

# Ngā take o nga wheako o te kaikiri ki ngā manene o Aotearoa

Drivers of migrant New Zealanders' experiences of racism

March 2021



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‘The control of mind to leave your language behind and to aspire to the English language, it’s so ingrained.... Although we came here for education, our minds were already controlled by racism by the Pākehā that came over... That really reinforced that mentality of I’m not good enough. A lot of us came into this country not feeling good enough.’

-Cook Islands focus group participant in the research: Ngā take o nga wheako o te kaikiri ki ngā manene o Aotearoa / Drivers of migrant New Zealanders’ experiences of racism

## Foreword

Kua roa ināiane i Aotearoa tangata e whawhai ana kia patua tēnei mea te kaikiri, tae noa ki te whakatoihara. Mai anō i ngā pakanga whenua e pēnei ana ā, ahakoa nō mua rā anō ēnei tāngata me ngā mahi nei. E tika ana kia rangahau i pēhea te pā a te kaikiri nei ki waenga i ngā hāpori manene, me aro ki ngā pānga kaikiri ki ērā o tātou e tāmia ana – ngā tāngata manene, Tangata Whenua, me ētahi anō.

The idea to undertake this research came about as a need to understand what might be driving some concerning statistics. Findings from Stats NZ’s General Social Survey indicate that people born outside of Aotearoa report higher rates of discrimination compared with those born in Aotearoa (16.5% for those born in Aotearoa compared with 18.8% for long-term migrants and 21.2% for recent migrants in 2018)<sup>1</sup>. Further concerning statistics come from surveys that show that only about half of New Zealanders (53%) hold positive views of migrants.<sup>2</sup>

The opportunity to explore the factors contributing to these statistics was identified during a meeting of the cross-agency reference group that supports the New Zealand Migrant Settlement and Integration Strategy (NZMSIS)<sup>3</sup>. The NZMSIS is the government’s strategy that aims to successfully settle migrants into Aotearoa so that they feel welcomed and can participate fully in society. The strategy comprises five different domains, one of them being the Inclusion domain, whereby migrants feel a sense of belonging to their community and Aotearoa. As an independent crown entity, the Human Rights Commission has a role in promoting harmonious race relations. This work aligns with the NZMSIS Inclusion domain, which has a goal of reducing migrants’ experiences of discrimination. The reference group, therefore, identified this research

as a way to identify potential areas for intervention to increase migrants’ inclusion in Aotearoa society.

The purpose of the current research was to use qualitative methods to unpack how migrants have been experiencing racism, what might be causing this, and how we can support migrants and end racism. We endeavoured to listen to a wide range of people to ascertain various perspectives; this included migrants, former refugees, Tangata Whenua, New Zealand Europeans, and migrant settlement support providers.

The Commission will consider these findings to inform our various race relations activities. In particular, we are in the process of working with the Government to develop a national action plan against racism. This research will help to support this initiative so that the national plan is evidence-based in its development, implementation, and review.

Nā reira pānuitia mai ngā hua o ngā rangahau nei kia tika ai te kī, ka patua e tātou te kaikiritanga.

Ngā mihi



Meng Foon  
Race Relations Commissioner  
Kaihautū Whakawhanaungatanga ā Iwi

<sup>1</sup> Stats NZ. Indicators Aotearoa. <https://wellbeingindicators.stats.govt.nz/en/experience-of-discrimination/>

<sup>2</sup> MBIE 2016. Community perceptions of migrants and immigration. <https://www.mbie.govt.nz/assets/b85da0149d/community-perceptions-migrants-immigration-2016.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Immigration New Zealand. How we support migrants. <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/about-us/what-we-do/our-strategies-and-projects/how-we-support-migrants>

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He tangata!<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to find words big enough for our appreciation to all who contributed to this research. Thank you to our participants and the people behind the scenes who opened their homes and their hearts to this project. A huge amount of warmth and generosity was extended by people all over the country for this kaupapa. There were many people who connected us with participants and people within the focus groups who encouraged each other to take part. It was a privilege for us to hear from so many inspiring people. We shared waiata, kai, laughter and tears. Sometimes the focus group members had rigorous debates with each other and other times there were quiet conversations. We feel so much richer for meeting you all.

Some people shared their experiences of discrimination and racism for the first time in this project. There was a lot of mamae, some that went back multiple generations, and most stories were harrowing. But people told us over and over again that they had few opportunities to be together in a safe space and talk about racism. We are glad to have contributed opportunities for this important kōrero and we are thankful to the team at the Human Rights Commission who initiated this work.

The whakataukī above captures how grateful we feel to every person who took part in this project, and the importance of upholding the mana and dignity of all who live in Aotearoa New Zealand.

**Thank you for sharing your stories with us.**

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<sup>1</sup> Meri Ngaroto of Te Aupōuri composed this whakataukī. Metge, J., & Jones, S. (1995). He Taonga Tuku Ihō no Ngā Tūpuna: Māori Proverbial Sayings—a Literary Treasure. *The Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 5(2).

## Executive summary

### Background

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) is committed to promoting a diverse, inclusive Aotearoa New Zealand where everyone feels welcomed, safe and a sense of belonging. Included in this work are initiatives to support the New Zealand Migrant Settlement and Integration Strategy (NZMSIS), which is the government's strategy 'to support recent migrants to settle well so they can participate fully and contribute to all aspects of New Zealand life' (Immigration New Zealand, n.d.). This research was undertaken to contribute to the evidence base around one of the strategy's five areas: *Inclusion*. The goal of the *Inclusion* area is that 'migrants participate in and have a sense of belonging to their community and to New Zealand'. One key indicator under the *Inclusion* area is reducing migrants' experiences of discrimination.

Evidence shows that migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand report having more experiences of discrimination in this country compared with non-migrants, while New Zealanders more broadly are reporting a decline in positivity towards migrants.

In May 2019, HRC commissioned Malatest International to conduct qualitative research on the drivers of migrants' experiences of discrimination. The research is purposed to support and inform potential and targeted cross-government and non-government agency responses to discrimination.

The research aimed to:

- Explore migrants' experiences of racism that may have emerged, increased, or changed over the last few years
- Understand how Māori, Pākehā<sup>2</sup> and other tauwiwi migrants'<sup>3</sup> attitudes and experiences of racism may contribute to fostering a positive or negative environment for migrants
- Understand how to better support migrants who experience racism
- Explore potential opportunities for all New Zealanders to understand the drivers for racism and strengthen responses to racism.

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<sup>2</sup> Pākehā is used throughout the report to refer to New Zealand-born people of European descent.

<sup>3</sup> Tauwiwi is used throughout the report to refer to all non-Pākehā migrant groups.

The research recognises Māori as first peoples and Te Tiriti o Waitangi partners with the Crown. The research team deemed it important to focus on the topic of racism for tauwi migrants while also recognising the historical and contemporary settler colonial contexts that have been devastating for Māori and that provide context for tauwi experiences within Aotearoa New Zealand. The research refers to race as purely a social construct used to categorise people, which has very real consequences. The term racism is used throughout the report, inclusive of racial discrimination and prejudice.

## Method

Research methods included:

**Literature scan and media analysis:** This included a scan of evidence relevant to migrant experiences of racism and thematic analysis of general public responses to three media articles and significant events in Aotearoa New Zealand. Findings from the literature scan and media analysis were used to develop a research framework and data collection tools and inform the analysis of interviews and focus group discussions.

**Interviews with settlement service providers:** Nine individual and four group interviews were conducted with representatives from 11 national and regional settlement support provider organisations located in urban and rural locations across Aotearoa New Zealand.

**Focus groups with Māori, Pākehā and tauwi migrants (inclusive of former refugees):** Twenty-eight focus groups were held with Māori, Pākehā and tauwi migrants aged 18 years and older from different ethnicities, religious affiliations, visa types and length of residence in Aotearoa New Zealand. Groups were held across five localities (covering urban and rural areas in Te Ika-a-Māui and Te Waipounamu). A total of 210 participants representing at least 23 different ethnicities and religious denominations contributed to focus group discussions.

## Key research findings

**Racism is prevalent in Aotearoa New Zealand:** Participants' experiences of racism consisted of institutional, personally mediated and internalised racism across all levels of wellbeing: civic engagement and governance, health, housing, employment, society and social connections, education and the justice system. Findings emphasised that the ongoing impact of historical and contemporary racism toward Māori remained embedded within colonial systems and institutions and extended to tauwi populations as well as Tangata whenua.

**Racism occurs between different groups and some people also experience lateral violence<sup>4</sup>:** Participants described numerous overt and subtle racist behaviours that were expressed in the forms of verbal, emotional and physical abuse. This was primarily shown by one ethnic group towards another, although racist verbal and emotional abuse were also exemplified between members of an ethnic group.

**The impacts of racism are extensive and span across all aspects of wellbeing:** Participants highlighted culture, identity loss and compromise, colonised thinking and judgement of their own culture, eroding self-belief and confidence, fear and disengagement in society, and exclusion and marginalisation. Participants also described learned helplessness and under-reporting.

**The awareness of racism has increased but participants held mixed views about changes in the prevalence and expression of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand:** Most participants noted that the awareness of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand had changed over time – specifically highlighting an increasing recognition and willingness to talk about and respond to racism across all ethnic groups. However, mixed views were provided about changes in the overt and/or covert racist behaviours expressed to migrants.

Recent influences included significant events such as the Christchurch mosque terrorist attack, Black Lives Matter movement, and COVID-19. Participants also noted increasing recognition of diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand, inter-ethnic relationships and a growing but limited awareness reported by some participants about migrants' skills and contributions to workforce shortages, and a growing recognition of the importance of te reo Māori. The most significant influences for change as identified by participants were increased critical awareness and responsiveness to racism among many young people across Aotearoa New Zealand and increased media, technology and social media exposure. It is important to acknowledge that these factors also have the potential to polarise extreme views at both ends of the racism spectrum.

**The emotional armour used to cope with racism is worn in different ways:** Minimising the impact of racism through emotional suppression, humour and social avoidance were thought to have adverse wider impacts on individuals and their whānau/families. These coping mechanisms also risk increasing the normalisation and validation of racism and stereotypes within society. Living with racism and surviving everyday settlement challenges were sacrifices migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand continued to make to improve future prospects and inclusion in employment, housing, education and society. Actively standing against and responding to racism was a form of addressing racist behaviour as were educating

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<sup>4</sup> Lateral violence is described as racism and discrimination perpetuated between colonised ethnic minority groups and is an effect of ongoing oppression (Bailey, 2020; Pyke, 2010).

others about racism, reclaiming and strengthening cultural identity, and building resilience for future generations.

Emotional armour was strengthened by migrants through supporting and connecting with other migrants through networks, groups and forums, and supports and services provided by settlement providers. Most participants noted a lack of awareness and access to information about where to seek help and support for experiences of racism.

**The drivers for racism are broad and deeply embedded within institutions, society and individuals:** Findings that there was no single driver for racism were consistent with the literature scan. Participants highlighted colonisation, fear, ignorance, a need to blame others, white privilege, a limited response to racism within Aotearoa New Zealand, racial supremacy, Eurocentricity (including judgement based on Western ideologies about skin colour, physical features, beliefs and cultural expressions), child development and modelling racist behaviours, seeing people as social and economic capital, and negative bias and stereotyping.

### Overview and looking ahead

Immigration is a defining and fast-growing feature of Aotearoa New Zealand. Tauwiwi have and continue to arrive on these shores in the hopes of pursuing better opportunities for themselves and their children – they also face a range of historical and contemporary challenges adapting to and being accepted within society.

Evidence shows that the impacts of racism are traumatic, intergenerational, broad and affect all aspects of wellbeing. Evidence about the drivers for racism is extensive and identifies numerous personal and external factors that contribute to this phenomenon.

This research explored and synthesised tauwiwi migrants' experiences in and understandings of the drivers for racism. It validated findings within national and international literature and broadened the knowledge base by contextualising these within the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

Findings emphasised that the ongoing impact of historical and contemporary racism toward Māori remained embedded within colonial systems and institutions and extended to tauwiwi populations as well as to Tangata whenua. Overall, experiences of different levels of racism (institutional, personally mediated and internalised) across all levels of wellbeing were prevalent in all aspects of participants' lives.

Findings highlighted increased awareness about racism among participants but little perceived change in racist behaviour(s) over time. Participants generally had their own coping mechanisms and forms of emotional armour to deal with racism; however, further opportunities to support migrant groups, networks and forums,

and settlement providers to maintain resilience and respond to racism are necessary.

Findings identified that there are multiple drivers for migrant New Zealanders' experiences of racism, and multiple responses are required. Social media was particularly noted as a new and contemporary means of uniting and dividing people and a forum to express personal views and opinions, engage in debates and chat forums, and confront others in a virtual sense. Racism used against migrants online and in social media also represent a lack of escape for those who are subjected to it, as it follows them everywhere, including into their homes.

**Participants identified numerous opportunities to influence change and strengthen cross-government and non-government agency responses to racism in Aotearoa New Zealand:**

- **Honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi:** Honour commitments, agreements and partnerships between Māori and the Crown. Address biculturalism to ensure Aotearoa New Zealand is a safe and welcoming country for all multicultural communities.
- **Representation that reflects a diverse Aotearoa New Zealand:** Enhance diverse and inclusive leadership within Parliament and across the public sector. A whole of government response is required to address racism and inequities, informed by strong understandings of cultural differences, strengths, and realities for different population groups.
- **Expand our knowledge:** Enhance learning opportunities for:
  - Children and young people: Balanced perspectives on Aotearoa New Zealand history, the importance of equity, and critical thought and consciousness
  - Migrant groups (recent and established): Rights and entitlements, and increasing understandings about access to support for experiences of racism within communities
  - General public: Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Aotearoa New Zealand's migration history, immigration policy and the benefits of migrant populations for Aotearoa and society, critical consciousness and diversity within Aotearoa, and how to support victims of racism.
- **Know yourself – replace judgement with inquiry:**
  - Strengthen identity and personal responsibility: Take personal responsibility within personal spheres of influence, overcome fear and indifference through deepening knowledge and inquiry of self and others, support others to replenish resilience
  - Form genuine relationships with others: Seek to understand and learn about other cultures from and with people from different

ethnic groups, learn to embrace differences and find common ground, celebrate diversity.

- **Support communities to identify their own solutions:** Support community ownership and action in response to racism.
- **Promote collective responsibility – we’re all in this together:**
  - Increase awareness about racism and systems of support within Aotearoa New Zealand: Normalise conversations about racism and practical and effective ways to respond, flip the script on negative and biased media reporting
  - Openly talk about racism with purpose and strengthen collective responsibility: Encourage opportunities for people to discuss racism in a safe space and broaden opportunities to foster collective responsibility and resilience.
- **Protect our future:** Build resilience for individuals, whānau/families and communities. Encourage and support children and young people to become change agents.

## 1. Background

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) is committed to the New Zealand Migrant Settlement and Integration Strategy (NZMSIS), and promoting a diverse, inclusive Aotearoa New Zealand where everyone feels welcomed, safe and a sense of belonging.

The New Zealand Migrant Settlement and Integration Strategy (NZMSIS) recognises a diverse and rapidly changing Aotearoa New Zealand population and high levels of immigration. The strategy aims to ensure the effective settlement and integration of all migrants and comprises five outcome areas: employment, education and training, English language, inclusion, and health and wellbeing (Immigration New Zealand, n.d.). One key indicator under the 'inclusion' outcome is reducing migrants' experiences of discrimination.

However, evidence shows that migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand report experiencing discrimination more than those who were born here (Table 1). This affects migrants' wellbeing and ability to integrate into Aotearoa New Zealand society (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2018).

**Table 1: Experience of discrimination in the last 12 months by migrant status and year**

|                   | Year      |           |           |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                   | 2014<br>% | 2016<br>% | 2018<br>% |
| Total population  | 17.1      | 17.0      | 17.4      |
| Born in NZ        | 16.4      | 16.6      | 16.5      |
| Long-term migrant | 19.0      | 16.3      | 18.8      |
| Recent migrant*   | 17.7      | 25.8      | 21.2      |

Data source: Statistics New Zealand General Social Survey (2019)

\*Defined by Stats NZ as those migrants who arrived in New Zealand in the last five years

Migrants' experiences of discrimination coincide with a decrease in positivity about migrants and the impacts of migration among New Zealanders more broadly (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2016a). MBIE's 2016 Community Perceptions of Migration research (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2016b) found that just over half (53%) of New Zealanders held a positive view of migrants in 2016, representing a decline from 58% in 2015. Migrants from the United Kingdom and Australia were the most positively perceived (achieving average scores of 7.1 and 7 out of 10 respectively). Migrants from China and refugees were least positively perceived (both receiving an average score of 5.4 out of 10).

In response, HRC commissioned Malatest International to conduct qualitative research on the drivers of migrants' experiences of discrimination. The research is purposed to support and inform potential and targeted cross-government and non-government agency responses to discrimination.

### 1.1. Research aims

The research aimed to:

- Explore migrants' experiences of racism that may have emerged, increased, or changed over the last few years
- Understand how Māori, Pākehā<sup>5</sup> and other tauwiwi migrants'<sup>6</sup> attitudes and experiences of racism may contribute to fostering a positive or negative environment for migrants.
- Understand how to better support migrants who experience racism
- Explore potential opportunities for all New Zealanders to understand the drivers for racism and strengthen responses to racism.

The research recognises Māori as first peoples and Te Tiriti o Waitangi partners with the Crown. It recognises that Pākehā migration (namely British and Australian migration) began over two hundred years ago, Chinese and Indian New Zealanders began migrating in the late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and increased migration of Pacific peoples throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Anae, 2001; Cormack, 2007; Elers, 2018; Lowe, 2016). Other smaller migrant groups that settled in New Zealand prior to 1987 included French (mainly in Akaroa), German (in Nelson), Scandinavians (in Hawke's Bay and Manawatū), Dalmatian peoples (who came to work in the gumfields) and Dutch (who arrived after the Second World War) (Phillips, 2015).

This research acknowledges historical and contemporary contexts for Māori, including structural violence imposed by the state, loss of land and ability to access Te Ao Māori. It is inappropriate to focus on tauwiwi (defined in this research as all non-Pākehā migrants to New Zealand) without acknowledging the importance of Māori realities. This research is inclusive of Māori experiences, perspectives and realities with racism and views on migrant experiences but is not intended to be a comprehensive examination of Māori experiences. We have woven Māori voices into the overall findings. As highlighted in sections 4-7 of this report, Māori participants shared many similarities with each other and migrant groups in this

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<sup>5</sup> Pākehā is used throughout the report to refer to New Zealand-born people of European descent.

<sup>6</sup> Tauwiwi is used throughout the report to refer to all non-Pākehā migrant groups.

research, but there were also important differences that provide context for tauiwi perspectives within Aotearoa New Zealand.

The term racism is used throughout the research, inclusive of prejudice (*"...differential assumptions about the abilities, motives, and intentions of others according to their race"*) and racial discrimination (*"differential actions towards others according to their race"*) (Jones, 2000, pp. 1212-1213). Muslim and Sikh denominations were also included as visible religious minority groups in the research because of their extensive experiences and perspectives on racism in Aotearoa New Zealand.

## **2. Literature scan**

### **2.1. Aotearoa New Zealand's migrant population**

#### **2.1.1. Early settlement**

Māori are indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand, arriving from East Polynesia in approximately the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. European explorers, sealers and whalers migrated in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, followed by settlers and Christian missionaries in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. By 1874, the Māori population (10%) were outnumbered by European settlers (Stock, 2017).

Since the arrival of European settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori have and continue to encounter oppressive, structural and intergenerational violence and colonial impacts imposed by the state<sup>7</sup>. Of note to this research is that within the Treaty of Waitangi and Te Tiriti o Waitangi signed on 6 February 1840 was a mutual understanding between Māori and the Crown that more migrants would arrive in Aotearoa New Zealand. Some scholars have argued that although Te Tiriti o Waitangi details immigration obligations that are important for both Māori and migrants, the voices of Māori as tangata whenua are typically excluded in decision-making about immigration (Kukutai & Rata, 2017), and a review of current immigration policies and processes is required to ensure that both Māori and migrant interests are protected (Kukutai & Rata, 2017; Stock, 2017).

#### **2.1.2. A fast-growing feature of Aotearoa New Zealand society**

Natural increase has generally been the main driver for population growth in Aotearoa New Zealand. Very recently immigration has also become an important feature of growth in this country (Kukutai & Rata, 2017). Consistent with recent years, the year ending December 2019<sup>8</sup> saw an annual net migration of about 44,000, many of whom were Chinese and Indian migrants (Statistics New Zealand, 2019). Other contributions to a fast-increasing population include youthful population structures amongst migrants and higher birth rates among Māori and Pacific peoples. The broad Asian ethnic group are a fast-growing population in this country and are expected to increase from 540,000 in 2013 to 1.2-1.4 million in

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<sup>7</sup> An exhaustive review of Aotearoa New Zealand's history and colonisation is out of scope for the literature scan - scholarly works provide an in-depth and comprehensive understandings (for example, see works by James Belich, Buddy Mikaere, Judith Binney and others)

<sup>8</sup> This was the most recent information release prior to the mass COVID-19 travel restrictions enforced globally.

2038. Similarly, the proportion of Pacific peoples is expected to rise from 340,000 in 2013 to 530,000-650,000 in 2038 (Statistics New Zealand, 2017).

Migrants to Aotearoa New Zealand have arrived here from across the globe in the hopes of pursuing better opportunities for themselves and their children, in regard to their education, employment, safety, health and overall lifestyle (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). However, different populations have faced varying challenges in adapting to Aotearoa New Zealand and being accepted by the existing population.

### **2.1.3. Historical challenges faced by migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand**

Challenges for the earliest groups of non-Pākehā migrants (Pacific, Chinese and Indian) are all well-documented in historical records, which have noted the informal 'white New Zealand' policy that pervaded government approaches to immigration from the 1800s to 1987 (Cormack, 2007; Elers, 2018; Lowe, 2016). Specific challenges for these groups of migrants included race-based immigration policies, government action and public harassment and violence (see Anae, 2001; Bandyopadhyay, 2009; Chui, 2008; Cormack, 2007; Elers, 2018; Friesen, 2008; Jean & Fepulea'i, 2005; Lowe, 2016; Perese, 2009; Yong & Vosslamber, 2018).

These authors identified that:

#### **Race-based immigration policies and government action included:**

- Discriminatory immigration policies that permitted the entry of British, German and Northern European citizens and prohibited other (non-White) people from entering the country.
- Explicit policies designed to inhibit Chinese immigration to Aotearoa New Zealand (see the Chinese Immigrants Act 1881, Asiatic Immigration Restriction Act 1899 and the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1920). Policies implemented a poll tax against Chinese migrants, initially charging them a £10 (later £100) entry fee to the country.
- Excluding Chinese and Indian migrants from being able to access pension schemes, like the old age pension and the widow's pension.
- Efforts to prevent Indian migrants from entering the country, as India remained part of the British Empire until 1947 and therefore had the rights of British subjects to live in other parts of the Empire (Cormack, 2007). However, the Aotearoa New Zealand government attempted to circumvent this issue through the Immigration Restriction Act 1899 (and subsequent amendments), which prevented non-English-speaking Asians from entering the country, partly by implementing an English language test.
- Promoting a 'white New Zealand' that limited Chinese and Indian workers and their families from becoming permanent residents and citizens in New Zealand while continuing to welcome migrants from Western countries (e.g., the United Kingdom and Australia) (Bandyopadhyay, 2009; Friesen, 2008)

- Ethnic diversification through immigration from the Pacific was only encouraged when a growing demand for labour manifested after the Second World War. The downturn of the Aotearoa New Zealand economy in the mid-1970s and growing anti-Pacific sentiments led to the Aotearoa New Zealand government authorising the police to conduct ‘Dawn Raids’ to deport Pacific peoples who overstayed their visas – even though Pacific peoples only comprised one-third of overstayers (British, Australian and South African migrants made up most of the overstayer group) but ended up being in the majority (86%) of those arrested and prosecuted for overstaying.

