohamed.com/bio/
- Kukutai, T. H. (2007). The structure of Māori-Asian relations: An ambivalent future? *New Zealand Population Review*, 33(34), 129–151.
- Leeds-Hurwitz, W. (1989). *Communication in everyday life: A social interpretation*. Westport, Connecticut, US: Ablex.
- Lemonik Arthur, M. (2007). Race. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* (Online.). Blackwell. Retrieved from www.Blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode.html?id=g9781405124331_chunk_g978140512433124_ss1-1
- Lentin, A. (2011). *Racism and ethnic discrimination*. New York, USA: Rosen.
- Lewin, J., Meares, C., Cain, T., Spoonley, P., Peace, R., & Ho, E. (2011). *Namaste New Zealand: Indian employers and employees in Auckland* (Research report No. 978-0-9582971-8-9) (pp. 1–73). Auckland, NZ: Massey University/ University of Waikato. Retrieved from http://newsettlers.massey.ac.nz/publications_pdfs/Namaste%20New%20Zealand.pdf?PHPSESSID=19539e246dab126eeb9c6ee05cfe1a56
- Liu, J. H., Wilson, M. S., McClure, J., & Higgins, T. R. (1999). Social identity and the perception of history: Cultural representations of Aotearoa/New Zealand. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 29(8). doi:10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199912)29:8<1021::AID-EJSP975>3.0.CO;2-4
- Lowe, J. (2008). Late-modernity and the theorisation of race in New Zealand. *British Review of New Zealand Studies*, 17, 11–36.
- Lowe, J. (2009, September). *Developing a framework for researching ethnicity and multiculturalism in New Zealand* (Doctoral thesis). University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK. Retrieved from http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/609/1/Lowe10PhD_A1a.pdf
- Robie, D. (2009). Diversity reportage in Aotearoa: Demographics and the rise of the ethnic media. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 15(1), 67–91.
- Sibley, C. G., & Liu, J. H. (2004). Attitudes towards biculturalism in New Zealand: Social dominance and Pakeha attitudes towards the general principles and resource-specific aspects of bicultural policy. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 33(2), 88–99.
- Sibley, C.G., Liu, H.J., Khan, S.S. (2008). Who are 'we'? Implicit associations between ethnic and national symbols for Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 37(2), 38-49.
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, 62(4), 271–286.
- Swarbrick, N. (2009, March 4). Story: Indians - Early immigration [Government]. Retrieved September 22, 2014, from <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/indians/page-2>
- Tan, L. (2014, January 3). Racism blamed for bar ban. *New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11180656
- The Dominion Post. (2012, March 8). Racial prejudice "still entrenched in NZ." *Stuff.co.nz*. Retrieved from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/6541242/Racial-prejudice-still-entrenched-in-NZ>
- Trepagnier, B. (2010). *Silent racism: How well-meaning white people perpetuate the racial divide* (2nd ed.). Boulder: Paradigm.

Ward, C., & Liu, J. (2012). Ethno-cultural conflict in Aotearoa/New Zealand: Balancing indigenous rights and multicultural responsibilities. In D. Landis & R. D. Albert (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnic conflict international perspectives* (pp. 45–70). New York: Springer.

Wise, T. (2010). *Colorblind: The rise of post-racial politics and the retreat from racial equity*. San Francisco, California, US: City Lights Books.