The government-mandated preference for European migrants only officially ended in 1987, with the passing of the Immigration Act and the introduction of a points-based system that classified migrants on the basis of their skills and potential to contribute to Aotearoa New Zealand’s society and economy. Despite the passing of the Immigration Act 1987, discriminatory immigration policies have continued, such as preventing African and Middle Eastern refugees from resettling in the country, unless they have existing family members here (Mercer, 2019), and policy changes preventing those entering into arranged marriages from bringing their spouses to Aotearoa New Zealand (Graham-McLay, 2019).

**Public harassment included:**

- Pacific, Chinese and Indian migrants were initially welcomed when they first arrived because they were able to meet labour demands (e.g., gold mining and manufacturing). However, anti-migrant prejudices developed as labour shortages and economic competition grew.
- Anti-Chinese and anti-Indian community organisations were established in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, like the White New Zealand League, the Anti-Chinese Association and the Anti-Asiatic League, which campaigned against Asian migration to Aotearoa New Zealand and spread propaganda distorting their activities to heighten public outrage (e.g., opium smoking, prostitution, etc.).
- Pacific migrants underwent similar harassment as labour opportunities grew scarcer and were subjected to the ‘overstayer’ campaigns of the late-1970s and the Dawn Raids.

**2.1.4. Contemporary attitudes towards migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand**

Since those early waves of immigration, migrants have arrived in New Zealand from many parts of the globe. There is a small body of Aotearoa New Zealand-based work exploring attitudes towards immigration and migrants. Dixon (2019) reviewed international literature and found there were conflicting views about migrants. On the one hand, migrants can be viewed positively because they can provide opportunities to overcome economic, social and demographic challenges (e.g.,

migrants are a source of labour and may be useful for countries with ageing populations and declining fertility). On the other hand, they can be viewed negatively for similar reasons – while a source of labour, they can create competition for jobs and other economic opportunities. They can also be viewed as diluting an established national cultural identity.

Key findings from studies showing Aotearoa New Zealanders' attitudes towards migrants and immigration include:

- Surveys illustrate diverse opinions about migrants. Ward and Masgoret's (2008) survey of 2,000+ Aotearoa New Zealand adults (70% Pākehā) showed that 81% held positive views about migrants and believed they positively contributed to the country. Johnston et al. (2010) surveyed more than 1,000 New Zealand citizens (95% were of European ethnicity). Most respondents thought there were too many migrants in the country but viewed British, Irish, European and South African migrants more favourably than Chinese, Indian, other Asian and Pacific migrants.

Survey respondents appreciated migrants' contributions to cuisine and providing them with new perspectives but were concerned due to perceptions that migrants did not integrate into society and were a pressure on resources and the welfare system (Johnston et al., 2010).

- Some groups of migrants experience more racism and discrimination than others. For example, migrants from the United Kingdom, Australia and South Africa frequently do not encounter discrimination because they are able to 'pass' in public settings as part of the mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand European ethnic group. Migrants are more likely to experience discrimination in public when they look visibly different from the Pākehā majority (Butcher, 2006). Ward and Masgoret (2008) found Australian and British migrants were viewed most favourably, while Somalian, Samoan, Chinese and Indian migrants were viewed least favourably.
- There is growing recognition of the value migrants add to skills shortages. The Auckland Chamber of Commerce (2018) conducted a survey with Aotearoa New Zealand employers and found that while employers preferred to hire Aotearoa New Zealand applicants, they recognised skill shortages in the country and were more willing to hire migrant workers than in previous survey waves. Most of those employing migrant workers held positive attitudes towards that workforce.
- Yogeeswaran et al. (2019): Analysis of data from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study found correlations between attitudes towards Muslims in aspects of national identity and support for diversity:

- Respondents who viewed speaking English or having Māori or European ancestry as important parts of being a New Zealander reported less warmth towards Muslims and less support for diversity
- When having respect for Aotearoa New Zealand's laws and political institutions was seen as being an important part of being a New Zealander, respondents reported slightly less warmth towards Muslims but slightly more support for diversity.

There is a need for more up-to-date research exploring attitudes towards immigration and different types of migrants, particularly in the wake of COVID-19, the Christchurch terror attacks, and other socio-political developments in recent years.

#### **2.1.5. Prevalence of racism and discrimination towards migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand**

Contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand is known to the world as one of the safest, most peaceful nations, with an excellent human rights record where acceptance of others cultures, ethnicities and religions is widely embraced (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2020; The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2020; Vásquez & Porčnik, 2019).

The Christchurch mosque attacks on 15 March 2019 were a recent, extreme act of hatred and racism in Aotearoa New Zealand and brought Islamophobia and racial extremism to the forefront of our society's consciousness (Health Quality and Safety Commission, 2019; Human Rights Commission, 2019). However, despite calls on social media that this event was "not us", Waitoki (2019) argued that this denial of and complacency about racism is in fact a true representation of Aotearoa New Zealand society and our colonial history. A thematic analysis of Facebook comments made in response to the Human Rights Commission's "Give Nothing to Racism" campaign supports this argument (Nairn, 2020). While a large portion of comments admitted the prevalence of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand, there were numerous comments denying racism, accusing Māori and tauīwi of receiving special privileges and of being more racist than Pākehā, and arguing that Pākehā were victims of racism as well.

Despite denials of racism on social media and in the public domain, racism and discrimination towards both Māori and migrants continue to this day. There are multiple Aotearoa New Zealand studies indicating the complexity of racism for Māori and migrants and the resulting health, social and economic disparities (see section 2.4). However, it is difficult to ascertain the prevalence of racism towards migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand as it is under-reported, and complaints lodged with the Human Rights Commission have incomplete data on ethnicity and migrant status. However, the Human Rights Commission (2019) reported that:

- 5,666 enquiries and complaints were lodged with them from 2018-2019 – this was the second highest number annually recorded with the Commission

- Most enquiries and complaints were resolved, or assistance was provided (82%) – a small proportion were either withdrawn by the complainant (16%) or were unable to be resolved through the Commission (2%)
- Race-related reasons (race, colour, national and ethnic origin) were the second most reported grounds for discrimination (after disability).

As noted above, these statistics may not fully reflect the prevalence of racism and discrimination towards migrants as many do not report racial discrimination due to (Hollinsworth, 2006):

- Lack of recognition of certain behaviours or systems as racism/racist
- Lack of understanding about where and how to report racism
- Fear of retribution and of being punished for complaining by those in authority (especially if the incident occurred in school or in the workplace)
- Uncertainty if the incident was in fact racist or if there would be any consequences for racist behaviour
- Unwillingness to undergo an unpleasant process.

There is, therefore, a need to examine the nature of racism and discrimination in Aotearoa New Zealand.

## 2.2. Racism theories and frameworks

It is well-established in the literature that race is not a biological fact (Bridges, 2013; Dein, 2006). There is insufficient biological difference amongst humans to support the notion of distinct races and that the human population, overall, is very mixed (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). However, humans have attributed the term ‘race’ with meaning (Templeton, 2013). Throughout this report we refer to race as purely a social construct used to categorise people.

### 2.2.1. Theories of racism

Racism is widely researched internationally, particularly in multicultural societies where widespread tensions exist between dominant ethnic groups and ethnic minorities. Mills and Unsworth (2018, p. 314) define racism as “the beliefs, practices, or structural systems... that function to oppress racial groups.” This oppression serves to create and maintain socioeconomic divisions between racial groups by operating in multiple ways:

- **Individual racism:** Person-to-person interactions that reflect individuals’ racist attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, based in conscious and unconscious prejudices that are connected to historical events and reinforced by systemic racism (Henry & Tator, 2009).

- **Systemic/institutional racism:** Long-standing societal and/or legal policies, practices and institutions that exclude or disadvantage certain ethnic groups while facilitating the privilege of others (Bento & Brown, 2020). Systemic racism is the type of racism that creates the most injustice and is often denied and unseen by those from the elite ethnic group, particularly those in authority (like the government) (Rankine, 2014).

Multiple theories have been developed by scholars to explain and provide different approaches to analysing historical and contemporary racism, including but not limited to:

- **Critical race theory:** Referring to how institutional structures are innately racist and that racial inequality is a result of social, economic and legal differences between ethnic groups that serve to maintain the privilege of the 'elite' group in society while creating further disadvantage for marginalised groups (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Christian, 2019).
- **Colour-blind racial ideology** (e.g., Beaman & Petts, 2020; Yogeeswaran et al., 2018): focusses on shared human qualities as a way to promote racial harmony and equality and by not recognising racial/ethnic differences (like skin colour). However, this can lead to a lack of acknowledgement of how racial and ethnic differences affect different groups' access to services and can be used as a way to undermine efforts to achieving racial equity (like denying the need for affirmative action/targeted pathway measures).
- **Everyday racism:** The normalised practices that are part of everyday life that reinforce racist attitudes, behaviours and beliefs (Combs, 2018; Essed, 1991). This can include both individual and systemic racism.
- **Racial microaggressions** (Sue et al., 2007; Wong et al., 2014): Subtler forms of racism that typically contain implicitly negative messages or stereotypes about ethnic minority groups, and which include:
  - **Micro-insults:** Rude or insensitive statements or actions that undermine individuals on the basis of their ethnic or religious identity
  - **Micro-invalidations:** Statements or actions that negate the experiences, emotions and thoughts of people of colour
  - **Micro-assaults:** Conscious and explicit racially aggressive statements, which can be either verbal or non-verbal.

Jones (2000) developed a framework summarising the levels of racism, which recognised the different spaces that racism can be expressed while also recognising the historical and contemporary causes and effects of racism and the role of government in enhancing or eliminating racism. The levels of racism include:

- **Institutionalised (systemic) racism:** This occurs when a set of institutional rules, policies and practises systematically disadvantage or marginalise

ethnic minority groups, while at the same time increasing the privilege and access to resources of dominant ethnic groups in society (Human Rights Commission, 2012; Rankine, 2014). Examples of institutionalised discrimination in New Zealand include:

- Significant and enduring health inequities affecting Māori (e.g. lower life expectancy, higher prevalence of adverse physical and mental health outcomes, differential access to health services, culturally inappropriate health services, greater burden on Māori health organisations to acquire funding, etc.) (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2019; Health Quality & Safety Commission, 2019)
- Institutional racism affecting equal employment opportunities and pay equity for Māori and Pasifika peoples (Came et al., 2020) particularly Pasifika women (Tuilaepa-Taylor, 2019)
- Discriminatory immigration policies (see section 2.1.2)
- **Personally-mediated racism:** Prejudice and discrimination that is either intentionally or unintentionally expressed in everyday interactions. This type of racism can include blatantly racist incidents as well as subtler microaggressions.
- **Internalised racism:** This occurs when ethnic minorities accept negative messages and stereotypes about their own abilities and worth and project these beliefs onto other members of their ethnic group (Jones, 2000). Examples include:
  - Subscribing to Eurocentric standards of beauty (e.g., using beauty products to whiten their skin). (Jones, 2000)
  - Rejecting markers of their own ethnic culture and heritage (usually while trying to appropriate the culture and heritage of another group). (Jones, 2000)
  - Using racial slurs towards others of their own ethnic group (e.g., calling others “plastic<sup>9</sup>” or “fobs/fresh off the boat”). (Malatest International, 2020).

### 2.3. Factors contributing to racism toward migrants

Racism is a complex concept, and there are many layers to unravel when exploring the factors and drivers that contribute to racism. A wide body of work has already been completed to examine the motivators behind racism. A brief overview of some

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<sup>9</sup> The term ‘plastic’ was used in reference to someone who could not speak/understand the language, or who did not understand or actively participate in cultural customs and traditions.

of the main factors contributing to racism and discrimination is covered below. Critical to note is that much of this work has been conducted in the American context, which has its own unique set of historical circumstances to consider – however, much from the theoretical concepts may be applicable to the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

### **2.3.1. The contact hypothesis and exposure/understanding of other cultures**

A lack of exposure to other ethnic groups is a key contributor to racism and discrimination, and repeated positive contact works to reduce intergroup prejudices (McKeown & Dixon, 2017; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The contact hypothesis (Allport, 1958) suggests it is human nature to hold biases due to our need to label people so we can feel a sense of belonging with those with whom we share similarities. Supporting research suggests living in a culturally and ethnically homogeneous environment frequently leads to a lack of exposure and contact with other groups. This unfamiliarity can result in a process of “Othering” groups that sit outside of the mainstream ethnic group. This entails exclusion of other groups by developing fear, prejudices and stereotypes about them, while maintaining a sense of dominance and superiority about the mainstream group (Koskinen, 2015). Stereotyping and generalisations often lead to a lack of understanding that other cultures are complex and are affected by historical events like colonisation and genocide.

However, repeated positive interactions between different groups has been shown to improve familiarity, understanding and warm feelings, which helps to reduce intergroup fear, uncertainty and dislike (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

### **2.3.2. Racial socialisation**

Other theories suggest that racism is not inborn, but rather racist attitudes, beliefs and behaviours are learned by children from family members. Racial socialisation (Hughes, 2003) is critical to this understanding as it:

- Argues that parents communicate their explicit and implicit attitudes and behaviours about race, ethnicity and culture to their children.
- Recognises the impact of the family environment on children during their formative years, but also notes that children can be racially socialised by other social environments, like their schools, neighbourhood, the media and the Internet (Byrd & Ahn, 2020; Katz, 2003).
- Notes the different ways that racial socialisation affects different ethnic groups – studies have found that:
  - Ethnic minority parents, compared with white parents, more frequently discuss historical racial inequities with their children and deepen their understanding of structural and racial discrimination which affects children’s ethnic identity development (Butler-Barnes et al., 2018; Hughes, 2003)

- In comparison to ethnic minorities, white parents are more likely to hold colour-blind views of the world and therefore are less likely to engage in critical race discussions with their children, which often lead to their children internalising racial hierarchies without questioning them (Hrapczynski & Leslie, 2018; Katz, 2003).

### 2.3.3. Developmental Intergroup Theory

Developmental Intergroup Theory (Bigler & Liben, 2007) argues that people try to understand the world through classification and categorisation and uses this premise to further explore the explicit and implicit mechanisms by which children develop prejudices and biases at an early age. This theory suggests that:

- Children use distinct features (like gender, age and ethnicity) to develop categorisations. Group size is a distinct feature – ethnic minority groups are more obvious in society because they are smaller than majority groups, making them more likely targets for prejudice and stereotyping.
- Cues in the wider environment are important to how people develop stereotypes. For example, people might develop stereotypes about groups when they see formal and de facto segregation (e.g., ethnic groups may be residentially segregated due to socioeconomic factors and may be more likely to reside in particular suburbs) and correlations between race, achievement, authority, power and crime.
- Stereotypes develop when people apply essentialist thinking – assuming distinct cues correlated with certain groups means they share other attributes and qualities as well.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.3.4. Ingroup loyalty, tribalism and intergroup anxiety

Racial categorisations and stereotypes become embedded when people form identities and factions around them (Roberts & Rizzo, 2020):

- People often form ingroup preferences and loyalty to their own group and a desire to belong can motivate people to prioritise their ingroup norms above fairness, equality and inclusion
- When different groups interact with each other, competition and conflict can arise, leading to intergroup tensions and anxiety about those in the outgroup

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<sup>10</sup> It is important to note there may be limitations in using this theory to understand what drives racism, as it does not unpack why certain categories have meaning and others do not. It assumes that categories are innate (they inherently exist) without deconstructing how categories are symbolic and are socially constructed and reproduced.

- Intergroup anxiety becomes most salient when groups experience fear and threats to how they view themselves and when goals and resources are being threatened. For example, intergroup anxieties are heightened when there are fears that other groups could be benefitting from a finite pool of resources (like jobs, opportunities, housing, etc.). These intergroup fears and anxieties are actively constructed by dominant voices, like politicians and the media (Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Riek et al., 2006; Roberts & Rizzo, 2020).

### 2.3.5. Racial hierarchies, white privilege and white fragility

Sidanius and Pratto (1999) asserted that all societies are ordered hierarchically in some way. Some societies, such as the United States, are ordered through a racial hierarchy (Roberts & Rizzo, 2020). Hierarchies are typically maintained through numerical majorities (which increase the power of the dominant group).<sup>11</sup> Racial hierarchies often involve:

- Systems, structures and processes built for the advantage of the dominant group, allowing them to gain greater status and power in society, while simultaneously disadvantaging minority groups.
- In Western societies, this is known as ‘white privilege’ as it allows people of the dominant white ethnic group to easily access resources, opportunities and systems in society (e.g., healthcare, the justice system, etc.) in ways that people of ethnic minority groups are unable to do so (i.e., they face greater barriers due to their ethnicity). White individuals may be allies against racism themselves, but they still benefit from a system that is built to their advantage (Curlin et al., 2019).
- White privilege reinforces the superiority of the dominant white ethnic group and normalises them. Other ethnic groups are then marginalised and excluded on the basis of their difference to the white norm.
- White privilege also creates an internalised sense of superiority, lack of awareness and non-admission of privilege and feelings of **white fragility** in discussions about race. This also means that when the hierarchy is threatened or white privilege is pointed out, members of this group typically feel attacked. DiAngelo (2011) argues that white privilege provides a protective barrier to race-based stresses that other ethnic groups endure in day-to-day society<sup>12</sup>, so when they are accused of racial discrimination, their tolerance of race-based stress is low, and they often engage in hostile or

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<sup>11</sup> There are instances where numerical majorities are not necessary for a group to have dominance (see white South Africans during the apartheid era).

<sup>12</sup> This can be mediated by socioeconomic class, where those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds have less insulation from race-based stress compared to those of a higher socioeconomic background.

defensive behaviours to protect their self-image, status and power. Examples of these types of behaviours can be observed in a thematic analysis of Facebook comments in response to the Human Rights Commission's "Give Nothing to Racism" campaign, where Pākehā individuals commented in ways that acted to:

- Oppress lower-status groups (see also Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017)
- Deny racism, discrimination and white privilege exist
- Accuse other ethnic groups (like Māori) of being more racist
- Claim they are more victimised and marginalised than any other group in society
- Refute the need for policies that attempt to dismantle the hierarchy (see also DiAngelo, 2012;) – such as arguing that Māori receive far more special privilege and entitlements from the government than Pākehā, and that equality and equity were not possible within such a system.

Political leaders are critical to how this hierarchy is maintained, as they have the influence and reach to shape a nation's norms, values and institutions (Roberts & Rizzo, 2020). When political leaders emphasise anti-immigrant or anti-ethnic minority sentiments, they reinforce racial hierarchies and further marginalise minority groups, making them vulnerable to prejudice and racism. Pedersen et al. (2005) argue that disseminating anti-immigrant sentiments may in fact benefit certain political factions and leaders, so political drive is important to reducing racism.

#### **2.3.6. The media**

Media portrayals and representations of different ethnic groups have a profound impact on how people perceive individuals and can lead to pervasive stereotypes (Hollinsworth, 2006). Numerous studies conducted in the United States have shown how:

- White Americans are most portrayed in television, film and other media while ethnic minorities are under-represented
  - The effects of this can include internalised racism amongst ethnic minorities, such as the development of pro-white biases and the reinforcement of Eurocentric standards of beauty
- When ethnic minorities are represented in the media, they are often misrepresented and portrayed in ways that reinforce negative stereotypes – this is damaging because it is often the main way that the dominant ethnic group learns about ethnic minorities (Hollinsworth, 2006)

Additionally, research both in Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas shows that mainstream media have clear biases in how they present news items about different ethnic groups. Journalists are prone to over-reporting negative news about Indigenous and migrant communities, serving to further marginalise them in the eyes of mainstream society (Allen & Bruce, 2017; Cormack, 2007; Hollinsworth, 2006; McCreanor et al., 2014; Kino, 2019). This biased news coverage can lead people to develop false misunderstandings of different cultures and religions, like assuming all Māori are child abusers or that all Muslims are terrorists (Kino, 2019, Mitchell, 2020). For example, *Stuff* (a mainstream media outlet in Aotearoa New Zealand) recently launched their *Our Truth, Tā Mātou Pono* project as a result of an internal investigation into their archives, which found they had perpetuated racist stereotypes about Māori for decades (Mitchell, 2020; Parahi, 2020; Williams & Te, 2020). The project is an effort to change their portrayals of Māori (Johnson, 2020).

At the same time, negative incidents involving white perpetrators are more likely to be minimised or go unreported. As an example, van Dijk (1991), in his study of the British press, pointed out the double standard of crime reporting – crimes committed by black people were more frequently reported while the same or similar crime committed by a white person would be either ignored or minimised.

## **2.4. Migrants' experiences and impacts of racism**

Research exploring migrants' experiences of settlement and integration indicate that instances of overt and subtle racism and discrimination are often encountered in public and institutional settings.

Experiences of racism and discrimination can be detrimental to migrants' ability to safely settle in Aotearoa New Zealand society. National and international evidence indicated that experiences of racism, discrimination and xenophobia can impact migrant wellbeing across multiple domains. This evidence has been reviewed within the wellbeing indicators identified within Treasury's Living Standards Framework (2019)<sup>13, 14</sup>. Research points to the negative impacts of racism on migrants' mental and emotional wellbeing, such as depression, anxiety and stress (Kim, 2014; Ward et al., 2018). For example, a recent report investigating Asian suicide in Aotearoa New Zealand noted that experiences of racism and discrimination frequently lead to feelings of depression, hopelessness and isolation amongst recent Asian migrants (Suicide Mortality Review Committee, 2019).

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<sup>13</sup>Sourced from - <https://www.treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2019-12/lstf-dash-board-update-dec19.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix 1

This section discusses areas of discrimination experienced by migrants and the impacts on their wellbeing.

#### **2.4.1. Employment**

Various studies indicated that employment is one of the most significant areas of discrimination towards migrants.

Discriminatory recruitment and employment practices mean that migrants may feel they have to work harder to prove their competency to potential employers in their new host country, even if they have the same qualifications, knowledge and experience as their non-migrant colleagues (who have the inherent privilege of being a member of the dominant ethnic group) (Kwansah-Aidoo & Mapedzahama, 2018).

**Recruitment:** Migrants face barriers in hiring and recruitment (Butcher et al., 2006; Dixon et al., 2009; Martin Jenkins, 2018; Wilson et al., 2005), such as:

- Ethnicity and name: Migrants may be discriminated in shortlisting processes due to their ethnicity and birth (traditional) names – those who anglicise their names may be more likely to be shortlisted compared to those who keep their birth names (Wilson et al., 2005). Some migrants have reported being advised to anglicise their names to improve access to employment opportunities (Dixon et al., 2009).
- Lack of Aotearoa New Zealand work experience.
- Lack of proficient English or potential employers' claims that migrant interviewees either cannot speak English well or speak it with an accent
- Overseas qualifications: Migrants are advised by immigration authorities that these qualifications will be valid in Aotearoa New Zealand, yet they are not recognised by Aotearoa New Zealand employers once they arrive. This means that migrants must spend time, money and resources gaining the appropriate Aotearoa New Zealand qualifications to be able to work in a field in which they are already qualified.

While the lack of Aotearoa New Zealand work experience and having overseas qualifications are not explicitly racist, they are discriminatory institutional barriers that limit migrants' ability to settle and integrate into everyday Aotearoa New Zealand life. Some studies also note migrants experience more overt racism by being told they are taking away jobs from Aotearoa New Zealand citizens (Dixon, 2019; Dixon et al., 2009).

**In the workplace:** When migrants succeed in becoming employed, workplaces can often be discriminatory environments as there may be:

- Faster career progression of colleagues from the dominant ethnic group compared to migrants, even though migrant employees may be more qualified and competent

- Pay disparities between different ethnic groups, where employees from minority or migrant ethnic groups are paid significantly less compared to their counterparts from the dominant ethnic group, despite doing the same role and having similar or greater knowledge, skills and experience (Came et al., 2020)
- Exclusion and marginalisation of migrants' knowledge, authority and skills in the workplace
- Worker exploitation - temporary migrants may be less likely than Aotearoa New Zealand citizens and residents to speak up for their rights out of fear, desire to gain permanent residency, or because they were deceived by their employer or unaware of their rights (Stringer, 2016)
- A lack of consideration for the diverse needs of migrants in the workplace: For example, conversations with Muslim communities after the Christchurch 2019 shootings noted Muslim women in particular faced more barriers in entering and advancing in the workforce and that there were few allowances for religious practises in the workplace (Office of Ethnic Communities, 2019).

A recent survey of employers (Auckland Chamber of Commerce, 2018) showed increasing attempts by Aotearoa New Zealand businesses to reduce institutional employment barriers against migrants:

- Although employers continued to prefer to hire New Zealanders over migrants, survey results showed employers were less resistant to hiring someone who did not have much local work experience, someone who lived offshore or someone with less than 12 months remaining on their visa
- Less than one-quarter (24%) of respondents reported having no migrant workers (a decrease from 31% in 2017)
- Employers who had migrant workers said they were providing more cultural induction for their migrant workers and their families to help them integrate more effectively in Aotearoa New Zealand.

#### **2.4.2. Education and training**

Experiences of racism often affect the children of migrants, especially for children who are not fluent in English. Various Aotearoa New Zealand studies document explicit, subtle and institutional forms of racism that affect the children of migrants (Butcher et al., 2006; Dixon et al., 2009; Office of Ethnic Communities, 2019; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2008), including:

- Racism from other children and ethnic intimidation – for example, being called ethnically-based slurs or bullied on the basis of ethnicity or religion
- Lack of action from educators when children or parents report acts of racism

- Lack of understanding from educators about cultural differences – for example, children may be punished for behaviours that teachers perceive as arrogance, when in fact children are trying to convey respect
- Education is provided in a way that does not account for different cultural understandings, attitudes and ways of learning.

Butcher et al., (2006) found South African migrants they spoke to reported little to no discrimination in school settings for their children, whereas Asian and Middle Eastern migrants noted more instances of discrimination. This may be because South African migrants are able to ‘pass’ as part of the European mainstream culture (e.g., able to speak English, appearance is similar) and so schools perceive fewer cultural differences.

### **2.4.3. Housing**

A small number of Aotearoa New Zealand studies (Butcher et al., 2006; Martin Jenkins, 2018; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2006) have indicated the existence of prejudice and discrimination towards migrant tenants, as well as institutional barriers that prevent them from obtaining adequate housing:

- Migrants and refugees from Asian, Middle Eastern and African backgrounds are disadvantaged in seeking housing due to their appearance, accents and stereotypes about their ethnicity and are often discriminated against by landlords when they select tenants
- Barriers to accessing adequate housing (e.g., challenges in understanding the housing sector, tenancy rights, how to resolve problems).

### **2.4.4. Health**

Scholars have argued that racism is a public health issue (Came & Griffith, 2017) as it can contribute to unequal access to healthcare services that can deepen health disparities amongst minority and migrant populations. This typically leads to overall poorer health outcomes compared to the host society.

There is a large body of Aotearoa New Zealand research that examines ethnic inequities in access to healthcare, particularly for Māori whānau/families and patients (e.g., Cormack et al., 2020; Dixon et al., 2009; Graham & Masters-Awatere, 2020; Kanengoni et al., 2020; Kearns et al., 2009; Martin Jenkins, 2018)<sup>15</sup>. These studies provide evidence of the discrimination that occurs towards Māori and migrants in healthcare spaces:

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<sup>15</sup> Despite a large body of work on inequities in health care, this review focused on references identified and provided to the research team by the Human Rights Commission.

- Racial discrimination from healthcare providers (e.g., outward and subtle racism towards ethnic minority patients, privileging Western medical knowledge over Indigenous/ethnic minority understandings of health)
- Lack of culturally appropriate services (e.g. appointment systems, waiting rooms, reception areas, communications, health promotion, education and services)
- Barriers to accessing healthcare (e.g., lack of information provided to improve understandings of how the Aotearoa New Zealand health system works, language barriers, etc.)
- These barriers can be alienating for Māori and tauīwi, which can reduce their willingness to engage in the healthcare system and, therefore, their overall health outcomes.

#### **2.4.5. Community and neighbourhood discrimination**

Migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand may also experience discrimination within their local communities. Research in this area is very limited; however:

- Martin Jenkins (2018) conducted consultations with recent migrants to explore their experiences of settling and adjusting to life in Aotearoa New Zealand. They found that while most migrants felt included and welcomed in their communities, a small proportion (12%) frequently experienced discrimination and did not know how to access support in this area.
- An older study gathered qualitative information from migrants and former refugees (Butcher et al., 2006) and found their experiences of discrimination within their neighbourhoods were variable – while New Zealand-born neighbours were positive in one-off interactions, migrants perceived them to be aloof, reticent to interact with them, lacking knowledge or understanding about how to interact with migrants.

#### **2.4.6. Culture and identity**

Racism can have a variety of impacts on migrants' cultural identity, including re-examination of cultural identity; assimilating into the host culture while rejecting original ethnic identity; rejecting the host culture, and internalised racism (Stuart, 2014).

#### **2.4.7. Belonging, safety and social cohesion/inclusion**

Unfair/biased behaviour from others in their community can lead to migrants feeling a lack of belonging and safety in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ward et al., 2018). Aotearoa New Zealand research has shown that discrimination can cause migrants to feel unsafe from crime in their neighbourhoods (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2018).

#### **2.4.8. Cyber-racism**

Racism occurring in online spaces is an understudied subject area – only a very small number of studies exist on the topic (Bliuc et al., 2018), and no studies could be identified that explored cyber-racism specifically in relation to migrants. However, the limited body of research in this area emphasises the influence of the Internet in facilitating racist attitudes and interactions by (Bliuc et al., 2018; Faulkner & Bliuc, 2016, 2018; Keum, 2017; Keum & Miller, 2017):

- Ineffectively moderating content, which allows racist speech to be expressed freely and widely
- Allowing racist groups to become more organised and sophisticated and to promote their views
- Providing spaces for racist messages to be heard by larger groups of people
- Validating people with racist beliefs, allowing them to feel heard and to speak about their views more loudly
- Communicating subtle, everyday racist views that often achieve a wider level of social support compared to more polarising blatant racist views
- The use of algorithms on social media websites (e.g., Youtube, Facebook, etc.) to suggest and promote more extreme content (Ganesh & Bright, 2020).

An Aotearoa New Zealand study indicated that Asian peoples in this country frequently encountered racial harassment and hate speech in online spaces. However, they were unlikely to complain about racism (Suicide Mortality Review Committee, 2019). Recent research published by the Human Rights Commission has demonstrated the role of COVID-19 in fuelling racism against Chinese and Asian communities in 2020 (Nielsen, 2021). Further research is needed to understand the impact of online racism for specific groups, such as migrants.

#### **2.5. Summary – What the evidence says to inform this research**

Immigration is a defining and fast-growing feature of Aotearoa New Zealand. Tauīwi arrive on these shores in the hopes of pursuing better opportunities for themselves and their children – they also face a range of challenges adapting to and being accepted within society.

Historical and contemporary challenges include race-based immigration policies, government action, public harassment, and experiences of racism in all forms such as individual, systemic, personally mediated and microaggressions.

The impacts of racism are traumatic, intergenerational and broad. Evidence shows racism negatively impacts on all aspects of life including employment, education and

training, access to resources (health and housing), cultural identity, sense of belonging, social cohesion and inclusion.

Evidence about the drivers for racism is extensive and identifies numerous personal and external factors that contribute to this phenomenon. Little research has explored and synthesised tauiwi migrants' experiences in and understandings of the drivers for racism in Aotearoa New Zealand.

### **3. Method**

This section describes the method used to gather and analyse information for this research. It also highlights the strengths and limitations of the research approach.

#### **3.1. Literature scan**

A scan of evidence relevant to migrant experiences of racism were accessed from the Human Rights Commission and publications from Scopus, Google Scholar, JSTOR were searched using the following search terms and variations:

- Racism and discrimination in New Zealand
- Migrant experiences in New Zealand
- Attitudes towards immigration/migrants
- Racism scales/questionnaires
- Racism causes/drivers/factors/motivators
- Racism frameworks
- Critical race theory
- Racial microaggressions
- Anti-racism/anti-racism campaigns
- Racism responses.

A full list of titles and/or abstracts was obtained from the search. Full text publications were accessed electronically.

#### **3.2. Media analysis**

The purpose of this media analysis was to further explore some of the drivers (attitudes, thoughts and behaviours) and understandings of racism amongst the wider public to inform the research and analysis approach.

We reviewed public responses on Facebook to three significant events in Aotearoa New Zealand relating to migrants and racism. To achieve this, we selected three articles and analysed 1,073 Facebook comments made in response to them. Articles were selected in discussion with the Human Rights Commission and aimed to highlight recent events with significant impact (i.e., the COVID-19 pandemic, the 2019 Christchurch mosque shootings) and/or elicited extensive public responses and discussions. Selected articles included:

- **Article 1:** Auckland doctor told to “go home to China”. (2020, February 5). Newshub, reprinted from Radio New Zealand. (76 comments)
- **Article 2:** Muslim women say Islamophobia worse after Christchurch mosque attack. (2019, June 14). Newshub. (143 comments)
- **Article 3:** Taika Waititi says New Zealand is “racist as”. (2018, April 9). Stuff. (854 comments).

Web scraping was used to export all comments on each of the three articles from Facebook into Microsoft Excel. A coding framework was developed and used to analyse the data thematically. A summary of key themes from the media analysis are provided in Appendix 2 and findings are integrated within the overview sections of the report to complement interview and focus group data.

### 3.3. Interviews - settlement service providers

Nine individual and four group interviews were conducted with representatives from 11 national and regional settlement support provider organisations located in urban and rural locations across Aotearoa New Zealand.

The research team engaged with HRC and MBIE to identify and engage with providers.

Individual and group interviews explored providers’ experiences, observations and perspectives on migrants’ experiences of racism and discrimination, the drivers for these attitudes and behaviours and potential for change.

### 3.4. Focus groups – Māori, tauwi and Pākehā

Twenty-eight focus groups were held with Māori, Pākehā and tauwi migrants aged 18 years and older from different ethnicities, religious affiliations, visa types and length of residence in Aotearoa New Zealand. Groups were held across five localities covering urban and rural locations in Te Ika-a-Māui and Te Waipounamu.

A total of 210 participants representing 23 different ethnicities and religious denominations contributed to focus group discussions (see Appendix 3 for a table summarising the profile of participants for each focus group).

In August 2020, the COVID-19 return to lockdown in Auckland prevented the remaining face-to-face focus groups from being conducted. Subsequent focus groups arranged in Auckland or to be facilitated by Auckland staff were conducted via Zoom. A total of 11 focus groups were facilitated via zoom and 17 focus groups were face-to-face.

Focus groups were approximately two to three hours long. The group discussions were audio-recorded and transcribed, and all participants were provided with a \$40

koha/meaalofa and transport costs of \$20, as a token of appreciation for their involvement.

#### **3.4.1. Participant recruitment**

Migrants and former refugees were recruited through purposive sampling and snowballing. The research team engaged with settlement support providers and utilised their own extensive professional networks (including NGOs and churches) to promote the research and recruit potential participants. Information sheets and consent forms were shared with potential participants during this process, and they were given opportunities to ask questions. Dates and venues were then arranged for focus groups. Groups were held at either the research team's offices in Auckland and Wellington, settlement support provider's offices across different regions, or alternative and accessible premises where participants felt comfortable and safe.

#### **3.4.2. Participant consent**

Participants were given information sheets and consent forms prior to focus groups. Consent forms were discussed and completed at the start of face-to-face focus groups. Participants in Zoom groups were asked to complete consent forms and send them back to the focus group facilitator prior to the start of the group.

#### **3.4.3. Focus group question guides**

We developed a semi-structured focus group guide based on early findings from the literature review and media analysis and finalised with HRC. The guide built on HRC's key research questions and focussed on exploring participants' experiences, views and understandings about the drivers of migrants' experiences of racism and their perspectives on potential for change. The questionnaire integrated the wellbeing domains within Treasury's Living Standards framework as a basis for exploring participants' experiences across different aspects of their lives.

Key questions were intended to guide conversations and allow participants to raise relevant topics important to them. The focus group guide was reviewed following initial focus groups to ensure the required information was being collected.

#### **3.4.4. Focus group facilitation**

Our mahi is informed by Kawa Whakaruruhau, which recognises historical and contemporary contexts for Māori, including structural violence, loss of land and ability to access Te Ao Māori. Our mahi also recognises the historical, genealogical and spiritual relationships between Pacific peoples and tangata whenua.

Our research design, data collection, analysis and reporting prioritised the worldviews and perspectives of Māori and tauiwi. Understanding the cultural context of research participants and our own limitations was at the forefront of our engagement with all populations.

Focus groups were primarily conducted in English. In the Korean focus group participants spoke in Korean and an interpreter was on-hand to translate the discussion and key themes. Bilingual discussions were held for the Samoan, Tokelauan and two of the Māori focus groups facilitated by members of the research team. An ethnically matched facilitator was assigned to each focus group where possible.

Our approach to facilitation prioritised cultural safety, setting a trusting and safe space and relationship for sharing. We focussed on demonstrating respectful and neutral behaviour through whanaungatanga and engagement with participants, and in establishing connections with participants.

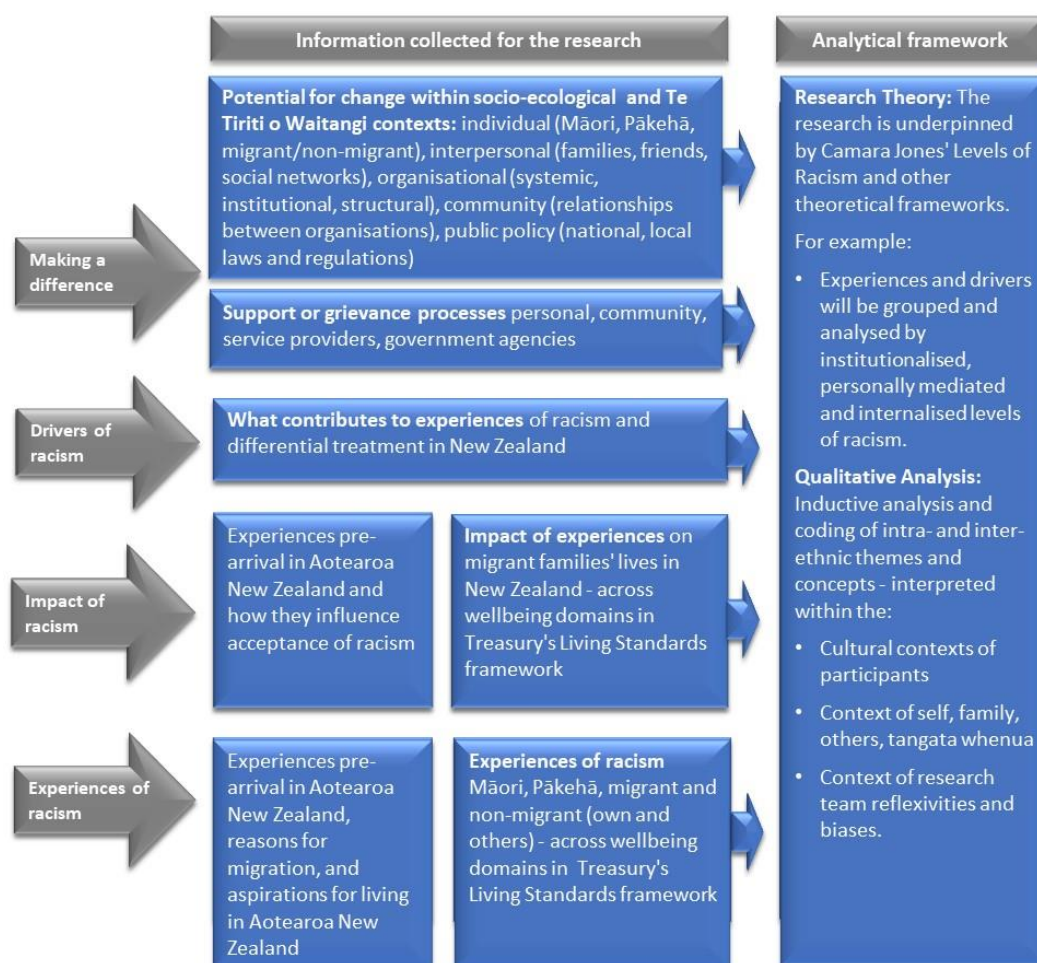
A genuine and mutually respectful relationship was established before focus group discussions commenced (for example, each group started with a prayer or other culturally appropriate means of engagement [if preferred], introductions/connections and an ice-breaker activity). Facilitators emphasised that the study valued participants' opinions and experiences and that this research aimed to centre their voices on the topic of racism. The media examples and review of comments completed in the planning phase were used to initiate topics of discussion with participants, explore their views/perspectives about these examples and open opportunities to share personal reflections/experiences.

The research team were also aware that there might also be power imbalances and ethnic-specific cultural considerations within participant groups, for example on the basis of different ages, gender and cultural status that could influence participants' engagement in a group setting. Because of this, our team of facilitators were prepared to arrange breakout groups by gender, age and any other factors – however, this was not required and all participants were comfortable to talk within the wider group setting.

Facilitating Zoom focus groups provided a different set of dynamics. The use of Zoom was a means of communication participants had become familiar with either before or during the first COVID-19 lockdown in New Zealand. It did not inhibit their sharing and contribution to the kōrero. Participants shared their views verbally and in the chat option. Our team of experienced facilitators were also well versed in virtual engagements and effectively staying connected with participants through active listening, clear, efficient and respectful communications.

### **3.5. Analysis**

Findings from the literature scan and media analysis were used to develop a research framework (Figure 1) to summarise the research approach and intent and guide the analysis of interviews and focus group discussions.



**Figure 1: Research framework**

Analysis of focus group data was guided by an amalgamated approach using:

- **Theorising Racism:** Camara Jones' (2000) theoretical framework for understanding racism on three levels
- **General inductive approach (Thomas, 2003):** Thematic data analysis enabled the identification of emergent key themes and sub-themes. Our culturally diverse team members with Maori, Pacific, Pākehā, Indian and Asian ethnicity and heritage, and immersion in their respective communities led analysis, brought their own interpretive frameworks, and reflective positioning to ensure that our interpretations were contextualised within different cultures where possible and that findings were framed accordingly.

Our team met frequently throughout the study to discuss our analysis of emergent themes and explore intra- and inter-ethnic similarities and differences between and across groups and different intersectional contexts.

Where our team facilitated focus groups with bilingual co-facilitators, we worked with the co-facilitator to interpret key themes and associated cultural nuances and insights.

Focus group discussions were transcribed verbatim. This report includes quotes and authentic language (inclusive of expletive language) to signify participants' passion and expressiveness.

### **3.6. Ethics approval**

An ethics application for the research was submitted for review by the New Zealand Ethics Committee on 15 May 2020 and a revised application was submitted on 15 June 2020. Ethics approval was received on 15 June 2020.

### **3.7. Strengths and limitations**

Aotearoa New Zealand and internationally based research on racial discrimination often takes a variety of methodological approaches. Qualitative research is a common way of exploring migrants' experiences of racism and discrimination, typically in individual interview or focus group settings (Carangio et al., 2020).

With this type of qualitative research, researchers normally focus on one ethnic or religious group (e.g., Asian, Muslim etc.). Our research approach involved conducting multiple focus groups with Māori, tauiwi and Pākehā ethnic groups. This provided all participants with a platform to voice/share their opinions.

The qualitative research methodology allowed the research team to gain insights into the complex nature of drivers of migrants' experiences of racism from diverse cultural perspectives.

The research team's approach to engaging with all participants created a safe space for them to actively participate in focus group discussions. Ethnically matched focus group facilitators from the research team (Māori, Pacific, Asian and Pākehā) were provided. Although most focus groups were conducted in English, members of the research team provided options for te reo Māori and Samoan languages and worked alongside bi-lingual co-facilitators for Asian focus groups where required.

The synergistic nature of focus group discussions used in this research enabled participants to build on each other's insights in ways that would be less possible in individual interviews. Focus groups also provoked rationalisation and explicit reasoning and helped to unpack more nuanced understandings of different points of discussion.

In reading the report it is important to consider:

- Data collection was between 28<sup>th</sup> July and 30<sup>th</sup> September 2020. The research examined a broad and sensitive topic within a tight timeframe. The timing of the fieldwork coincided with the Covid-19 lockdown. The effects of the lockdown on participation and views are unknown.
- Participants in the focus groups reflected on their vast personal experiences and understandings of racism – the findings cannot be generalised but they provide new in-depth insights from a diverse range of participants that broaden the evidence base and can be used to inform future research directions
- The research scope focused on understandings and experiences of ethnic (and some religious) groups. Spaces were created in the discussions for intersectionality (e.g. for those who identified as LGBTQIA+, people with a disability, or other marginalised groups) to organically emerge, but the focus of the research questions was on the issue of ethnicity/culture and to some extent, religion.
- Common and dominant themes that emerged across different focus groups were supported by verbatim transcript material and quotes from multiple discussions/participants – it was not possible to include all quotes of relevance to the theme. However, interpretations and descriptions of themes attempt to capture the richness of participants' expression.
- Amalgamating Māori, Pākehā and tauīwi migrants' experiences and understandings of racism provides useful insights but also diminishes the strength, meaning and voice for each group. Each ethnic group shared a wealth of information that requires further investigation.
- A total of 12 out of 28 focus groups included more females than males which may provide skewed perspectives.

## 4. Participants' views on migrant racism in Aotearoa New Zealand

### 4.1. Participants' values

Participants commonly valued and placed importance on:

**Culture, identity and sense of belonging:** Many described Aotearoa New Zealand as a uniquely diverse country and emphasised the importance of embracing all cultures, maintaining strong relationships, and showing acceptance and support for other migrant populations to establish their sense of belonging in this country.

Māori and Pacific participants also highlighted the importance of a collective and spiritual sense of purpose, connection and wellbeing.

Māori participants valued Indigenous rights and sovereignty, whakapapa, connection to the land, tūpuna and mokopuna and protection of whenua (kaitiakitanga). Te reo Māori, culture and knowledge of Te Ao Māori was considered critical to decolonising minds and behaviours.

Many tauiwi participants noted the value of respect, relationships, and reaching their full potential to reciprocate and acknowledge sacrifices made by others for them to migrate to Aotearoa New Zealand.

**Basic and fundamental needs being met:** This included having financial security, access to optimal health and wellbeing opportunities, warm and secure housing, a healthy work-life balance, and an environmentally friendly and sustainable lifestyle.

**A diverse, inclusive and harmonious society:** Participants' ideal vision for Aotearoa New Zealand was for a society where people accepted, understood, communicated and connected with each other. They envisioned a place where people were not afraid to be who they are or want to be, where everyone is heard, and all make a positive and meaningful contribution toward society.

### 4.2. Participants' reasons for migrating

Tauiwi said they migrated to Aotearoa New Zealand for a number of reasons – influenced both by their values noted above and belief that living in Aotearoa New Zealand provided:

**Opportunities for a better future for their whānau/families and children:** Many participants expressed gratitude for increased opportunities and access to employment, education and healthcare that they did not have in their countries of origin.

*Building my future is very easy in New Zealand. In my country it's very hard...We also have war. My [parent] was...killed by terrorists so we lived a very hard life. (Former refugee focus group)*

*We get to go to the hospital for free, there are things from the government like a social worker, and I feel that we are very lucky in New Zealand because our lives are like a different life. (Former refugee focus group)*

**Safety and protection for all citizens:** Former refugee participants noted humanitarian reasons while others noted that fewer violent crimes and increased legal protection for citizens contributed to their reasons for migrating. Other tauwiwi participants noted a sense of gratitude that they no longer lived in fear.

*I went to [country removed] in 2015. It was a different lifestyle. You could hear bombs far away. The way they treat people is rubbish, they treat them like dogs. But here everything is fair, there's justice. (Former refugee focus group)*

**A sense of belonging, acceptance and inclusion:** Some participants highlighted that elderly migrants may reconnect with their whānau/families who have settled in Aotearoa New Zealand. Others noted a perceived sense of community, acceptance and freedom.

Some Pākehā and Māori participants noted migrants and former refugees may also have been influenced by the 'clean' image of Aotearoa New Zealand. Internationally recognised films were highlighted as illustrating Aotearoa New Zealand's beauty and culture.

*It's pretty. Clean country not polluted like China and all that. (Pākehā focus group)*

*When people showcase New Zealand and being Māori like Taika Waititi and Lord of the Rings people see the whenua, how beautiful our land is so for me I get it, why wouldn't you want to live here. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

Some participants noted a sense of gratitude for an increased tolerance and acceptance of migrant populations within Aotearoa New Zealand as well as opportunities to voice their concerns.

*I think at least in New Zealand there is the avenues to complain [report racism]. (African focus group)*

#### **4.3. Racism and lateral violence<sup>16</sup> are prevalent in Aotearoa New Zealand**

Despite a general sense of positivity and shared values associated with living in Aotearoa New Zealand, the majority of Māori and tauwiwi focus groups acknowledged

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<sup>16</sup> Lateral violence is described as racism and discrimination perpetuated between colonised ethnic minority groups, and it is an effect of ongoing oppression (Bailey, 2020; Pyke, 2010).

that historical racism toward Māori and current racism toward both Māori and tauīwi migrant populations exists within Aotearoa New Zealand.

Participants also commonly noted that racism existed both within (intra) and between (inter) different ethnic populations and provided examples of inter-ethnic minority racism, or lateral violence, shown by all ethnic groups toward their own.

*I have an issue suggesting only white people can be racist to black people because then immediately you're putting white people above me and that they can do this thing to me...As black people...I can be very racist towards another person from a different country in Africa. (African focus group)*

Some Pākehā participants described experiences that reflected reverse racism which obfuscates power relationships between groups – a crucial aspect of racism.

*I've even seen Māori being racist towards Kiwis, non-Māori people, saying "Oh you're a white girl, you're not Māori" kind of thing. Which is weird. (Pākehā 3 focus group)*

Many Pacific participants (who belonged to dominant groups within their country of origin) considered racism a novel Western construct experienced in a multi-cultural society. Prior to migrating to Aotearoa New Zealand many said they had not experienced racism in their homelands because *everyone was the same*. However, immersion in a Western multi-cultural society raised their awareness of looking and being different. In general, this meant a lack of understanding about racism, its impacts and in turn how to react, respond and seek support.

*My upbringing in Tonga we never talked about racism because everyone is the same colour, there were hardly any white people...When [racism] happened to me in New Zealand I asked questions but no one knew what racism was and I didn't know what the answer was, so I had to find what the answer was. (Tongan focus group)*

#### 4.4. Levels of racism differ across regions

Many participants described that racism existed on a continuum while others noted that those uncomfortable with the term 'racism' used multiple other terms such as discrimination, unconscious bias, prejudice and xenophobia. These terms were ultimately perceived to fall under the auspices of racism to make it more palatable.

*If they were unconscious, now they're conscious and now they're conscious racists. It's just a palatable way of saying racist. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

*It's about a power imbalance. Us talking about them is called discrimination because there is no power imbalance. Me saying "Oh you dirty white person" isn't going to strip away their privilege, it's already been established. But for us brown people because they have established that we are below them, that's created the power imbalance. (Tokelauan focus group)*

Overt forms of racism were considered more prevalent across different parts of Aotearoa New Zealand. For example, some migrant and one Pākehā focus group

highlighted Christchurch and other parts of the South Island as places where migrants may be more exposed to overt racism. Participants considered these regions to have less ethnic diversity and exposure to different cultures in comparison to Auckland. Some also noted that within smaller regions across the country, awareness of racism toward migrants was low and responses to racism were considered an urban issue.

*I think a lot of people that live here [small region] see New Zealand-wide messaging as just “Oh that's Wellington and Auckland stuff” and we're totally removed from that, it doesn't apply to us. (Provider)*

#### **4.5. Belief that racism in Aotearoa New Zealand is not as bad as other countries**

Many participants did not feel that racism toward migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand was a major issue when compared with other countries.

*It's not as extreme as other countries, but you do face it every day in New Zealand in your life... (Chinese focus group)*

The latter quote supports this view although it is important to note that the examples provided are in fact no different to Māori genocide and the Christchurch terror attacks. It is also important to note the media analysis suggested the minimisation of racism in this country can depict a sense of denial that racism exists and an excuse to not address it (see Appendix 2).

*We have to differentiate between New Zealand, the United States of America, and Australia. Here is much better. The Treaty of Waitangi helps. In Australia they can't even apologise. They were shooting them like birds. (African focus group)*

Mature Pacific participants specifically noted that racism in Aotearoa New Zealand was not as bad as during the 1970s 'Dawn Raids' era when Pacific peoples and migrants that overstayed their working visas were targeted and forcefully deported.

*Like look at our history - our Pacific people came to New Zealand and they came to work, had no citizenships and got to the point when they were deported...Racism doesn't happen here - we only heard about it when we were in Samoa when our people were being deported back to Samoa [during the Dawn Raids]. (Samoan focus group)*

In this light, it is important to note that some mature participants were less likely to consider racism an issue. As described by some young participants this may be due to mature people viewing differential outcomes as being the result of individual choices, rather than inter-generational racialisation and trauma, being less exposed to social media and more likely to socialise and connect with smaller social groups and networks that protect them.

*In my opinion, it's increased. I understand if our elders aren't aware of it because I think they aren't exposed to the news, social media...But us young ones, we read the news every day, we can ascertain what is racism and what is not. (Samoan focus group)*

*When I speak to the older generation, they understand it as individualised as in people are bad because they make bad choices. They can't comprehend this ideology of intergenerational trauma. Some do understand it but a lot of them believe it [as] you take responsibility for your own actions. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

#### 4.6. Different perspectives on whether racism has changed in Aotearoa New Zealand

Most focus group participants highlighted that the awareness and exposure of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand had changed over time due to a range of reasons – those most noted included:

- A slow but increasing recognition of the value of diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand: Different cultures and ways of thinking, a skilled migrant workforce and pūtea for academic institutions were noted as beneficial to the economy and country.  
*People are starting to see the benefits of diversity. They're starting to realise [migrants] provide different ways of thinking, culture and just fantastic things to the community. (Provider)*
- The Christchurch mosque terrorist attack: Aotearoa New Zealand's response to the attack was described as a display of unity within society. This was considered to influence an increased willingness to talk about racism and the global injustices and extremist attacks targeting Muslim communities.
- The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement: Participants highlighted the relevance of BLM within Aotearoa New Zealand. Many considered this resonated with racism and Māori oppression in this country while others said it opened their eyes to it. The 2020 BLM movement and solidarity Marches in Auckland were considered motivated by the opportunity and momentum built for national and international recognition and responses to racism.
- COVID-19: Many participants noted that New Zealanders' responses to COVID-19 exposed and intensified racist behaviours and language expressed by some towards Asian communities.

Participants generally noted that changes in awareness were influenced by increased:

- Recognition and response to racist behaviours
- Inter-ethnic marriage and relationships
- Acknowledgement of workforce capacity shortages and the skills provided by migrant populations

*I wonder if it's more that in certain primary industries where it's understood by most New Zealanders that the skills aren't here, forestry, vineyards, dairy, there's a greater acceptance. (Filipino focus group)*

- Recognition of the importance of te reo Māori and the use of basic greetings and language within mainstream society and media
- Media exposure and access to technology and social media for young people
- Young people being more critically aware and responsive to potential racist behaviours.

It is important to note in relation to the two latter points above the potential for these factors to also be a cause for polarisation and extreme views at both ends of the racism spectrum.

*But then one of the neighbours, the kids there, they were throwing something at the property, and they were saying go back to your country. So, it's quite similar an experience. He felt really discriminated against. (Korean focus group)*

Despite participants commonly noting increased awareness about racism, a small number highlighted mixed views about perceived changes in the:

- Prevalence of racism: A small number identified an increase in the prevalence of racist behaviour in Aotearoa New Zealand, due mainly to increased exposure and awareness. In contrast, two participants did not consider the prevalence of racism had changed but that there was an increase in cultural appropriation and harm caused by racism.

*In my opinion, [the prevalence of racism has] increased...We read the news every day, we can ascertain what is racism and what is not. (Samoan focus group)*

*Cultural appropriation is massive – For me, I don't think racism has gotten a lot better but it's more in our faces, it's everywhere and I think that's damaging and scary because you're not only experiencing it ā kanohi, but you experience it at home, you take it everywhere with you because it's on social media, it's blasted everywhere. For me, I'm thinking is it better or is it worse because you're taking it everywhere. (Te Ika ā Māui Māori focus group)*

- Expressions of racism: Some noted changes in racist behaviour included an increase in covert expressions of racism, while others noted that both overt and covert racist behaviour still existed.

*There's so much talk about racism/discrimination in the world. It has changed that now it's not so much in your face, rude...It's really underlying through sly comments, small perceptions that come through when people stereotyping. (Tongan focus group)*

*My experience in this country is that there are two types of racism. One which we can say is direct, like when people come to your face and say no this is our country, you are resident here, you are not our people...My concern is not this direct racism, my concern is the indirect racism we face in this country. That racism we see everywhere, in the office, if you are in politics, in jobs, if you're calling the police, they judge you by your accent...Where we are treated as second-class citizens... (Sikh focus group)*

- Aggressive racist behaviour: One participant noted increased physical aggression toward migrants.

*My mates they're experiencing racism, even physical contact... [In high school], it happened to me once, but I reacted badly, I got into a fight. (Former refugee focus group)*

Overall, while participants perceived that the awareness of racism had changed, the occurrence and expression of racism continued to occur and there was still a long way to go to for Aotearoa New Zealand to become a diverse place where everyone experiences safety and belonging.

## 5. Participants' experiences of racism

### 5.1. Institutionalised racism<sup>17</sup>

Interviewed providers, all tauīwi and Māori, and two of three Pākehā focus groups described numerous experiences of institutional and systemic racism across various wellbeing domains.

#### 5.1.1. Civic engagement and governance

Participants shared examples of organisations pushing back on initiatives that were seen to 'privilege' non-Pākehā groups, inadequate provider funding assessment criteria and processes, superficial recognition of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, institutional policies and processes skewed in favour of dominant cultures, a lack of diverse leadership/governance across organisations and exclusion/minimisation of Māori and ethnic minorities from decision-making.

*History shows our systems are structured, our organisations are built in a Western way...obvious racism... We don't even know it's there. From a political structure, with our education, health, it's pretty much built in. (European migrant focus group)*

*Who makes the rules? It's important, the level of participation for Asians and minorities. If not, if we keep silent, then that will be a problem later on. If you don't speak for yourself, who will speak for you? (Chinese focus group)*

Some also noted ignorance and a lack of willingness to change within governance structures. Others acknowledged attempts within some organisations and systems to include diverse representation as well as consult and engage with diverse communities – although in some cases this was described as 'doing to or doing for' rather than 'doing with'.

*At our highest levels it's been particularly disgusting recently especially when you have Judith Collins saying you can't balance diversity and competence. You're literally saying that brown people are incompetent. How can we deny that racism exists when at our highest levels we have racist shit like that coming out of people? (Te Ika ā Māui Māori focus group)*

*We got a lot of applications after [mosque attack] wanting to support Muslim communities. For me it's like, you want to support those communities, but what's happening with them supporting themselves? What about working in partnership? You*

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<sup>17</sup> Differential access to goods, services and opportunities, normalised, inherited disadvantage, inequities in access to quality living standards, unequal access to power and historical injustices (Jones, 2000)

*want to do something for them, not with them. Their heart's in the right place but actually it's not going to change if we don't change the system of how we do things. (Provider)*

### 5.1.2. Health

Health systems, support, information and interpretation services were not considered accessible for all. Differential treatment and fewer healthcare options offered to Māori and tauwi were also noted as examples of racism in the healthcare system.

*My mum was terminally ill and because she was not a New Zealand citizen, we paid close to a \$1000 a night...not one [health professional] had referred us to palliative care. (Pan-Pacific focus group)*

*A lot of [migrants] are coming from countries where English isn't the majority language, and we have a very English dominated language system so that is a huge struggle for them. Translation services aren't offered at all at GP services, and you often don't find resources translated. (Te Ika ā Māui Māori focus group)*

Māori and Pacific participants also highlighted examples of racism in inequitable health outcomes and mortality rates as well as targeted investigations of whānau/families for suspected child abuse cases.

*When we have cases of non-accidental injuries where a child has been hurt not by accident and if you compare a Pacific or Māori family turning up with their child with a white family coming in...with the same issue, they will automatically look into the brown child's injuries...They dig deeper, they investigate. So, they're [more] judgemental towards the brown [family]. (Kiribati focus group)*

### 5.1.3. Housing

Tauwi participants provided examples of Pacific families facing additional challenges and/or being refused rental accommodation, delayed service and access to entitlements, and Asian social housing tenants being threatened and bullied.

*...As soon as they heard my voice, they said the house was taken. But [we] had [our] friends ring [the landlords] for the same house. It's still available. (Indian focus group)*

*We have so many complaints from Chinese elderly people who are living in state houses. In their state house community, there is lots of bullying and physical abuse. They smash the windows, threaten them because the Chinese elderly people like gardening, growing different types of vegetables. (Provider)*

### 5.1.4. Employment (jobs and earnings)

Participants described experiences of institutionalised and systemic racism through:

**Unfair employee recruitment and selection processes:** Recruitment panel processes and job seek algorithms that filtered potential employees by name, appearance and other physical features resulted in lost employment opportunities for tauwi populations.

*We know about the applicant tracking system, the algorithms are precluding our clients from getting any further. For instance, visa status and foreign sounding names and lack of New Zealand experience on the C.V. (Provider)*

*If you apply for a job and they call you up and say come for an interview, when you come in, they will see your face and say, "Sorry it's gone, this job". (Muslim focus group)*

One tauwiwi focus group perceived a preference among employers to hire acquaintances/family and/or friends over migrant candidates. In line with this view, others noted migrant populations were disadvantaged by a lack of social and economic capital – both of which take much time to establish.

*The employees they took on were not actually the ones who could get work done, it was more like someone's relative, someone's old schoolmates, friends, partners...I was told in New Zealand it's all about two-degree connections. (Chinese focus group)*

*...You've got those connections and history...Someone like me coming into New Zealand, I stand no chance, no matter what my outside credentials are...That's a challenge for new migrants because they've left all that social and economic capital, then they come to New Zealand and we have to build it. So, they are starting 20 years behind. (Provider)*

**Unfair and exploitative employment conditions and roles:** Employers taking advantage of migrant workers, delegating responsibilities and tasks that others did not want to do to tauwiwi employees and exploiting migrant worker skills and experience to train junior employees for higher promotions.

*[Migrant] brought in his wage slip and he was doing a 40-hour week and his wage slip didn't add up...He was only being paid every time he actually went out and pumped gas. Of course, he didn't question it. So, there was clearly someone taking advantage of him. (Provider)*

*I work in daycare and with COVID all staff have been too afraid to change diapers and dirty children, they say it's a health and safety risk. I'm one of the few Pacific staff and I'm changing all the children like 30 of them while the staff don't...I don't mind but I know it's not fair to me. (Pan-Pacific focus group)*

*One person will be attached to us, so I'm going to train him. Then after a couple of weeks, the person I trained he'll become my boss. (Filipino focus group)*

**Unequal remuneration for skilled migrants:** Exploiting specialist skills provided by tauwiwi employees for lower wages and unequal distribution of resources to tauwiwi workforces.

*We have some people who are highly skilled and end up in low-paying, low-value work...We all know about that disparity. Again, it's that bias that exists in the employment space. The way people value your skills is also discriminatory. (Provider)*

*Qualifications and experience are not recognised if you are a migrant here. [Specialist migrants] are earning about \$21-23 an hour, unlike Kiwi-born workers, that are doing a similar job and not as experienced, they are receiving \$32 an hour. So that's where the racism is for me. (Filipino focus group)*

*There's another team that are full of white people and they will have better access to resources - up to date laptops, flash phones compared to my Pacific team...That team will have better pay. It should be fair despite ethnicity. (Cook Islands focus group)*

**Tokenistic recruitment and a lack of commitment to diversity:** Employing tau'iwi purely for diversity rather than for skills and competency, and an ongoing recognition of the need for diversity but little commitment and action to reflect this. *Cultural loading* and deference to Māori staff for karakia and other cultural labour was also considered a default setting and form of exploitation within organisations.

*I've landed some jobs because I actually looked different. They said we like you; you have fresh energy, you look different and we would like to consider you for the role. Should I feel privileged because I got the job? (African focus group)*

*[My workplace] keeps talking about the importance of diversity and we need more Māori and Pacific analysts and we've had the conversations yet everyone who keeps coming in the door are from England. (Te Ika ā Māui Māori focus group)*

#### 5.1.5. Society and social connections

Systems and society, and biased media and social media representation that constantly 'excluded' and 'othered' Māori and tau'iwi were considered powerful forms of institutionalised racism.

*Just about everywhere. When I read the newspaper, I'm othered, when I watch TV I'm othered, when I listen to the radio I'm othered, street names, I'm being othered all over the place like I don't belong here. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

#### 5.1.6. Education (knowledge and skills)

Many participants highlighted an education system based on Eurocentric content and learning, inadequate teaching and understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in schools and incorrect pronunciation of te reo Māori.

*I learned no truth as a child, I was taught a lot of lies as a Pākehā girl (in the 1950s and 60s). Our schools taught that the people who were at fault were Māori. (Provider)*

*In recent years, my friend's daughter was so angry. She's Māori, she came home and said I don't want to be learning about the Treaty of Waitangyyy when I'm talked at for fifty five minutes...obviously not 100% accurate and the girl was picking up on stuff and also the pronunciation. (Pākehā 2 focus group)*

*The system doesn't work for the kids because it's not created for Pacific Island kids. It was created in the white man's book and everyone has to follow it. (Tongan focus group)*

#### 5.1.7. Justice system (safety and security)

Some participants noted differential treatment within the justice system and harsher penalties and consequences for Pacific and migrant communities in comparison to Pākehā.

*In the courts there were two Pacific Island men and one Pākehā all going in for the same crime- who got sentenced? It was the Pacific Islanders for four years each. The Pākehā got months of detention. (Cook Islands focus group)*

## 5.2. Personally mediated racism<sup>18</sup>

Experiences of personally mediated racism were commonly noted by providers and all tauwiwi, Māori and Pākehā focus groups. Inter-ethnic<sup>19</sup> overt and subtle forms of racism as well as double-marginalisation<sup>20</sup> experiences of racism were described as frequent occurrences.

### 5.2.1. Experiences of overt racism - emotional, verbal and physical abuse

**Emotional abuse:** Many participants described experiences of disregard, disrespect and negative stereotypes and judgement of their culture, religion, ethnicity, traditional taonga and treasures.

*There were two or three students, they were girls wearing scarves. So other students they took off the scarves from them. (Former refugees focus group)*

*What is that Māori shit around your neck? I said what is that tie for around your neck?... (Te Waipounamu Māori focus group)*

Judgements made by others about ethnicity and culture were described as demeaning, demoralising and disempowering. Māori participants described an example of overt racism regarding town planning and the location of marae. This example illustrated a mana-diminishing experience that minimised the wairua and sacredness associated with tangata whenua and Aotearoa New Zealand.

*When I was a single teenage mum. They just looked at me and said I wouldn't amount to anything and my kids would not amount to anything. (Te Waipounamu Māori focus group)*

*I remember the inception of the marae. We had a meeting with the town planner...he said that the site was not suitable...you should build the marae somewhere else. And I said where would that be? And I am not shitting you, he said the dump. (Te Waipounamu Māori focus group)*

Young participants across several tauwiwi focus groups noted experiences within the education system such as favouritism among teachers toward non-migrant students, ignorance and ineptness in generic classrooms for ESOL students, setting low standards and expectations for migrant students, unfair questioning of

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<sup>18</sup> Prejudice (assumptions about others based on race) and discrimination (differential treatment based on race), both intentional and non-intentional, acts of commission and omission. (Jones, 2000)

<sup>19</sup> Between ethnic groups.

<sup>20</sup> Marginalisation by one's own racial group as well as by the white majority

achievements, constant questioning of presence in dominant white spaces, and being looked down on for attending decile one schools.

*In high school, the teachers are telling them “You will not go to university, you can’t”. My teacher said to me “Don’t think about university”. (Muslim focus group)*

*Every day, like we’re at Uni in the PhD section and you have the staff members looking at me and my friends who are mostly brown like what are you doing on the floor and where the staff are eating...Or do you have an [access] card. You get that on the daily. (Tongan focus group).*

**Verbal abuse:** Participants described being yelled at, told to go home and verbally insulted by strangers – this could occur in front of children which was considered to have unknown wider impacts. Name calling, bullying and the use of derogatory labels and stereotypes that diminished cultural values, practices and attire were also considered a frequent part of migrants’ lived realities.

*A white driver shouting that when they sit in the car ‘Go back to your own country’ and even not stopping when a Chinese lady was walking across the pedestrian crossing...[People] out shopping, and people would yell at them and say get out of our country, in front of children as well, that’s quite damaging. It’s on a daily basis... (Provider)*

*People from the Islands, they’ll call them coconuts. Arabs are terrorists. And Asians, they call them all Chinese. I think racism exists everywhere. New Zealand Europeans, Māori’s, they’ll call white people Palagi... (Former refugee focus group)*

**Physical abuse and racial harassment:** The Christchurch mosque attack was described as an extreme form of racism by all participants. Many also described being stalked, targeted for burglaries and destruction of housing and personal belongings, confrontational bullying and harassment, aggressive behaviour and being ejected from shops.

*We also had particularly refugee background families targeted, their houses being tagged, either broken into or graffitied or things thrown at their house. Sometimes one-off, sometimes repeatedly. (Provider)*

*So sometimes community members are more targeted for burglary, smashing car windows and so on...those are ongoing experiences. (Provider)*

*...being physically pushed out of a shop in Wellington...Everyone was so embarrassed by the manager’s behaviour. Gutted to be treated so differently to everyone in the shop. (Te Waipounamu Māori focus group)*

### 5.2.2. Experiences of subtle forms of personally mediated racism

**Patronising, ‘othering’, and ignorant behaviour:** Many participants’ described experiences of others assuming migrants were in need – *white saviourism* - or spoke loudly, slowly, and *dumbed down* language because of a belief that they could not understand English. Some found the surprise expressed by Pākehā when migrants responded competently in English insulting.

*It's the naivete when someone says to me, I would really like to support that family, I wonder if we can pay their children's school fees and I'm like, you're making a whole lot of assumptions there that are not right. It's really patronising. (Provider)*

Many participants also noted being constantly questioned about their identity - *we've all heard the pātai "Oh where are you from?"* - having others shorten or incorrectly pronounce their name, being ignored in conversations where eye contact and attention was diverted to Pākehā who were with them or being on the receiving end of inappropriate staring and attention because of the colour of their skin.

*Because you had a white face, people would direct the conversation to you, not to the person you were helping...That avoidance of engaging with someone in a real meaningful way is still there to a certain extent in those institutions. (Provider)*

*To come to a small town here that was actually very white, and just the stares and comments that at times were quite ignorant, that was hard to take on. In 20 years, you get used to it. (Provider)*

**Passive aggressive language and behaviour:** This included others intentionally speaking quickly so migrants could not make informed responses, being the butt of racist jokes, humour and innuendos, and victim blaming. Racism was also described as being hidden and excused as satire within the entertainment industry.

*I have had experiences where people sort of mock me or phrase things as a 'joke', but there's an underlying tone, I know it's not a joke. (African focus group)*

*My [Pākehā relative] when he says something is messy, he says this looks like a Māori backyard. (Latin American focus group)*

*They're still making conscious decisions to include racist characters. It's making fun of disparity and really unfortunate real-life circumstances, but they will slap the satire label on it. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

**Exclusion and disregard in the workplace:** Exclusion from staff events, racist taunts and comments among staff and non-migrant juniors undermining authority.

*It happened in the workplace, the colleagues bought some muffins and shared among the others during the lunch break. However, when their Chinese colleague came to the kitchen, he was told this was not for him. This is very mean. (Provider)*

**Ignorant comments and stereotyping:** Participants noted preconceived judgements and flippant comments about individuals and ethnic groups based on limited understandings, ignorant and stereotypical expectations of how they should dress, look and act.

*Someone applied for a job and having an interview and having to explain her background qualifications and then the interviewer asking the person "Oh I didn't realise you had universities in the jungle". (Provider)*

*Preconception and have that stereotype in your mind that this face belongs to this place, you look like that. I get that a lot when people ask me where I'm from and I say Brazil,*

*they say “Oh I would have never picked you to be from Brazil” I think what’s a person from Brazil look like. (Provider)*

**Racial profiling:** Participants described a range of experiences such as others frowning, avoiding eye-contact and clutching their handbags in the presence of darker skinned people. Some participants had been followed around stores or served last, interrogated by the Police in their own (white) neighbourhood, or mistaken for cleaners and prisoners rather than professional employees.

*Being a big brown Samoan guy, in the police force he has experienced racism a lot and he shared quite a few where people misjudged, and they thought he was one of the prisoners. (Kiribati focus group)*

*...She was horrified at the [clothing store], she said, I walk in here and I can keep my bag but you watch what happens to these [Pacific Island] men that are coming in, and immediately they’re like “Put your bags here” completely different treatment. (Pākehā 2 focus group)*

Asian focus groups highlighted racial profiling in schools and public settings and unfair targeting in relation to COVID-19:

*Something happened to my daughter at school. Someone told her to go back to your country with the virus and she came home and cried. When I heard that, I told her you can say, “I come from a good house and I don’t have any virus. I was born here, and my parents work here. I am a New Zealander.” (Chinese focus group)*

*During the lockdown, a white lady shouted at a Chinese lady at the supermarket and said, “It’s you the Chinese who brought the virus to New Zealand.” She was just in the queue. The lady also asked the other customer to stay behind and far away from the Chinese lady in the supermarket. (Provider)*

Māori focus groups specifically noted differences in profiling and racist experiences among whānau/families with fair and dark skin. Some with fairer skin noted being included in fear mongering against their own because they were seen by Pākehā as one of them.

*My mother is Pākehā she has blonde hair and blue eyes and we don’t look the same...I was followed around the store and I went home telling my mum...My mum not ever experiencing anything like that herself said I was making it up, you’re being dramatic. The next time we went to town she came, and she could not believe the difference in how she was treated to me. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

*Being fair in a hui is very interesting because I think if you’re in a hui with a lot of Pākehā colleagues I think they feel comfortable saying whatever they want. (Te Ika- a-Māui Māori focus group)*

European tauiwi and Pākehā participants highlighted experiences of exclusion and non-engagement from other cultural groups.

*I just find, the reaction you get, like I have approached people from all different cultures, and some are more open than others. I have talked to Chinese people and a lot of them*

*don't want to talk to me. So, it is give and take, so it shuts you out because you tried.  
(Pākehā 1 focus group)*

*Our son...He'd always loved doing kapa haka, had done it since Year 5, and somebody had said to him he was white and shouldn't be doing kapa haka. And since then he hasn't joined the kapa haka group...my son had been ridiculed for wanting to do that group...He gave it his all but for a white kid, being told no he shouldn't be doing it, and he also stopped wearing his pounamu around his neck. (European focus group)*

**Mixed messages of acceptance and hate:** Pacific participants noted how Pacific rugby players were embraced for their sporting prowess and at the same time subjected to racist taunts.

*Some players were called monkeys and gorillas... [They are] good enough to be bought over for the skills and talent but still not accepted in the community and the society that they live in. (Fijian focus group)*

### 5.2.3. Experiences of double-marginalisation

Intra-ethnic experiences of racism were commonly noted by Māori and Pacific focus groups. Participants highlighted being *judged by their own* because of an inability to speak ethnic languages, having different coloured skin, accents, length of time in Aotearoa New Zealand, village or tribal affiliation. Those that were not raised or confident in traditional cultural practices also felt judged and stigmatised by other members of their own ethnic groups.

*I'm always told that I'm not Māori and that hurts a lot more than some Pākehā that says something bad about me. When it comes from someone in your own culture from someone who speaks well and is immersed in it and gives that ideal of what a Māori should be like, that to me is upsetting and has more impact on how I feel about myself. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

## 5.3. Internalised racism<sup>21</sup>

Interviewed providers and all non-Pākehā focus groups described numerous experiences of internalised racism primarily across the wellbeing domains of cultural identity, subjective wellbeing and social connections.

### 5.3.1. Cultural identity

*It's the white way and it's the right way, and if we want to get a certain job, we have to speak the language, we have to look the part. And a lot of that means we have to leave*

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<sup>21</sup> Acceptance by those stigmatised in negative messaging about themselves and their own race. (Jones, 2000)

*behind our own culture, our values, but if we want to succeed these are the things we need to do. (Provider)*

**Compromising cultural identity, values and expression:** Many participants described compromises made by migrant groups in Aotearoa New Zealand to improve their chances of gaining employment and acceptance in society. This included changing accents, behaviours, names, cultural expressions and presentation. Conversely, some participants believed they would never be accepted as ‘Kiwis’ regardless of any compromises made.

*Everything you do isn't normal, so you try and change to be like them that's why most of us who migrated here we're kind of left the Tuvaluan culture because we've tried to fit into the Westernised society. (Tuvaluan focus group)*

*Even though we say we're Kiwis, we'll never be Kiwis. We'll still be looked at by other people as strangers, as immigrants, as aliens. As refugees. (Indian focus group)*

**Negotiating culture and identity:** Māori and tauīwi participants commonly noted that experiences of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand made them question their identity and connectedness to culture.

*You question yourself; you doubt who you are living in New Zealand and things like that. (Kiribati focus group)*

Many participants said they frequently thought about their culture, identity and/or religion in relation to their behaviours and interactions with others and noted having to constantly negotiate their identity, thoughts and behaviours to accommodate others. This was not considered necessary for Pākehā participants.

*For so many European descent people it's not required to live, to get through the everyday. We don't need to think about our ethnicity. We don't need to think about our language. (Pākehā 2 focus group)*

*At the back of my head, I wonder what the other person thinks of my ethnicity, I wonder if they're aware if it's okay to be different or I'm from a different place...Like an ethnic radar. New Zealand is full of surprises. (African focus group)*

*For me, nearly every day, because it made me the person I am today. I take my religion very seriously. My religion says to respect others, respect other religions...It's a normal part of your life. (Former refugee focus group)*

*Every morning when I light a candle for my ancestors. (Te Waipounamu Māori focus group)*

Participants highlighted pressures associated with a need to constantly and consciously adapt to accommodate dominant Western culture and other ethnic groups in different spaces (e.g. university, school, general public, workplace etc).

*Being at university is survival in a Westernised and Eurocentric system. I have to always take off my cultural hat and put on my Western hat in order to write in a way that is acceptable. I sometimes get carried away with that Western mindset that I forget who I am as a Tongan, that's the constant struggle. (Tongan focus group)*

*The need for self-policing as a Māori woman. Especially when you're in white spaces or spaces where there are not many Māori. You analyse the situation and think about how am I going to speak? How am I going to act? What am I going to do and that comes from a place of being marginalised? And it goes in turn with colonisation and colonial racism and this ideology we have of this is what a good Māori sounds like, acts like and does. (Te Ika- a-Māui Māori focus group)*

**‘Colonised’ thought and judgement of own culture:** Māori and Pacific focus groups highlighted that historical and intergenerational impacts of colonisation continued to influence how some Māori and Pacific peoples saw and judged themselves and each other based on Western ideals.

*The control of mind to leave your language behind and to aspire to the English language, it's so ingrained.... Although we came here for education, our minds were already controlled by racism by the Pākehā that came over...That really reinforced that mentality of I'm not good enough. A lot of us came into this country not feeling good enough. (Cook Islands focus group)*

*I was inwardly racist towards myself and Māori as well, the majority of my friends were Pākehā and I was the token Māori in my group. When I was with my Māori friends, I was the token Pākehā. I was always sitting in between so I would dismiss that side of myself because it was looked at in a negative way. (Te Ika- a-Māui Māori focus group)*

*We as Samoans we are also [racist] towards other Samoans...Like if we go into [Government department] and there is a Samoan working there, you can see by their mannerisms, facial expressions that they don't like you...even within our own culture we are racist. (Samoan focus group)*

In line with this view, most Pacific focus groups noted that colonisation had perpetuated beliefs of white superiority that have been engrained within and (mis)perceived as cultural values/beliefs over generations such as *colourism*.

*There's a lot of stuff that goes back to the migrants that went to Tonga. Our culture also enables that Eurocentric perception that being European is better and being white is better than Tongan... Where does that perception come from? It then becomes a cultural belief - the longer something has been passed down by the Palagi, it becomes part of our generational thinking. (Tongan focus group)*

*If we're going to talk about racism, we need to talk about colourism, in our Tuvaluan culture growing up, my grandma would say "Oh don't go outside because no one wants to marry a dark skin girl". You're pretty because you got fair skin. (Tuvaluan focus group)*

**Assimilation:** All participants provided mixed views on migrants assimilating to a Western society within Aotearoa New Zealand culture. Some considered it necessary to fit in, achieve and prosper. Others compared assimilation to a loss of culture and identity. In line with this latter view, migration to Aotearoa New Zealand did not equate to leaving culture, values and beliefs behind. Many participants thought unique and diverse identities should be embraced and that everyone should feel comfortable, accepted, respected and valued for who they are.

*They say when in Rome do as the Romans do. So, we come here, no doubt we should not change but we should adapt...If you come here, you must learn how to accept how things are done here...I must learn to accept how things are done here. I can't bring all my thinking here. (Chinese focus group)*

*They don't need to learn English. We make it too easy for them. They don't have to. We have got Mandarin banks now. Like everything, you can call lines and choose what language you speak. You don't have to speak English...That splits it even further doesn't it. What are you going to get, two different communities. (Pākehā 1 focus group)*

*What I find [disturbing] for migrant communities is when people say "Well you chose to come here, you chose to be assimilated". No, these people are coming here for better lives. It doesn't mean that they chose to leave their culture, beliefs and value systems at home. You shouldn't expect them to lose all their culture to come and have a better life. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

### 5.3.2. Subjective wellbeing

**Eroding confidence and self-belief:** Many participants highlighted second-guessing oneself – *am I overthinking it?* - and loss of resilience from constant oppression as forms of internalised racism.

*For people who come here with a strong sense of culture or spiritual identity, that's a wonderful protective thing, but discrimination chips away at that protective factor. It's very damaging. (Provider)*

*When you're targeted, it sticks in their mind that oh maybe I can't do it. So, it breaks confidence. (Sikh focus group)*

Pacific participants also noted that internalised racism was evident in established inferiority complexes and the normalisation of racism within migrant communities.

*I always feel little when I'm around [Palagi]. Why the hell do I feel little when I'm around them? It's this idea that they've drilled into us since we came into this country that they're the norm and if you're not the norm then you're an outsider and it's your job to try and fit in. You think you don't think about it, but we do, it's in the way we act. Like us automatically thinking that they're better than us, prettier than us. It's just crazy. (Samoan focus group)*

#### **Learned helplessness and under-reporting of racist experiences:**

*We've got a very ugly underbelly in Aotearoa and it's so under-reported...there's an unwillingness to put that stuff out there...It's such a hidden thing and totally under-reported. (Provider)*

Many participants noted that internalised experiences of racism contributed to migrants questioning their sense of purpose and rights in Aotearoa New Zealand. It was commonly perceived that those who constantly experienced racism, oppression and disempowerment did not feel or know they had the right to complain or did not want to appear ungrateful.

*You feel like you couldn't [complain about racism], and then all of a sudden you feel isolated and you feel oh I am the minority and you think, am I really a New Zealander? And then the negative feelings start coming back, and that's really bad. (Chinese focus group)*

Participants described other barriers to reporting racism that included concerns complaints could impact on visa and immigration status and employment prospects. Some participants noted that language barriers, cultural values, beliefs and recognition of authority and status prevented people from responding to and reporting racist experiences. Asian participants noted feeling vulnerable and targeted because others knew they had poor English and were unable to stand up for themselves and assumed they would shy away from conflict.

*On a work or temporary visa, you speak out, people are afraid they will be deported straightaway. So, immigration status has a big part to play. (Provider)*

*There will be different people with different feels. Because at the time "Oh he's older than me, I need to respect this guy, so I need to stay quiet". All those values as a Pacific Islander or as a Christian will come to play, "If I talk now, I'm talking back - I'm disrespecting this guy". (Tuvaluan focus group)*

*In the public, they showing very aggressive and hypercritical stance assuming the Asian people will shy away from any conflicts, and due to the language or cultural barrier...I think it's a type of bullying mixed with harassment. (Provider)*

*My English is very poor for my second year in New Zealand. I have a lot to say but even when I want to say it, I can't, because I have to speak in English. So, I have to ignore racism. (Chinese focus group)*

Many participants also noted that where migrants were confident enough to complain, their reports and experiences were often minimised, and considered inconsequential, thus responses to their complaint were ineffective. Others noted how previous attempts to educate others about diversity and other cultures were or could be ineffectual among people who were *stuck in their ways*.

*It was reported to the police and the police just belittled it and didn't think much of it. Where's the injury? Where's the harm? The harm is here [points to heart]. But they can't see that. (Indian focus group)*

### 5.3.3. Social connections

**Fear and disengagement:** Participants provided examples of migrants avoiding engagement in society and being themselves because of a fear (for themselves and their children) of being targeted, persecuted and exposed to racism.

*My mum can't speak English as much as well and she is so scared to go out. She'll either have to call me or one of our siblings to go with her to her appointments and stuff. (Kiribati focus group)*

*Now our daughters and our ladies, nobody wears the scarf because they fear being attacked. It makes our young people doubt themselves and afraid of doing what they want to be. The scarf is a target. (Muslim focus group)*

*Me, my mum and my sister, we were going [on the train] to the city. There was a white guy, I don't know what was wrong with him...He was just walking around talking about Muslims. We were so scared. We didn't do anything. We just sat quietly... (Indian focus group)*

Providers noted a fear among migrants to engage in society and meet new people and concerns for safety among many elderly Chinese migrants in their own homes.

*They're very old, 60+ years, sometimes they can't sleep, [others] were banging the walls or suddenly walk through their door swearing at them – It's unnecessary. So, they had to move to somewhere but that's not the solution. (Provider)*

*When they come in, they don't have the connections for sure, and I find they don't want to have the connections simply because they're afraid. They sit behind the computer, send out hundreds of CVs. I usually say to them, "Go out, meet people". "How do we meet people?" They're afraid. (Provider)*

**Feeling excluded and marginalised:** Migrants exposed to racism in Aotearoa New Zealand were commonly described as feeling isolated and unwelcome and having a frail sense of belonging in this country.

*Personally, as a newcomer here I didn't feel very welcome. I understand that the migrant journey is quite new. It was quite an isolated place for many years so having newcomers here, the local community are still coming to terms with that. I have heard from the community leaders that they do experience racism. (Provider)*

*We're not being welcomed here, they're feeling isolated, which is common in the first few years if you're international students. (Chinese focus group)*

One focus group highlighted differential levels of inclusion and acknowledgement across ethnic minority populations – noting that smaller migrant groups were further excluded.

*From the perspective of being an Asian in New Zealand, we feel that we're minority groups and I think the authorities or reputation given to Pākehā, European migrants, Māori and Islanders are a lot more dominant, so we feel [invisible] to be living in New Zealand. (Korean focus group)*

#### 5.4. Summary

**Racism is prevalent in Aotearoa New Zealand:** All participants described numerous experiences of institutionalised, personally mediated and internalised racism across all levels of wellbeing: civic engagement and governance, health, housing, employment, society and social connections, education and the justice system. Findings emphasised that the ongoing impact of historical racism toward Māori

remained embedded within colonised systems and institutions and extended to migrant populations.

Participants also described numerous overt and subtle racist behaviours that were expressed in the forms of verbal, emotional and physical abuse. This was primarily shown by one ethnic group towards another, although verbal and emotional racist abuse was also noted to occur between members of an ethnic group.

The impacts of racism for participants were extensive. Participants highlighted culture and identity loss and compromise, 'colonised' thinking and judgement of their own culture, eroding self-belief and confidence, learned helplessness and under-reporting, fear and disengagement in society, and exclusion and marginalisation.

**Awareness of racism has increased but participants held mixed views about changes in the prevalence and expression of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand:**

Participants identified an increase in the awareness of racism for both Māori and tauīwi populations in Aotearoa New Zealand. Recent and significant events including the Christchurch mosque terrorist attack, Black Lives Matter movement, and COVID-19 were noted as increasing a willingness to talk about and respond to racism across all focus groups. Changes in awareness were influenced by increasing inter-ethnic relationships and a growing but limited awareness among some participants about migrants' skills and contributions to workforce shortages, and the importance of te reo Māori.

The most significant influences for change included an increased critical awareness and responsiveness to racism among young people across Aotearoa New Zealand and increased media, technology and social media exposure. It is important to acknowledge that these factors also have the potential to cause polarisation and extreme views at both ends of the racism spectrum.

Despite increased awareness, a small number of participants noted mixed perspectives about the prevalence and expression of overt and covert forms of racism.

## 6. Participants' emotional armour – coping and support

### 6.1. Coping with racism

Some participants chose not to give racism their attention or energy or considered turning a blind eye to avoid confrontation and exclusion. In contrast, others viewed silence and ignorance as condoning racist behaviour.

*I don't care. It's their [racist person's] problem. (Former refugee focus group)*

*If you sit there and don't act - then your silence is pretty much part of the act. If you don't say anything then you're condoning it silently... (Tuvaluan focus group)*

The three most common forms of coping with racism, as identified by participants, included living with racism, minimising the impact of racism, and actively standing up to racism and challenging stereotypes.

#### 6.1.1. Minimising the impact of racism

**Humour:** Māori and Pacific focus groups commonly noted the use of humour and laughter as a coping strategy to mask and cope with experiences of racism. However, many also described humour as a consequence of not being able to cope and a way to normalise and reinforce racist behaviour. Māori focus groups noted that humour may also reflect a lack of understanding and connection with culture and identity.

*Racism is always going to exist - laughing about it, that's the positive way for me in how I deal with it. (Tuvaluan focus group)*

*Thinking about the memes. Obviously when we noa the tapu with kai in a wharekai and seeing memes being like cuzzies only show up for the kai, it also shows how disconnected some of our people are from our kainga our whenua because they think that is a joke or funny because they don't know that you eat to noa the tapu. (Te Ika- a-Māui Māori focus group)*

Racist humour and satire displayed by Māori and Pacific peoples about their own were also considered a means of fuelling racist stereotypes and actions from other non-Māori and non-Pacific groups.

*(A group of males of mixed ethnicities) were being really rude to each other but joking because of the cultural differences. I was thinking how normalised it has become. How normal some comments that could be offense becomes a joke and where is the boundary, what's okay to say and what's not. (Latin American focus group).*

*I've always felt [uncomfortable] with Bro-town, I can't believe they showed that on TV especially because for the most part its white people laughing at those characters. (Te Ika- a-Māui Māori focus group)*

*It's also gone into a sense of humour. With Billy-T James growing up in the 80s he was a Māori guy taking the piss out of his own culture as well and so the white Pākehā have also gone that's okay then. So now we can do that, we can speak about these systemic racial stereotypes. (Pākehā 2 focus group)*

In line with this view, Asian and African focus groups described the use of humour as a mechanism for others to mask racist intent.

*Often times it starts off as a joke, but it's not really a joke and that's how people kind of mask it. I've been in parties and someone walks in from a different country and you sort of feel the tension change and the jokes start coming out. But they're not really jokes, and then people just sort of go with it and then that becomes the norm. (African participant)*

*The first racism I experienced was through the words, you took our job. It becomes a normal thing. In each section in our company, you took our job, you took our job, until those words become a joke. Before some people say it to you like in a quiet tone until it becomes a joke. (Filipino focus group)*

**Suppressing emotions:** Many participants noted that one of the forms of coping with racism was to 'brush off' or 'forget about' racist experiences and emotional impacts associated with these. However, suppressing emotional responses such as frustration and anger was considered to have significant wider impacts on the health and wellbeing of migrant populations. For example, the potential for suppressed emotions to be released as anger toward those they love.

*I hold things in, I brush and bottle it up but eventually it will come out. Those who are being racist won't hear it but the people that I love will receive the backlash of it. (Fijian focus group)*

**Social avoidance:** Participants commonly noted the escaping and removing oneself or others from racist-harm as a coping strategy to minimise potential and real anxiety, depression, paranoia and/or suicide or suicidal ideation resulting from exposure to racism.

*[Racism] has traumatised my sister...Because she had a disability already...She didn't go to school for a week or so and she's afraid to make friends. It knocked her confidence a lot...I guess it did lower her self-esteem more. She is even becoming suicidal as well. (Former refugee focus group)*

*Mental health, when you target someone on the basis of race and religion...During the mosque attacks...we had to send one Sikh family back to India because their [child] had some mental health issues... [the child] was thinking, oh he [the mosque shooter] will kill me because I'm Indian... Racism is dangerous. (Sikh focus group)*

### 6.1.2. Living with racism

**Living in survival mode:** Some participants highlighted that despite racist experiences, many migrants continued to embrace all opportunities including substandard accommodation, voluntary work and lower paid jobs in the hopes of a better future and building social and economic capital.

*They're putting up with a lot believing that it's short-term...They'll often have survival jobs, that they're doing in the meantime while they look for decent employment and often making good connections through that job. (Provider)*

*We are not here to steal someone's job or someone's money. We are here competing with our education, our knowledge. And if we are lacking those things, we work hard, we fight to get them, even if it's labour work, cleaning toilets, even if it's everything. (Muslim focus group)*

**Overcompensating to prove worth:** Some Asian and Indian focus groups commonly noted and valued developing an identity as hard workers and efficient employees. Others noted that many migrants felt a constant need to prove their worth by working twice as hard.

*I think it's an Indian or Chinese or Vietnamese thing. It's an ethnic people's hardworking mindset, that you don't feel dictated by the clock, it's more about our dedication to our work. You're brought up by that ethnic group mindset of hard work, finish your work. It's inbred in us. (Indian focus group)*

*Indian and Asian people are more hardworking, and our Kiwi lifestyle is they don't want to work in the weekends, Saturday and Sunday...They don't want to work hard...as soon as it's 5pm, it's time to go home...But if you look at Indian, Asian or any other immigrants for example, they'll go that extra mile. (Indian focus group)*

### 6.1.3. Actively standing up to racism and challenging stereotypes

**Challenging people on their racist behaviour:** Pākehā and tauīwi participants highlighted calling out racist acts when or before they occur.

*A guy at work, we were talking about racism and he was blatantly a white exceptionalist, "[I'm] not racist I grew up in Auckland with[in] a multi-cultural society". Then he was going on about a Māori brother or sister, mixed parents and I was talking about equality and he said how is it equality that my sister can get a grant for the education and I can't. I talked about equity and the history about why she is getting the grant because she's had less opportunity, everything taken away from her and her country taken over and basically had her culture removed from the grandparents. People don't think about that, they just think about 'me' I don't want to pay higher taxes and what do I get out of it. (Pākehā 2 focus group)*

For tauīwi migrant groups this assumed a level of confidence that not all possessed and for some resulted in feelings of discomfort.

*I got asked, why do you Chinese eat dog? ...They've got it from social media that Chinese eat dogs. Whenever I was asked this question I say come on, not every Chinese eats dog. I'm Chinese, I don't eat dog, be careful with your questions. So, I challenge them. (Chinese focus group)*

*I was told to go back to where I came from and I said to the white man - well where do you come from because you're white. He didn't give me an answer, but he walked away, and I walked away. (Cook Islands focus group)*

*I have my own way to protect me from racism and I cope with these challenges of racism. I have to protect myself for my mental health. For example, ...they say oh you're Korean. So, I say yes, I'm Korean, so what? Does it affect my working ability? And they say no it's okay, I'm sorry. I think I'm not a victim from the racism. (Korean focus group)*

*I understand that people refrain from that because its uncomfortable...but the more we sit back and allow that the more we say that is okay to treat people like that because no one is going to say anything. (Tuvalu focus group)*

**Choosing to educate others:** Participants noted the importance of having the patience and taking time to educate others and avoid aggressive responses to racism that conform to racist stereotypes about migrant groups.

*For us to react aggressively to the person who started the fire, we're doing nothing but adding to the fire. If I act aggressively then I am just the cannibal that they're telling me that I am. (Tokelauan focus group)*

*Once we would have kept silent and just seethed underneath. And got really angry. ... I have just found it is a lot easier to try to explain, quite forcibly. (Te Waipounamu Māori focus group)*

*They [Pākehā couple] are interesting. They come out with dumb stuff and I will say when you say that you sound really racist. And she will say do I? And I say yeah you do. And she says how should I say it? And I say you shouldn't. She is really good at listening. (Te Waipounamu Māori focus group)*

**Reclaiming and strengthening cultural identity:** The existence of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand ignited a desire for some participants to learn more about their culture, pass on cultural knowledge and language to younger generations, and keep their culture alive.

*But then growing up and moving forward - you start to realise that your Tongan language is important and then you realise that this is what creates your identity in this society. I have kids myself now and I have to teach them because they're going to grow up in a Western culture and at the end of the day, they're Tongans. (Tongan focus group)*

*Particularly for the kids, like the New Zealand-born Chinese Kiwi. It's a lot. We're trying to preserve our culture to maintain their identity as Chinese...You still have to keep trying to tell them or they get very confused. Even for parents it's really hard to let them know. (Chinese focus groups)*

*I have been thinking about this and for me it was a transition from being Pākehā to being Māori and I always felt, I loved waiata and I loved hearing my grandmother talking. Grandad spoke Māori and I didn't know what he was talking about... I haven't got there yet. I am still learning. (Te Waipounamu Māori focus group)*

## 6.2. Sources of support for dealing with racism

### 6.2.1. Settlement support services

Across Aotearoa New Zealand settlement support service providers accommodated a range of programmes and opportunities for education and learning, social services, social housing, settlement support and positive race relations. All interviewed providers included varied levels of education about Te Tiriti o Waitangi within their service delivery.

*All our services, we can't live without the Treaty of Waitangi. This is the very base of New Zealand constitution...Always acknowledge the Treaty and the very important and precious status of the Māori and Indigenous. (Provider)*

*We try to work within a Treaty framework...We work alongside Iwi and other organisations. Part of our role is to educate migrants about the Treaty where we can and also about supporting our colleagues in those services. (Provider)*

Although settlement service providers supported extensive numbers of recent migrants and their families, it is important to note that participants highlighted a lack of awareness among migrants (both recent and established) about where to seek help for experiences of racism.

*One lady was asking, is it better to always speak up and stand up for ourselves whenever we experience this discrimination, and where do we report it to, and how do we [report it]? There's no clear process. There's a lack of information on how and where to complain. (Korean focus group)*

*There is a lack of awareness of services and counselling available for victims. You and I know but everybody else doesn't. I think we need to be educating our community through the temples and Gurudwara. We could display the Human Rights Commission's objectives and if you want to lodge a complaint, then you can do this and this. Maybe we should do that. (Sikh focus group)*

### 6.2.2. Migrants supporting migrants

Providers and tauwiwi focus groups noted the most common source of support for migrant populations experiencing racism in Aotearoa New Zealand was migrants supporting migrants. Participants provided examples of migrant groups setting up ethnic associations to support and advocate for each other, sharing resources and information with friends, families and communities, and establishing social forums, networks and events that provided a safe place of belonging (particularly in smaller regions). Some established and long-term migrants were noted as providing employment experience and opportunities to recent migrants, as well as mediation and advocacy support.

*We started the Africa community organisation. At that time there was only 35 Africans in Wellington...The numbers started to increase...If you have the community together you could feel comfortable. We use it for meetings, we use it to argue as well. (African focus group)*

*So here when migrants come to my office and inform me of the situation, what I do is become a mediator between the company or manager, just to see where the underlying issues are between the person and the company. (Filipino focus group)*

*[Long-term migrant – business owner] was turning around and making it easier for [recent migrant] because it was so hard for him. We hear stories all the time about how more settled people who have come into New Zealand are helping more recent arrivals. There's a real knock on effect as well. (Provider)*

### 6.3. Summary

Participants' strength and emotional armour to cope with racism was worn in different ways:

- Minimising the impact of racism: Coping with racism through emotional suppression was described as negatively impacting on ones' emotional and mental health as well as those close to them. Humour was another form of coping which often occurred within ethnic groups about their own realities and experiences. This may be viewed as a way of connecting with others and sharing the pain associated with racism. However, laughter and satire about one's own ethnic group were also described as a consequence of not being able to cope and a way to normalise racism, validate racist stereotypes and mask racist intent. Humorous responses to racism were also noted by some to reflect a lack of understanding and connection with culture and identity.
- Living with racism: Survival, making sacrifices in Aotearoa New Zealand, challenging racist stereotypes by proving oneself within society and doing what needs to be done in the short-term to ensure a better future were noted as forms of settling into Aotearoa New Zealand and coping with racism. This form of coping required a strong sense of emotional strength, resilience, hope and grit (courage and strength of character).
- Actively taking a stand against racism: Challenging racist behaviour was a considered a form of minimising and preventing the escalation of racist behaviour. The consequences of this included empowering individuals as well as feelings of discomfort. Other forms of standing against racism included taking time to educate others and strengthening cultural identity – both non-confrontational and long-term coping strategies to influence behaviour and attitudinal change and build resilience for future generations. These forms of coping required a strong sense of confidence, self-belief, patience, resilience and access to cultural knowledge and resources.

Emotional armour was strengthened by:

- Migrants supporting migrants: Ethnic-specific networks, groups and forums provided migrants with opportunities to connect and collectively support

each other. Longer-term and established migrants provided support and opportunities for recent migrants entering the employment and job market.

- Settlement support services: Providers provided numerous sources of support for migrants settling into Aotearoa New Zealand. However, participants noted a lack of awareness and access among both recent and established migrants about where to seek help and support for experiences of racism.

## 7. Participants' understandings of the drivers of racism

Participants identified numerous drivers for migrants' experiences of racism.

### 7.1. Colonisation

Participants commonly noted and empathised with Māori about the negative impact of colonisation on Māori as Indigenous to Aotearoa and saw connections to the impacts of colonisation in their own heritage.

*So, the white man, with the colonisation of this country, they tried to eradicate [Māori]... trying to wipe out their culture...wipe them out as people...For the 200 years [colonisers] lived in India...they f\*\*\*ing raped, pillaged, took all the gold, ripped off our people ...When they left, they decided to leave a proper mess. That's what they've done to the Māori... (Indian focus group)*

Colonisation was described as having enduring impacts around the world that continued to affect Indigenous and migrant populations. Consequently, migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand were seen as being socialised in a society that prioritised Pākehā and had embedded injustices experienced by Māori within its systems and institutions.

*Most African countries have been colonised in the past, and colonisation has the mentality of divide and conquer. Britain colonised 108 countries in the world, and the residual effect of that is still being felt. (Tongan focus group)*

Many participants also noted ignorance and a lack of understanding among New Zealanders about Te Tiriti o Waitangi and a lack of willingness to accept Aotearoa New Zealand's colonial history and impacts.

*We have a unique history with our Treaty, the way Māori were treated by colonisation. We have our own story that's not something to be proud of. (Provider)*

*I can't count the number of times when racism comes up and it's all you bloody British did this. It's like well hang on I was still in Britain at the time, it's you Kiwis that were doing that. So maybe looking for a veneer of well it was the British, to distance themselves from that. (European migrant focus group)*

### 7.2. Fear

Participants described racism as a way to maintain power and control over others. Many thought this emanated from a sense of fear of the unknown among dominant groups and a perceived loss of opportunities (e.g. employment), power and control.

Some participants thought dominant groups may feel threatened because they did not see the value in diversity.

*Migrants learn about tikanga and they're visiting marae and going up to Waitangi and learning about it. How empowering is it when we learn and when you're invited onto marae, you go to pōwhiri, it makes you even more part of the country. I think there's a fear of that happening because it gives power to Māoridom...Whoever holds the power is afraid of that. (Provider)*

*The locals, they might consider Asians as competitors, taking up job vacancies. They may feel not as competent as those Asians who come here to live. (Korean focus group)*

*I think from another perspective, people have personal interests in some things so they can use racist rhetoric and people follow them. It might be rational to use racism as a tool to get the personal capital and interests. (Chinese focus group)*

### 7.3. Ignorance

Participants perceived that ignorant behaviours and attitudes were reflected in:

- A lack of cultural awareness and willingness to change. This was considered a result of limited lived experience and exposure to biculturalism, multiculturalism and diversity

*This is literally a white people's town - we are the brown people of this town and I think [white people] did not know how to respond or engage with us because they've never had to before. (Pan-Pacific focus group)*

*There are two types of ignorance. There is lack of education and then there is wilful ignorance, which is very ugly. (Te Waipounamu Māori focus group)*

- A lack of self-awareness, empathy and emotional intelligence about own genealogy, history and migration journey

*Also, understanding history...you're criticising someone for not belonging but then you yourself are also a foreigner in this place. (Latin American focus group)*

- Limited and inconsistent understandings of 'Kiwi' and 'Kiwi culture'

*What makes a Kiwi, Kiwi? Oh, we do the haka I'm going to claim that I'm a Kiwi, for me there are so many underlying issues... (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

- A lack of critical thinking, ingrained false beliefs and understandings of other cultures

*I try not to unfriend these people [back in the UK who say] 'Oh you did a good thing moving to New Zealand getting away from this. Look at all this, we're being taken over by [racist label]. It's like, I'm an immigrant somewhere else. Have you really thought about what you're saying? But they don't. (European migrant focus group)*

In line with this view, participants noted that ignorance was also reflected in judging others based on superficial stereotypes rather than developing genuine understandings, and a limited focus on equality rather than equity.

*The white men's idea [is] that they've always been superior...We're always made to feel that we're treated fairly in this country but we're not. (Indian focus group)*

*I just teach kids. I don't care what colour your face is. I teach you. And my job is to get you from here to here. So that irks me that I have to divide the kids into groups. (Pākehā 1 focus group)*

*It should be situation per child. Why do we have to say if you are Māori or Pasifika, we will target you. It should be as you say, why does it matter what ethnicity you are? We should be all the same. It should be more the needy ones though as they need it. (Pākehā 1 focus group)*

Participants provided mixed views about conscious and unconscious racism. Some noted people may not be aware their behaviours were racist while others disagreed and noted intentional rather than unintentional racism were better terms to use.

*It can be completely unconscious. Like before when we were talking, we started saying they and them, instead of us. (Pākehā 1 focus group)*

*Not that people have bad intentions, but these things do exist, and people face more barriers than others. (Provider)*

#### **7.4. Looking for someone to blame**

Many participants noted historical and contemporary examples of dominant groups looking for someone else to blame for issues within societies. Inciting fear within populations and blame on others was considered a means of maintaining power and control - *It's how Hitler was able to do what he did...you give them someone to blame* - and avoiding accountability and change.

*...Somebody other is taking our jobs or somebody other is causing these problems or spread COVID, but it's never you, it's always that group or that group. Somebody other is different or looks different or believes in a different God. (European focus group)*

*We want other people to gratify us instead of addressing the issues and taking accountability for things that we can change. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

Blame was described by many participants as a way for individuals within dominant groups to cope with:

- Their own personal failures and lack of social and economic development and status

*The housing price has been shooting up because of foreign investment. That probably is affecting those people who can't afford to even rent a house. They might blame the Asians for this happening. (Korean focus group)*

*[Racist] people are not happy about their own lives. They have frustration, they want to achieve something, they don't have that level of lifestyle, they envy other people who are maybe living a better lifestyle...They think why do these people live better lives than me? They feel inferior... (Indian focus group)*

- Feeling intimidated by the success and skills of others.

*Filipinos work so hard and I've heard it in relation to building sites, their work ethic is quite different. And I also wonder if your average Kiwi worker is intimidated by the international experience of many skilled Filipino workers, that could be a reason for racism. If you have people feeling uncertain and jealous, then it could lead to racism. (Filipino focus group)*

It is important to understand these latter two points within the context of neoliberalism, immigration and inequality. For example, valuing migrants based on economic worth can lead to racial diversity within a country (as exemplified above). In this light, inequality may be seen as the cause of racial diversity rather than neoliberalism which remains the root cause of this phenomena.

## 7.5. White privilege

European tauwiwi commonly acknowledged differences and white privilege compared with other tauwiwi populations in Aotearoa New Zealand. Pākehā focus group participants were also conscious of privilege and preferential treatment received from others.

*I am aware I'm a privileged immigrant. I feel guilty about that. I feel guilty about having a different lifestyle. (European migrant focus group)*

*Definitely more now than ever. Especially with what is going on in America (BLM). It has made me sit back and realise my white privilege. And I have never really thought about it before. There was another instance, we were in Paris right after the Christchurch attacks happened and we were going through the [airport] and this guy...was Muslim and he said we love your country. Thank you for everything you have done. And we skipped the line, got to skip a two-hour line and we thought what the hell? (Pākehā 1 focus group)*

Māori and tauwiwi participants described white privilege as unconscious privilege and entitlement, having little to no experience of racism and judgement because of ethnicity or skin colour and denial and/or minimising the extent of racism that exists in Aotearoa New Zealand.

*I'm not surprised that the mosque attack happened. I'm horrified and it breaks my heart but I'm not surprised, just because we get calls here sometimes, there's something in the newspaper, something advertised and you get people coming out of the woodwork ringing or abusing us because we're trying to do things... "Why should these people coming into New Zealand get these special things?" (Provider)*

*I think in New Zealand there has been that sort of oh, there's not a problem here. And it's usually people who have never experienced racism in their lives. (Provider)*

*Yes, you want to help but you also don't want to learn, just coming into this situation with your Pākehā middle-class privileged view and don't actually see that you're still part of that systemic racism. That's not going to change unless you give that person equal opportunities. (Provider)*

White privilege was also described as:

- Assuming that everyone thinks the same way and has equal opportunities  
*I mean [the nature of racism has changed] probably because of the CORONA. Everyone does look at Asians and they might think it but not say it. (Pākehā 3 focus group)*  
*[A friend] is monocultural and been raised monocultural and he truly believes everyone is born equal. He truly believes that... (Te Waipounamu Māori focus group)*
- Protecting white *fragility* rather than understanding and accepting personal vulnerabilities as well as those forced on other cultures and ethnic groups.  
*Maintaining fragility. It keeps my fragility intact. It stops me from having to be fragile...The fear of acknowledging that your beliefs might possibly be harmful or not based on truth is too much for people. Taking responsibility is too shameful so it's easier to reject everyone else. (Pākehā 2 focus group)*  
*I mean they could've included everyone, not just black people. People were saying Black Lives Matter and everyone was going All Lives Matter and then people were being judged for All Lives Matter. (Pākehā 3 focus group)*
- Denial and distancing from historical racism shown by colonial ancestors in Aotearoa New Zealand.  
*There's a sense of I didn't do that, people might have done that in the past, but it wasn't me. I did my study in Australia and I had to walk out of the tutorials. It wasn't me, really angry and defiant that it wasn't me that did it and that was in the past and I'm being blamed for their faults way back. (Pākehā 2 focus group)*

## 7.6. Limited response to racism in Aotearoa New Zealand

Some participants highlighted denial and deflection about racism from governing bodies and political leaders in Aotearoa New Zealand as contributing factors for racism.

*Jacinda did say this is not us and I remember being so upset like yes this is you New Zealand this is us. This classic deflection really upset me. It could have been a good chance to acknowledge it and make some real change. It was a classic deflection which meant there wasn't reflection, there wasn't the learning and the opportunities were missed. (Pākehā 2 focus group)*

*Politics is usually the green light for racism, isn't it? There's Trump and his tweets. I know Mr Peters is renowned for sometimes making statements. I couldn't see a clearer green light for low-level racism than getting it from on high. For the individuals themselves, I don't know whether they experience more racism. (European migrant focus group)*

## 7.7. Racial supremacy

Participants described racial supremacy as a belief held by some that their own ethnic group was better than others. People with supremacist beliefs were thought to hold a self-proclaimed sense of dominance and entitlement, define different cultures and ethnic groups as 'other' and maintain rigid criteria for inclusion – *it is that pack mentality*.

*Deep rooted in racial supremacy. This is not just white, but the white supremacy is high. (Provider)*

*It's from a level of superiority, my race is actually superior than yours, you're only here because of me...you should be grateful...and it goes on. (Tongan focus group)*

*Some people really truly believe it and they have a right to say it...horrendous...This is what people are saying about Māori and people are liking it and endorsing it. (Te Waipounamu Māori focus group)*

## 7.8. Eurocentricity and Western ideologies

Maintaining social networks and identifying more with those who are familiar and similar were described by some participants as being natural human traits.

*I don't know if this is racist, but we do try to be with people similar to us, and then that way we are excluding people. Is that racist? Probably. Or maybe you don't know. (Provider – European migrant)*

*We have more in common with South Africans like with rugby so there's immediately that connection. (Pākehā 1 focus group)*

*I think it's natural for people to want to hang around those you're alike to and being afraid of things that are unknown. I mean some people are curious about new things but most people are afraid of things they don't know. So, to me the basic problem with racism is ignorance of difference, because they don't understand the culture and the way of thinking sometimes. (Chinese focus group)*

Participants noted that in line with the notion of Eurocentricity, Western ideologies of dominant ethnic groups were considered a driver for racism against people who look different, or who have different beliefs, cultural expressions, and English language proficiency.

*I would say it depends on how white-passing they are. We as society we physically see people and dictate how we interact with them or what ethnicity or race they are based on their physical appearance. I think that changes the way people are able to walk through society especially as migrants. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

## 7.9. Child development and role-modelling racist behaviours

Modelling racist behaviours and beliefs to children as well as internalised racist impacts was considered a way of reproducing intergenerational racism and trauma.

*Racialisation occurs really young in all of us, we are taught pretty early on the stereotypes and understandings of these unconscious biases. What I've realised with the younger generation is there is a lot of internalised understanding of racism. (Tongan focus group)*

*I mean I think they're more likely to be racist if their parents or grandparents are racist. (European migrant focus group)*

*They still follow what their older generation have taught them, so their thinking is not so broad, they're thinking just in that square box. (Indian focus group)*

## 7.10. People seen only as social and economic capital

Participants commonly noted that individuals and groups of people can be judged by their perceived economic value and seen as either financial contributors or liabilities. People with privilege and power were seen to have amassed material and financial wealth and a sense of superiority over those with less.

*The underlying issue is the relational power. It's the fact that people in position of power or privilege in regard to how much money they have therefore they're entitled or feel superior above others, therefore they have the right to say whatever they want to say. (Latin American focus group)*

*My grandparents moved here to work and then New Zealand went through a depression and then bam they didn't need us anymore. It's like they only look at us through an economic value. (Tuvaluan focus group)*

## 7.11. Negative bias and inaccurate stereotyping and attention

Deficit-focused and negative stereotypes, messaging and media coverage about Māori and tauīwi communities were considered major drivers for racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. The media were described as using biased stories and representation and reinforcing negative stereotypes for attention grabbing and/or fear inducing soundbites to elicit public attention and responses.

*I see their perspective of what a Māori is because I know they see shows like Police Ten 7. The cuzzie's on there smashing his head through the picket fence and he's getting dragged away from the cops. That's what they see. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

Many participants noted that positive stories about Māori and Pacific peoples were inclusive and framed as Kiwi successes, while bias and negative reporting excluded these groups from mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand.

*When [Pacific] are doing good they're rep[resenting] New Zealand...they will call them Kiwis...It's those superiorities taking over the minorities...But then when [Pacific] do bad we're not part of New Zealand, we're from the Pacific Islands. (Kiribati focus group)*

*You're a bad Māori but when it's good it's like yay Kiwi that's all of us we love it, come and do a haka on stage for us. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

Social media was seen as a powerful means of uniting and dividing people. It was noted as keeping the general public informed about international and local issues and events and allowed people to connect with like-minded others. It was also seen as a medium to express personal views and opinions, engage in debates and chat forums, and confront others in a virtual sense.

*With social media and polarisation of people, and representations that reinforce the messages that people get. It brings people together but polarises people. (Provider)*

Māori focus groups also described social media as providing an opportunity to circulate misinformation, stories and images in jest and out of context which could be used to fuel negative stereotypes and myths about different ethnic groups.

*The influence of technology and media communications in projecting the negative connotations of particular cultures is hard out. It's so quick that the gratification of having a laugh, a little joke, it's so quick and instant you don't stop to think about how that image looks for Māori as a whole. I've seen the memes and I've had a paku kata. But then you're like are these Māori themselves making these up or are they on Māori or is it the perception of what Māori are like when really the real Māori are at the marae working together. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

## 7.12. Summary

Participants' understandings about the drivers for migrants' experiences of racism were broad, multifaceted and complex, and validated findings in the literature scan. Participants described the drivers for racism as:

**Colonisation:** Racism was considered an enduring impact of colonisation around the world and embedded within systems and institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand.

**Fear:** Fear of the unknown and a perceived loss of opportunity, power and control. Diversity was not valued.

**Ignorance:** A lack of cultural awareness, self-awareness, empathy and emotional intelligence. This also included limited critical thinking, belief in superficial understandings about others, and a limited understanding of what defined 'Kiwi' and 'Kiwi culture'.

**Blame:** Shifting the blame for personal failures, and feelings of intimidation about the success and skills of others.

**White privilege:** Preferential treatment and entitlement. Participants noted a sense of distancing among Pākehā from the racist actions of colonial ancestors.

**Limited response to racism within Aotearoa New Zealand:** Political and government leadership denial and deflection in public forums.

**Racial supremacy:** Self-proclaimed dominance and entitlement.

**Eurocentrism:** Connecting with those who are familiar and similar to oneself and exclusion of those who were seen as being different from the 'norm'.

**Child development and role-modelling racist behaviours:** Role-modelling racist beliefs and attitudes to future generations ensured intergenerational existence.

**Social and economic capital:** Migrants viewed only as assets or liabilities.

**Negative bias and stereotyping:** Bias and negative media/social media and scaremongering about indigenous and migrant communities.

## 8. Opportunities to strengthen responses to racism in Aotearoa New Zealand

As expressed by participants, there have been positive and negative changes in the occurrence and expression of racism toward Māori and tauīwi migrant populations in Aotearoa New Zealand. All participants suggested approaches to encourage further positive change and strengthen potential and targeted cross-government and non-government agency responses to help make Aotearoa New Zealand a diverse place where everyone feels welcomed and safe.

### 8.1. Honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Participants expressed a need to honour commitments to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and agreements and partnerships between Māori and the Crown.

*I think Te Tiriti as a recognised founding document of Aotearoa. We actively protect migrants and people who migrate to Aotearoa. As tangata whenua as kaitiaki of Aotearoa and as such we do that through our partnership with the Treaty. I think all we ask in return is recognition of us as tangata whenua and our tino rangatiratanga. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

*I think the government owe Māori everything, generational loss...at least acknowledge the past and seek healing processes. (Niuean focus group)*

Most participants highlighted that biculturalism must be adequately addressed for Aotearoa New Zealand to become a safe and welcoming country for all multicultural communities. Māori and other focus groups highlighted the importance of bilateralism and Māori sovereignty to respond to the needs of Māori.

*We invite people but still do what we have always done - How can we expect to welcome others? ...We can't expect anything different to happen for people we invite into New Zealand when that's happening to our Indigenous people. That whole argument about biculturalism and multiculturalism, we need to get the biculturalism right. (Provider - Pākehā)*

*They are different and we shouldn't expect the same place and space of the people of the land...I was shocked, how [Māori] experienced more racism and discrimination here in New Zealand. They should have it by their own right. I don't expect (to be as represented), as Māori. (Tongan focus group)*

Some participants felt that biculturalism excluded multiculturalism and migrants' place in Aotearoa New Zealand, while others felt a deep connection with Māori and that under Te Tiriti all migrants' rights would be protected.

*Māori people fighting for their rights, their land, the Treaty but I think we also need to fight [with] them too for our [own] good. (Kiribati focus group)*

*Every time I approach Māori people I get the vibe, and I feel like it's because there's some sort of level of understanding that 'oh I know what you've been through' so there's level of connection there...In some way it's part of their culture, intrinsic in their beliefs. They're quite open and welcoming and the sense of family is strong. It reminds me of Indigenous in South America, they share a lot of similarities, the land, people, everyone belongs to the land. There's a lot of values so it makes them be more open to everyone. (Latin American focus group)*

## 8.2. Representation that reflects a diverse Aotearoa New Zealand

Some participants highlighted that diverse and inclusive leadership within parliament and across government public sector could influence public perceptions and provide a strong example of commitment to eliminating and minimising racism in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This commitment could also be reflected in a whole of government approach to addressing racism and inequities, informed by strong understandings of the cultural differences, strengths and realities for different ethnic populations. Māori focus groups noted a need to ensure a strong commitment to Māori partnership, representation and support within the kaupapa of all agencies.

*When you actively think about partnership or Māori and immigration you cannot have non-Māori running it. You can have Māori words and Māori headings but when you don't have whakaaro Māori behind it you completely change the whole perspective of it. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

Tikanga Māori and respectful relationships were considered critical forms of leadership that should be embedded in parliamentary and political language and communication within Parliament, government agencies and communities.

*When you look at our parliament system and you look at the way they discuss certain issues they're like cats and dogs going at it. I think the language needs to change. I think we need to get to a place as people where we acknowledge each other's views. We don't have to agree but we can respect each other. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

## 8.3. Expand our knowledge

**Education for children and young people:** Participants commonly noted that education that first starts in the home is critical to ensuring children and young people learn to value and embrace all cultures - *We're taught racism, me āta whakaaro as a whānau how do we address that as a whānau.*

*From the early stage of childhood, educating them, they won't have anything like racism. We're all New Zealanders first. That's a long process but if we properly educate one*

*generation, then we can totally stop it. And I hope when they grow up they will start educating their parents or grandparents about migrants (Sikh focus group)*

*When we become parents, we [will] teach our children. It starts with ourselves, we can't go back [in time]. I'll raise my kids a different way. It's changing the narrative. (Tongan focus group)*

Participants also emphasised a need to enhance learnings within compulsory school education about:

- **Balanced perspectives on Aotearoa New Zealand history:**

*Having the Pākehā lens on Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Teaching it to a class of 28 people and 26 of them were Pākehā. How different is the content, or is it the way it's presented from a European? Maybe it's being aware that our lens is different and we're not going to be able to share the same way as the heritage of people that we're talking about. (Pākehā 2 focus group)*

Some participants identified the importance of an inclusive curriculum and pedagogy for teachers.

*With kids, if we could get some coherence in our education system and get teachers working through Russell Bishop's work, Te Kotahitanga culturally responsive practice then embed that as a teaching pedagogy...Because it's an option at the moment you can choose to engage. (Pākehā 2 focus group)*

- **Equity and why it is important:**

*I've had the privilege to access university. That has taught me actively what has happened to Māori and why Māori deserve equity. There are a lot of things that I have learnt at University that I wish I got to learn at high school...The privilege of going to university and education... (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

- **Critical thought and consciousness:**

*Thought is practice, thought is practice. It's something you need to do, it's not passive. So, what are those lived effects, what actually happens, can we show the poverty of these towns? Do you want to talk about what that looks like, give them some reference points in actual life. Rather than yes, the education system is going to solve something. They've got their NCEA credits on why New Zealand brought us to this state. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

**Education for tauwiwi:** Increase opportunities for migrants to learn about their rights and entitlements and for both recent and established migrant communities to identify and report formal complaints of racism. Within the employment sector for example, this would be reliant on having adequate institutional and employment processes and guidelines inclusive of effective complaints processes, and ways to respond appropriately to reports of racism. Pacific participants suggested a need for education fono within churches and communities to normalise conversations about racism.

*Equipping our people with the right tools in how to deal with it - you can sit there and not even know that it's happening to you. Providing that level of education to our people for them to identify that that is happening to them. You can't address something that you can't see, or you don't know is happening. (Tuvaluan focus group)*

**Education for the general public:** Opportunities for all New Zealanders to learn about:

- Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Aotearoa New Zealand's migration history for all to understand how we are connected

*I came to realise a lot [migrants] had some knowledge around Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi. The kids who are coming to New Zealand know more about it than the kids who have lived here their whole lives. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

- Aotearoa New Zealand's immigration policy, who and why people migrate (inclusive of humanitarian purposes), and what they contribute to society

*I think it's about time that a lot of benefits of immigrants start being recognised... If everyone had that mindset that we do need immigrants, it helps the country and boosts the economy, then I think today we wouldn't be making comments about stopping immigrating in to the country. (Indian focus group)*

- Different cultures that make up Aotearoa New Zealand and critical consciousness (own bias, privilege, colonised thought etc)

*As a boomer I intend to stay here for a bit longer but what I will do is educate myself to get to know the different cultures a little bit better... Understanding the different cultures is a biggie for me now because just the way of life that people live will make you to understand why they do things. (Pākehā 1 focus group)*

*You're taught how to produce. Not developing critical thinking about you and how you can change the people around you. (Latin American focus group)*

- How to support victims of racism.

*I think one of the drivers of racism is when people stand by and don't do anything. (Filipino focus group)*

#### **8.4. Know yourself - replace judgement with inquiry**

Participants commonly highlighted a need for all New Zealanders to form genuine rather than superficial understandings of others, develop critical consciousness and introspection to understand ones positioning and place in spaces with others, and build collective understandings and appreciation of diversity and other cultures.

- **Strengthen identity and personal responsibility:** Participants suggested a need to:
  - Take personal responsibility within personal spheres of influence
  - Overcome fear of indifference through deepening knowledge and inquiry of self and others

- Support others to replenish resilience.

*Yes a lot of us do get lost in the education system but at the end of the day our culture is what holds us. Because society can throw us to the side because of your colour, the way you speak, you're still not pronouncing it right. But our culture and our families are what hold us. (Tongan focus group)*

- **Form genuine relationships with others:** Participants encouraged others to:
  - Seek to understand and learn about other cultures from and with people from different ethnic groups
  - Learn to embrace differences and find common ground
  - Celebrate diverse cultures

*I'm used to worse in South Africa though. So just remarks and gestures don't really phase me too much. In South Africa you can get into fights and stuff. I used to get picked on quite a lot. I generally find that once I talk to the person that's being racist, they quickly realise, they go "hey, this guy is alright". (African focus group)*

*I think things like Polyfest and multicultural festivals again they're attended by people that want to learn and have some immersion but also there's the people who turn up and say I'm not racist. I go to Polyfest every year. Empathy is really coming to mind, listening to someone else's story and hearing someone and about their experience (Pākehā 2 focus group)*

## 8.5. Support communities to identify their own solutions

Many participants identified a need to invest in and support community ownership and action in response to racism. The important influence, role and reach of community leaders, networks and forums, and ethnic minority group achievements and success were examples of the potential that existed within communities to identify their own solutions.

*In my group [of friends], we have active conversations about racism, how we experience it and what can we do to empower our community to look at addressing those issues. (Tuvaluan focus group)*

*Our community leaders who are very willing and also have the experience and some resources in place to offer help. How we can better equip and support them to be the leaders or the support people for those experiencing racial discrimination. (Filipino focus group)*

Participants also emphasised the need to prioritise regional differences and community action initiatives led by and for those communities.

*We're such a small community down here [in small region town] that we need our own Pacific groups to come together but also come together as one Pacific peoples. (Pan-Pacific focus group)*

*Everything should be inherently community based...I have nothing in common with the Aucklanders and they have nothing in common with me...Emphasis needs to be made on community kaupapa. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

*Migrant and former refugee backgrounds are often consulted on discrimination or racism...I think [it's] important to close that loop back to them. Having concrete plans that we can all put into place. (Provider)*

## **8.6. Promote collective responsibility - we're all in this together**

Participants generally considered that racism was a complex issue that required collective responsibility and approaches and suggested a need to:

- **Increase awareness about racism and systems of support within Aotearoa New Zealand:**

- Normalise conversations about racism and practical and effective ways to respond
- Flip the script on negative and biased media reporting: This was considered a major influence and driver for racism. Participants highlighted the need for media to review and monitor their reporting, moral and ethical standards and potential to strengthen their partial role in raising awareness and dialogue about the existence and experience of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand.

*First, we need to acknowledge there's a problem in New Zealand. Until we can acknowledge that, people won't see they need to change. (Provider)*

*I think the media needs to do their part as well, something needs to change there. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

- **Openly talk about racism with purpose and strengthen collective responsibility:**

- Encourage opportunities for people to discuss racism in a safe space, acknowledge and validate different views and experiences
- Strengthen opportunities to foster collective responsibility and resilience.

*I think the Black Lives Matter has made people think. Everywhere you go people are talking about it. It's about encouraging us all to challenge what I see and hear and not stand there in silence. The approach needs to be similar to family violence campaigns. The mosque attacks really changed the conversation as well. How do we build on that? (Provider)*

## 8.7. Protect our future

Building the resilience of individuals, families and communities was considered a major factor for change. Participants commonly highlighted children and young people as potential key agents for change and that it was critical to:

- **Build young people's self-esteem and resilience**

*One time I remember I had a computer lesson...I couldn't speak English...The students were laughing about me and the teacher told them, 'she's going to be a very clever student, she will have two languages, Arabic and English'. (Former refugee focus group)*

- **Broaden young people's lived experience with other cultures**

*If people don't have lived experience...they don't understand what it means to live in a multicultural society, whereas if you grow up as children, my daughter went to a primary school where nearly every child in her class was from a different country. You don't need to talk about multiculturalism because it is a lived experience. And where you don't have that, I think we really need to start with the kids. (Provider)*

- **Decolonise the kōrero.**

*A lot of the younger generation are starting to decolonise understandings and decolonise the kōrero. (Te Ika-a-Māui Māori focus group)*

## 8.8. Summary

Participants identified numerous opportunities to influence change and address racism in Aotearoa New Zealand:

**Honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi:** Honour commitments, agreements and partnerships between Māori and the Crown. Address biculturalism to ensure Aotearoa New Zealand is a safe and welcoming country for all multicultural communities.

**Representation that reflects a diverse Aotearoa New Zealand:** Enhance diverse and inclusive leadership within Parliament and across the public sector. A whole of government response is required to address racism and inequities, informed by strong understandings of cultural differences, strengths, and realities for different population groups.

**Expand our knowledge:** Enhance learning opportunities for:

- Children and young people: Balanced perspectives on Aotearoa New Zealand history, the importance of equity, and critical thought and consciousness
- Migrant groups (recent and established): Rights and entitlements, and increasing understandings about access to support for experiences of racism within communities

- General public: Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Aotearoa New Zealand's migration history, immigration policy and the benefits of migrant populations for Aotearoa and society, critical consciousness and diversity within Aotearoa, and how to support victims of racism.

**Know yourself – replace judgement with inquiry:**

- Strengthen identity and personal responsibility: Take personal responsibility within personal spheres of influence, overcome fear of indifference through deepening knowledge and inquiry of self and others, support others to replenish resilience
- Form genuine relationships with others: Seek to understand and learn about other cultures from and with people from different ethnic groups, learn to embrace differences and find common ground, celebrate diversity.

**Support communities to identify their own solutions:** Support community ownership and action in response to racism.

**Promote collective responsibility – we're all in this together:**

- Increase awareness about racism and systems of support within Aotearoa New Zealand: Normalise conversations about racism and practical and effective ways to respond, flip the script on negative and biased media reporting
- Openly talk about racism with purpose and strengthen collective responsibility: Encourage opportunities for people to discuss racism in a safe place, strengthen collective responsibility, resilience and opportunities.

**Protect our future:** Build resilience for individuals, whānau/families and communities. Encourage and support children and young people to become change agents.

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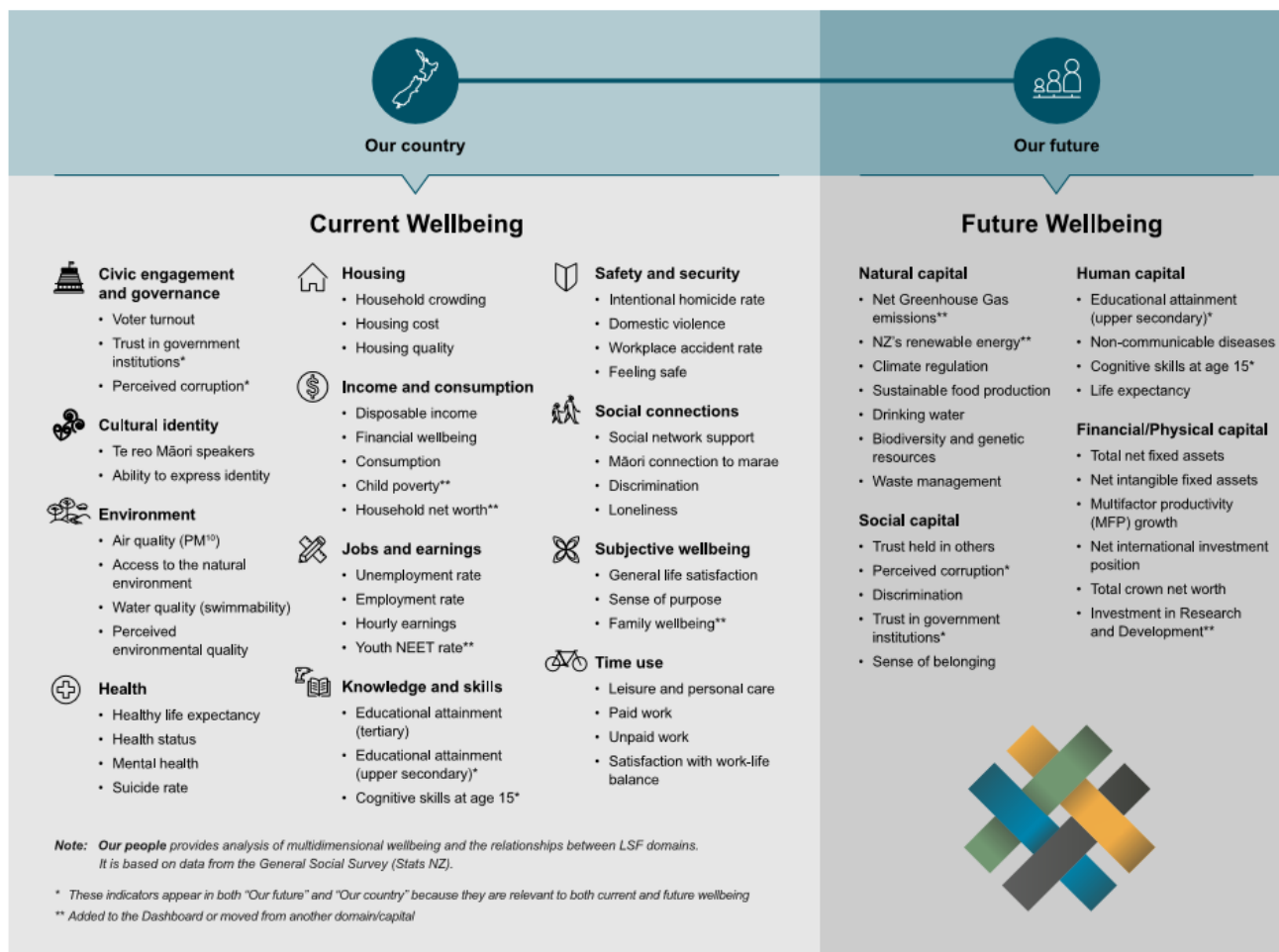
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## Appendix 2: Media analysis – summary of key themes

In-depth thematic analysis identified seven main themes relating to behaviours undertaken by commenters:

- Agreement that racism exists in New Zealand (373 comments – 35%)
- Disagreement that racism exists in New Zealand (157 comments – 15%)
- Engaging in explicit racism (32 comments – 3%)
- Defending White privilege and the White racial hierarchy (102 comments – 10%)
- Exploring the drivers of racism (34 comments – 3%)
- Challenging racist narratives (106 comments – 10%)
- Calling for solutions and the need for change (75 comments – 7%).

Additionally, 382 comments (36%) were coded as “not applicable”, as they mainly involved tagging other individuals in the comment threads and did not provide any useful or relevant information for analysis. Percentages do not add up to 100% as comments were often coded as more than one theme.

Each of these high-level themes (and corresponding sub-themes) are explored in more detail below. Any observed differences in themes across the three articles are noted where pertinent.

### Theme 1: Agreement that racism exists in New Zealand

One-third of comments (35%) related to the high-level theme that racism does exist in New Zealand. There were two sub-themes relating to this:

**Discussions about the nature of racism in New Zealand** – commenters engaged in discourse around:

| Sub-theme examples   | Examples of comments   |
|--|--|
| Acknowledging racism exists in New Zealand and is a real problem | <i>[Taika is] right. If you'd seen the comments on the live feed of the announcement of the Greens' new female co-leader, all doubt would be gone. A dozen racist Nat supporters spammed the comments for the entire broadcast. They called Marama a dog and many more names that don't bear repeating.</i><br><br><i>I never knew it was such a racist country until reading it all in the comments section on these sort of pages. The amount of hatred White New Zealanders have towards Māori is disgusting. To think that we work beside these people, live amongst them, pass them on the streets and have them in our schools amongst our children. Their children go to school with our children, what a</i> |

|  |   |
|--|---|
|  | <i>pitiful existence to carry such hatred around with you.</i>  |
| Pointing out that racism exists everywhere   | <i>Where on Earth isn't racist?</i><br><i>Racists are everywhere. You can never avoid them.</i>   |
| Pointing out the subtle/casual nature of racism in New Zealand   | <i>I couldn't agree more with what Taika is saying. Like I feel that New Zealand is more closeted with racism? It's present, but not openly challenged...Or it's just like brushed off.</i><br><i>I find casual racism a huge issue here. Like they say things with the implication that we're inferior or we don't belong here - totally unintentional but regardless, still racist. Why are we subjected to microaggressions that imply we're foreign in the very country we call our home?</i>   |
| Pointing out systemic racism (particularly how it affects Māori people and other minorities) and the ongoing impacts of colonisation | <i>You realise socio-economic level predicts crime and Māori had all their land and resources stolen and as result made poor? They adapt to a system that disadvantages them on race, precisely for the naïve reasons you state. Those ignorant attitudes are part of the reason they struggle to get ahead.</i><br><i>On the flipside for me, I was told by a careers advisor not to include my Māori name on a job application, because generally the employer will read it and go no further. To look at me I am White with freckles.</i><br><i>How many Māori kids do you know of that have gotten off criminal charges because of their privileges? I know plenty white kids have.</i> |
| Pointing out White privilege and Pākehā dominance in society   | <i>When have Pākehā ever been fair? You're complaining about a box we tick [talking about Māori electorates]! On a piece of paper. Sounds like division to me.</i><br><i>Small minds for small country, racist is a fair comment. White people just think they're superior everywhere around the world haha that's a disgraced race.</i>  |
| Describing experiences of racism   | <i>I've lived in many parts of New Zealand growing up as my father was in the military. My mum is Malaysian and dad is white Kiwi. My sister and I look Māori/ Pacific Islander and would often get nasty racist comments from "Anglo" white people. The head to toe look up and down. "You people" comments and casual racism even from some members of my father's family. Would be comical if it wasn't so small-minded and sad.</i><br><i>I'm a Polynesian in New Zealand and I get racist and unwelcoming comments from Māori, European New Zealanders,</i>  |

*White South Africans and also Asians.*

#### Empathy and support for victims of racism – commenters expressed:

| Sub-theme examples  | Examples of comments   |
|---|--|
| Empathy towards victims of racism   | <p><i>This is appalling. This is why we need perspective. We need to be vigilant and pre-cautionary. We do not need out of fear to blame or become any indifferent towards our wonderful Chinese community. Born here or not these are our people. This is a New Zealand doctor, some respect I say. How terrible for her. Glad it has been reported. Be kind always.</i></p> <p><i>Confrontation is a bloody scary thing - and no doubt she was also caught off guard. New Zealand-born or not her culture would have taught her to be respectful to people older than herself - and neither the bus driver or the other passengers gave any indication they were likely to support her. She did not cause any panic or division.</i></p> |
| Anger and disgust towards perpetrators of racism  | <p><i>Ignorant stupid racists are only the minority in New Zealand. They are so full of hate they don't have room for the truth.</i></p> <p><i>Should be ashamed of themselves. There's no need to be like that.</i></p> <p><i>Plenty of cowards still lurking around then. Spitting on someone, that's a special kind of sub-human piece of garbage.</i></p>  |
| Support for migrant rights to retain their cultural practices after arriving in New Zealand | <p><i>Immigrants have a right to keep their cultural practices as did the colonial immigrants 150 years ago. I will (and have) welcomed the diverse cultures/religions/ethnicities into my community with respect &amp; hospitality &amp; warmth.</i></p>  |

A larger proportion of commenters expressed empathy for victims of racism on Articles 1 and 2. Commenters were not so sympathetic for people who experience racism and discrimination on Article 3. This may be because:

- Articles 1 and 2 provided clearer examples of racism (i.e., being told to go home to China), allowing people to respond more empathetically
- Article 1 identified a lone perpetrator of racism, whereas Taika Waititi's comments in Article 3 may have prompted a wider group of Pākehā to feel threatened enough to respond with denial
- Māori people were targeted more frequently for racism in Article 3 compared to any other ethnic group.

#### Theme 2: Disagreement that racism exists in New Zealand

Over one-tenth of comments (15%) disagreed that racism exists in New Zealand. There were two sub-themes relating to this overall theme:

**Denial and/or dismissal of racism in New Zealand** – commenters engaged in behaviours like:

| Sub-theme examples  | Examples of comments   |
|---|--|
| Minimising racism in New Zealand by comparing to “worse” racism in other countries (e.g., Australia, the United States)       | <i>You’re clearly not very travelled then mate, maybe take a trip to America or Australia maybe? Or maybe to Malaysia? New Zealand is one of the least racist places in the Western world.</i><br><i>If he thinks New Zealand is racist well he hasn't spent any time in Australia, now that’s a racist country!!!</i>   |
| Suggesting we have bigger and more important problems than racism   | <i>Hey people chill, we have graver problems than past issues to squabble over, and more urgent pressing issues, poverty, homelessness, hospitals, plus a multitude of others.</i>   |
| Asserting that racism is only the view of the vocal minority (and that most people are not racist)                            | <i>A few idiots making ignorant remarks are not indicative of a deeply racist society.</i><br><i>I reckon don't judge the whole of New Zealand on the actions of only a few.</i>   |
| Suggesting that New Zealand’s colonial history and the impacts of colonisation are irrelevant and people should move on       | <i>For God's sake, move on! We're way past that idea these days! What? Haven't we given you enough money or land? I have a Māori bloodline but never look back... If you do, you risk tripping up many times in your life. Grow up!</i><br><i>Some of us have families that come from countries that have been invaded by the Romans, the French, the Vikings etc. Do you see us going bleating to the governments of those countries about reparation and unfairness? No, they just got on with it.</i>   |
| Victim-blaming and putting the burden on ethnic minorities and lower socio-economic groups to prove themselves to New Zealand | <i>New Zealand is not racist. It is divided into the haves and the have nots. Some HAVE people who work hard and lead productive lives with good morals are getting sick of the HAVE NOTS who are beneficiaries who expect everything for nothing, who don't have good morals and make silly mistakes and blame everyone else. There is good and bad in all ethnicities.</i><br><i>Why did she not tell the old man that she is a New Zealander? Instead of running and telling Newshub. How about we all stand up for the truth and maybe this would not happen so often, instead of fuelling panic and division.</i> |

### Lack of understanding about racism – a small number of comments indicated:

| Sub-theme examples   | Examples of comments   |
|--|--|
| Uncertainty about what racism looks like   | <p><i>I'm not sure that mispronouncing te reo is racist. You have to remember a lot of people have never been taught it, have never had it around, I think that's an unfair accusation. If people deliberately pronounce things wrong because they don't like Māoris then they're racist. Is it fair to force a language on people? Of course, people should speak it, it should be around but should people be forced to learn it and If they don't they're racist...? I don't know, it might make the problem worse.</i></p> <p><i>I don't know, everything is racist now.</i></p> |
| Lack of understanding about the differences between ethnic and national identity | <p><i>[We] should all be classed as Kiwis or New Zealanders, as that is what we all are.</i></p> <p><i>[In response to another commenter asserting she is Māori]...then you are a part of the separation of our country. We are all New Zealanders.</i></p> <p><i>[In response to the same commenter stating she is Māori] You are one that wants to separate. You still live or lived in New Zealand didn't you? What's with Māori not Kiwis or New Zealanders, my husband is Māori but still classes himself as Kiwi.</i></p>  |

### Theme 3: Explicit racism

A small proportion of comments (3%) expressed explicit/overt racism, relating to the following actions:

| Theme examples                 | Examples of comments   |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Support for systemic racism    | <p><i>Usually a description of alleged offenders are needed by police; when a white person commits a crime then he's obviously described as European and unfortunately and I won't put a percentage on it but it's usually Māori or Pacific Islanders that do rob dairies, just fact and not racist or discriminatory.</i></p> <p><i>We should have schools for Pākehā only.</i></p>                             |
| Reinforcing racist stereotypes | <p><i>How many Asians in New Zealand have you heard of robbing dairies or buggery or drink driving? It has to do with education and culture. Māori tend to cheat small, causing individual harm. White and Asian do it big, sweeping it under your feet. Tax evasion, market speculation, political influence and gain, resources extraction, prostitution, etc. Things that you can't pin them down on.</i></p> |

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|  | <i>When I was 14, I had a Māori man who was high on drugs, hop the fence to my house and tell me it was his land. He only left when my dad said he would call the police.</i>  |
| Engaging in racism towards Māori and migrants        | <i>I'm white and feel like a victim of racist people in my own country shame on you darkies.</i><br><i>My point exactly [another commenter] you practice what you preach. You forget you also are of mixed blood and therefore by your own admission are a mongrel, HYPOCRITE.</i><br><i>I don't like immigrants that take my kids and houses and jobs and expect benefits and stay with no visa...boils me!! ...My kids are forced at school to learn a language that they can't use anywhere else in the world. Why can't they learn Spanish or French or German, or even Mandarin...Couldn't we just say "Hello" like the rest of the country. We do have English in our heritage too!!</i> |
| Excluding non-White people from being New Zealanders | <i>Last time I went home [to New Zealand] all I saw was Asians and Indians. Spot the Kiwi???</i>   |
| Lack of empathy for victims of racism                | <i>[In response to Article 2 on the mosque attacks] We still talking about this?</i><br><i>[In response to Article 2 on the mosque attacks] Sooooo over it, I'm just here for the entertainment value now.</i>   |

#### Theme 4: Defending White privilege and the White racial hierarchy

One-tenth (10%) of comments were from predominantly Pākehā perspectives defending themselves from racism and accusing others of racism. DiAngelo (2011) argues these types of behaviours are examples of “White fragility”, whereby members of the White dominant ethnic group attempt to protect themselves and the racial hierarchy they benefit from, from members of minority groups.

These types of comments were mainly observed in response to Article 3. This may be because Pākehā people perceived themselves as being under attack as perpetrators of racism and therefore sought to defend themselves from these attacks.

| Theme examples  | Examples of comments  |
|---|---|
| Insisting that White people are victims of racism too (from non-White people) | <i>White people are now collectively being blamed for everything!!! Māori people committing crimes, it's the fault of Pākehā because colonialism. White people succeeding is only thanks to our "privilege". White people in South Africa facing a genocide is their own fault because Apartheid. White people being murdered</i> |

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|   | <p><i>in the name of Islam is actually the fault of Christianity. White people are literally the only race that you can spit at, racially insult or even try to kill and it's not deemed racism.</i></p> <p><i>I don't like your unnecessary and uncalled for barbs and accusations. You have no idea that I am part of an even smaller minority. Your bias toward my white skin is too strong.</i></p> <p><i>Interesting one for me is not being offered a job because for not being Māori. I kid you not that flip of the coin makes you wonder how fair this country really is.</i></p> <p><i>I live on the East Coast of the North Island. Lots of racism towards Pākehā here.</i></p> |
| Asserting that Māori and migrants are just as racist (if not more than White people)  | <p><i>I remember at high school as well the Pacific Islander girls would bully the smaller quieter white girls, I had girls making up reasons to try and bash me!! It was ridiculous.</i></p> <p><i>Whole world is racist in one way or another, can't blame it all on the whites either though. Plenty of racist Māori and Islanders about.</i></p> <p><i>Māori are racist to Asians/Indians/anyone else who is brown. White people are racist to everyone but keep it on the low as they don't want drama anymore. Indians/Asians are racist to all including their own people.</i></p>  |
| Denial that Māori are indigenous to New Zealand and of their rights as tangata whenua   | <p><i>To be fair, Māori aren't indigenous to New Zealand either, they immigrated just like everyone else!!!</i></p> <p><i>EVERYONE born in NZ is a descendant of an immigrant including Morioris and Māoris. Only wildlife are indigenous here.</i></p> <p><i>Māori aren't indigenous, they immigrated here just like everyone else!!!</i></p> <p><i>Māori aren't native to New Zealand lol they ate the natives.</i></p>  |
| Lack of understanding about the need for racial diversity and affirmative action – referring to reparations as “special privileges” | <p><i>The problem with special treatment towards the Māori is that it creates divisions. For instance the options of the general or the Māori electoral role, how about the dozens of other ethnicities I'm sure most people are proud of where they came from but we all make an effort to live as one so why the preferential treatment?</i></p> <p><i>They [Muslim survivors of the mosque attacks] have and are receiving help money etc. I have had a medical illness and do not qualify for any assistance at all, now tell me as a New Zealand citizen watching them receive all the help. But I get zero help what would you think?</i></p>  |

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| Rejection of Pākehā identity   | <p><i>Sorry but I'd rather be classed as a European [not Pākehā].</i></p> <p><i>I'm European, not Pākehā.</i></p> <p><i>I want to be called a New Zealander, not a Pākehā. Kiwi is who I am!!!</i></p>   |
| Lecturing Māori and other ethnic groups about their identity and experiences | <p><i>Your ethnicity is Māori, your culture is Māori, you can refer yourself as a Māori, BUT your nationality is New Zealander. Māori isn't a country.</i></p> <p><i>[Māori and immigrants] always find SOMETHING to moan about .....here we go again!!</i></p>  |
| Denying involvement (and accountability) in colonisation                     | <p><i>Yup, been hit with the race card numerous times here. For the last time my family had nothing to do with New Zealand colonisation aside from supplying alcohol to sailors leaving a port, so I got no land to give back.</i></p> <p><i>Here I am, judged based on the actions of people [Pākehā settlers] 150 years ago.</i></p> |

### Theme 5: Drivers of racism

A small proportion of comments (3%) identified reasons for why racism exists and what contributes to it.

| Theme examples  | Examples of comments   |
|---|--|
| Fear of the unknown                                     | <p><i>Racism is inspired by fear and ignorance. Sad.</i></p> <p><i>Since fear is probably the number one driver of racist attitudes, since hatred commonly emerges out of fear, then isn't stoking such fear what is responsible for at least some percentage of racist attitudes?</i></p>   |
| Racism is intergenerational (passed down in the family) | <p><i>The reality is that nobody is born racist or suffering fear of other ethnic groups. That is all learned behaviour in one way or another.</i></p> <p><i>[Racism] comes from their parenting.</i></p>  |
| Media's contribution to racism                          | <p><i>You'd likely never see a post saying "white men rob a dairy"... however "Polynesian/Māori men rob a dairy" is perfectly acceptable and occurs frequently.</i></p> <p><i>I saw a feel-good story about a Māori boy doing something good for local native wildlife, and there were several comments below it along the lines of "Good for his parents! Maybe he won't grow up to rob dairies!" You would never see that below a picture of a</i></p> |

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|  | <p>white kid.</p> <p>Media is no different. Fine to write articles about Euro kids with headlines, e.g., "young boy does this/that" but any Poly kid it's "young Māori/Poly boy does this/that".</p>  |
| Older people are more racist                             | <p>You probably also noticed it's mainly the older people that throw the racist comments.</p> <p>It's racist everywhere. Whether you're white, black, brown or yellow you will experience racism in some form. Will it change as the older generation pass and the next ones grow older?</p> <p>Probably but that takes time, it's not just something that goes away instantly.</p> |
| Uneducated and not well-travelled people are more racist | <p>From my experience, those that have travelled are more open-minded and less racist than those that haven't.</p>  |
| Lack of awareness about racist behaviours                | <p>No racist thinks they are racist.</p>  |

### Theme 6: Challenging racist narratives

One-tenth (10%) of comments attempted to challenge racist attitudes and statements by offering knowledge and information and by countering negative, racist stereotypes. These comments were mainly observed in Article 3, in response to comments that:

- Denied the existence of racism in New Zealand
- Asserted that Māori were not indigenous to New Zealand and should not have special privileges or rights
- Were explicitly racist towards Māori and non-White migrants.

| Theme examples  | Examples of comments   |
|---|--|
| Educating others about New Zealand history, colonisation, and Māori rights as indigenous/tangata whenua | <p>Yeah 180ish years and Pākehā whinging about not being welcome... but Māori being abused EVERY day for using our own language in our own country, you're right they will be waiting a long time, don't forget, poor you, it wasn't a Māori with a gun [in the mosque attacks].</p> <p>The government INTENTIONALLY tried to wipe out my culture. They black-listed my language and removed my family from their homes. Now, as a country we need to protect and uplift Māori culture, so it doesn't disappear altogether. If you want to be respected as an ally and a person of this country, start acting like</p> |

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|   | <p><i>it and protect everything that makes it unique and beautiful.</i></p> <p><i>What the hell? Take a history course before you make wild claims like this. How on earth is the Māori electoral roll special treatment? Still got two votes each, just like the rest of us.</i></p> <p><i>You're not necessarily racist or disrespectful, you're just misinformed. Māori settled here and Moriori settled the Chathams. There wasn't anyone else here because human migration hadn't gotten this far south. There are still Moriori on the Chathams.</i></p>                                   |
| Educating others about migrant history to New Zealand (including the fact that Pākehā are migrants too)                               | <p><i>Some Chinese have been in New Zealand before many New Zealanders... since the mid-19th century.</i></p> <p><i>SOME PEOPLE: Yeah if you move to a country you should integrate and learn their language! ALSO THOSE PEOPLE: Why should we be made to learn Māori?</i></p>   |
| Educating others about concepts like race, ethnicity, nationality and racism (including countering the idea that race is biological). | <p><i>Western Europe did away with the concept of race because it was so badly exploited by Nazism. (Though racism still exists as it does everywhere). I find it peculiar that New Zealanders still talk about races, as if that's a thing. It's not.</i></p> <p><i>We are all the same biologically. We are the same singular species.</i></p> <p><i>It would help if people stopped confusing nationality with ethnicity. We are all New Zealanders because we live in New Zealand but we are ethnically different. A person can be Chinese ethnically but Kiwi by birth for example.</i></p> |
| Countering racist and faith-based stereotypes   | <p><i>Imagine how it felt for that kid's parents to read that. Or that kid to know that that is what you "expect" of him. What good are you bringing into the world with that comment? What negative and damaging stereotypes were you upholding?</i></p> <p><i>I'm making the point that you can't point the finger at one religion when others who don't follow those beliefs are violent. Don't blame it on religion.</i></p>   |

### Theme 7: Solutions and the need for change

A small number of comments (7%) identified ways that racism could be reduced or prevented.

| Theme examples                              | Examples of comments   |
|---|--|
| Suggesting that colour-blindness may be one | <i>Yes, we are all New Zealanders. There is one race on the planet which is the Human Race. New Zealand is a multicultural place</i> |

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| way forward – the idea that we should all look beyond race to our shared humanity  | <i>with many ethnicities. As a country we should be embracing the different cultures instead of being so negative towards different cultures and traditions. We are all New Zealanders despite the colour of our skin.</i>  |
| Importance of education on racism and ongoing inequality   | <i>It's about education. Teach us, lead us. It's not a racist thing at all. As a "Pākehā"/New Zealander/Kiwi it's important for all of us to learn about ALL Cultures. My children are Māori, their father is Māori. I know it's been hard for my kids at school. One being stopped from doing kapa haka. Made me so mad. We need our Tamariki to lead later on too, but who is leading/guiding them now???? Work together. Schools would be a great start.</i>   |
| Calling for systemic change  | <i>People are not dwelling on the past - we are calling for change - problem is the system won't acknowledge the damages it's caused ....Hence government are repeat offenders to ours and all generations... Change really is needed. Have a good look around? Don't be ignorant in simple tis what tis.</i>   |
| Calling for more discussions about racism  | <i>I think unless you walk in another's shoes, sharing our experiences with each other is important to generate change.</i>   |
| Instances of racism should be called out   | <p><i>I would definitely stand up to anyone who says something like this, I don't care who they are!</i></p> <p><i>I just wish more of us stood up for people like her, if I was on the bus I would have at least tried.</i></p> <p><i>I think the problem is that most of us are quiet and just accepting of everyone else and quietly go about our lives, the noisy people that create the bad reputation do not represent most of us.</i></p>  |
| Emphasising the importance of cultural and religious diversity (especially the need to value Māori language and culture and taking pride in own ethnic identity) | <p><i>I try and say names right, but as an American I'm not the best... but I try. I know people who won't even do that. The fact that so much of our signs and names are in the Māori language is one of the reasons why I love it here.</i></p> <p><i>I wish I could have learned te reo at school, it's nice to listen to cultures speak in their tongue.</i></p> <p><i>It is necessary for cultures to mix. The bigots hate that because the understanding gained from mixing weakens them.</i></p> |

### Appendix 3: Focus group participant profile

#### **African focus group (n=7) 31 July 2020, Wellington (face-to-face), and interviews (n=2) 17 September, Auckland (Zoom):**

There was an even split of female and male participants. Length of residence in Aotearoa New Zealand ranged between three and 35 years. Participants represented a mix of ages (20 – 60+ years) types of employment (full time, part time, and student).

#### **Chinese focus groups (n=19), 30 July 2020, Auckland (face-to-face) and 4 September 2020, Christchurch (Zoom)**

There was a roughly even split of female and male participants. Participants were largely over 30 years old. Length of residence in Aotearoa New Zealand ranged from 20 months to 34 years. Many participants were employed (either full or part-time), while others said they were retired or unemployed.

#### **Cook Islands Māori, (n=10), 16 September 2020, Auckland (Zoom)**

There was an even split of female and male participants. Ages ranged from 20-60 years, and time in Aotearoa New Zealand ranged from 2-25 years. Most were employed full time, bar two students.

#### **European migrant focus group (n=6), 9 September 2020, Wellington (face-to-face)**

Participants were predominantly female. All were aged between 40-49 and had been in Aotearoa New Zealand for 12-19 years. All except one (part time employed) were employed full time.

#### **Fijian focus group (n=8), 12 September 2020, Auckland (Zoom)**

Fijian participants were an even split of male and female and ranged between the ages of 20-59 years. Most were working full time, except for two students and length of residence was up to 32 years.

#### **Filipino focus group (n=7), 25 August 2020, Christchurch (Zoom)**

Demographic information was missing for three participants. Three Filipino participants were female and two were aged between 40-49 years. All had been in Aotearoa New Zealand for at least 10 years and two were in full time employment, with the other in part time employment.

#### **Indian focus group (n=10), 10 August 2020, Auckland (face-to-face)**

All participants were female and had resided in Aotearoa New Zealand between 10 and 30 years. Most were aged between 40 – 60 years and were either employed in part-time work or unemployed

#### **Kiribati focus group (n=10), 5 August 2020, Auckland (face-to-face)**

Most were female and most were aged between 20-29 years. All except one participant were employed full time, the other was part time. Length of residence in Aotearoa New Zealand ranged from 11-24 years

#### **Korean focus group (n=7), 29 July 2020, Auckland (face-to-face)**

Most participants were female, and length of residence ranged from 3 years to 17 years. Most of this group were aged between 50 – 59 years and either unemployed or worked part time.

**Latin American focus group (n=2), 12 August 2020, Wellington (face-to-face)**

Of the two participants; one was aged 40-49, female, unemployed and had been in NZ for 14 years, while the other was male, aged 20-29, a student and had been in Aotearoa New Zealand for 2.5 years.

**Māori focus groups (n=26), 13, 3 and 24 August 2020, 2 x Te Ika ā Māui (face-to-face and Zoom) and 1 x Te Waipounamu (face-to-face)**

All participants were born in Aotearoa New Zealand and there was an even split of male and female participants. Ages ranged from early 20's to late 70's. Most were employed full time, with the exception of a few students.

**Middle Eastern focus group (n=4), 12 August 2020, Wellington (face-to-face)**

The group ranged from 20-49 years and were mostly female. Much of the group had been in Aotearoa New Zealand for six years or less. Most of the group worked part time.

**Mixed Asian/South American (n=11), 11 August 2020, Te Waipounamu (face-to-face)**

This focus group consisted of a mix of Colombian, Afro-Colombian, Bhutanese, and Karenni participants. All interviewees had been in Aotearoa New Zealand for less than five years. The group was an even split of males and females, ranging from 20 – 60 years of age. All were students.

**Muslim (n=7), 14 August 2020, Christchurch (Zoom)**

Participants were predominantly female and over the age of 30. Length of residence in Aotearoa New Zealand ranged from 3-26 years and there was an even split between those in full or part time employment.

**Niuean (n=2), 6 September 2020, Auckland (Zoom)**

Both participants were female, aged between 30-39 years and worked full time. One had been in Aotearoa New Zealand for 5 years, while the other had been in NZ for 12 years.

**Pākehā focus groups, 28 July, 22 and 31 August, 1 x Te Ika ā Māui (face-to-face) and 2 x Te Waipounamu (face-to-face)**

Participants were predominantly female and born in Aotearoa New Zealand (those not born in Aotearoa New Zealand had been in Aotearoa New Zealand for 20+ years). Ages ranged from 20-60+ years, with half of the group fulfilling the 20-29 age bracket. The group was almost evenly split between full and part-time employment, with one participant in unemployment.

**Pan-Pacific (n=7), 16 September 2020, Te Waipounamu (Zoom)**

Participants were predominantly female; all were employed full time. Ethnicities were a mix of Samoan, Kiribati, Fijian, Tongan-Samoan, and Tuvaluan. Participants were mostly between the ages of 30-49 and length of residence in Aotearoa New Zealand ranged from 3-50 years.

**Former refugees (n=7), 19 August 2020, Wellington (face-to-face)**

This was a diverse group; participant ethnicities consisted of Iraqi, Myanmar, and Burmese. Length of residence in Aotearoa New Zealand ranged from 3-14 years, and there were a mix of students, part time employment, and unemployment. Ages ranged from under 20 – 59 years.

**Samoan (n=12), 2 August 2020, Auckland (face-to-face)**

Half of this group were aged 20-29 years, while the other half were 40+ years. Only two participants were male and most of the group were unemployed.

**Sikh (n=2), 7 September 2020, Christchurch (Zoom)**

Both participants were male, aged between 30-60 years old. Both identified as Indian ethnicity and had been in Aotearoa New Zealand for at least 10 years. Both were employed – one full-time and the other part-time.

**Tokelauan (n=11), 17 September 2020, Auckland (Zoom)**

Participants were aged between 30-50 years and were all female. All were in full-time employment, though length of residence varied from 2-33 years.

**Tongan (n=8), 8 August 2020, Auckland (face-to-face)**

All participants were aged between 20-40 years and were an even split of male and female. Most had been in Aotearoa New Zealand for more than 15 years and were in full-time employment.

**Tuvaluan (n=7), 12 August 2020, Auckland (zoom)**

Participants were an even mix of male and female, with most residing in Aotearoa New Zealand for at least 20 years. Almost all were in full time employment and were aged 20-29.



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