

CREATING EFFECTIVE
**ANTI
RACISM**
CAMPAIGNS

Report to the Race Relations Commissioner
October 2014

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Summary

The summaries from the beginning of each section are brought together here.

Thinking about 'race'¹

Remnants of old, disproved, Western ideas about 'race' are part of ordinary Pākehā talk about Māori and other minority ethnic groups. This includes the idea that –

- 'Races' are biologically distinct

Behaviour and culture can be transmitted biologically

- Pākehā culture is superior to indigenous and minority cultures
- Darker-skinned people are closer to apes than White people.

The media's use of the word 'race' and the justice system's use of 'Caucasian' evoke these discredited theories about race.

The division between the West, including New Zealand, and the developing world is an example of cultural racism.

Racism

Most people think of racism as only individual prejudice. Few people recognise systems as racist even when they routinely produce preventable and unfair inequities for indigenous people and other minority ethnicities, regardless of intention.

Governing systems in New Zealand remain colonial and monocultural, organised to benefit Pākehā at the expense of Māori and other ethnic groups; this is commonly denied by governments and officials. Racism operates at multiple levels - individual, community, institutional and societal. Individual racism may be the most emotionally painful, but institutional racism creates the greatest injustice.

Pākehā dominance conveys unearned privileges to Pākehā, although most Pākehā are oblivious to this. Since Pākehā culture

¹ I use quotation marks around the word 'race' because the concept that biologically distinct races exist has been discredited.

is the unspoken norm, all other cultures are inherently different and deviant. This also means that many Pākehā cannot recognise their own culture.

The way the dominant group is defined, for example, as inclusive or threatened, is more important in generating racism than how other groups are defined.

Pākehā decide whether and how racism will be discussed. As overt statements about biological racism have become more taboo, detailed arguments have developed to deny that a statement is racist. 'Modern' racism rarely mentions ethnicity, arguing instead that 'other' people threaten 'our' way of life.

Stereotypes of indigenous people and minority groups reflect the ideas of dominant groups and are a form of symbolic power. These stereotypes about 'other' peoples are usually internalised by people of all ethnic groups.

Māori and 'Asian'² peoples experience multiple types of discrimination 10 times more often than Pākehā. In 2006, one in four adult Māori and one in three adult 'Asian' people had ever experienced racism; in 2007, one in seven Māori secondary students and one in six Pacific and 'Asian' students had experienced racism or racist bullying in the last year. Racism is common online.

Anti-racism

The vast majority of interventions use education to change individual attitudes and beliefs.

Treaty and decolonisation education in Aotearoa has been informal and unevaluated, but has led to sustained institutional change in many NGOs and health and social services.

² This word is in quotation marks because it is not an ethnicity, but an umbrella term for a range of ethnicities and nationalities.

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Anti-racism campaigns

Many anti-racism campaigns are not pre-tested or evaluated, and there is little knowledge about their impacts on racist behaviour. Most campaigns have had vague target audiences and goals, and provided no information about media spending or schedules

Some campaigns have actually increased prejudice.

Celebrating diversity does not challenge racist structures; pro-diversity campaigns need to include specific anti-racist interventions, and include Pākehā culture among other examples of cultural diversity.

Anti-racism campaigns need to be well-funded and long-term. They should include sophisticated representations of the similarities and differences between the in-group (target audience) and other ethnicities.

Endorsement of campaigns by political leaders is very important. Celebrities can raise awareness of a campaign, but campaigns can also be damaged if their private actions contradict the campaign message.

Detailed pre-testing and evaluation is essential, not least to ensure that the campaign is not having unintended negative effects.

Changing social norms towards anti-racism can change behaviour. One example is campaigns promoting bystander action against racism in public spaces and organisations; they have potential but have not been evaluated.

Campaigns in small geographical areas have been effective. Campaigns against racism in sport have helped reduce racist fan behaviour and promoted anti-racism as a norm, but have not reduced institutional racism in sports administration.

Providing information reduces the number of people who hold false racist beliefs but may not reduce prejudice.

Recommendations

Before the campaign:

- Bring together an advisory group of campaign experts and representatives of Māori and other ethnic minorities.
- Before the campaign, prepare a detailed map of the environment, develop the campaign philosophy and strategies, set detailed goals, and pre-test all campaign text, imagery and communication channels.

The in-group in this list refers to the group whose racist actions are being targeted, and the out-group to those who experience this racism.

1. Campaigns against racism should be well and sustainably funded, and part of a long-term, multi-level strategy. Previous under-funded anti-racism campaigns which relied on free work by advertising agencies and did not pre-test their strategies and messages have had damaging results (eg, the CRE 'Racism: Condemn or condone' campaign). This has also been the case with other sensitive issues such as domestic violence³. When only a small budget is available, a campaign should focus on limited audiences - for example only one region or one social area - and small, achievable goals.
2. Campaigns should focus on the specific economic and social contexts in which racism is expressed, such as employment, sport, housing or public spaces. This would be decided by the environmental map.
3. Campaigns should focus on changing racist behaviour rather than on beliefs or attitudes.
4. As prejudices differ about specific ethnicities, an anti-racism campaign should focus on racism against one ethnicity at a time. A sequence of campaigns could be created to focus on racism against different ethnicities, one after the other. Campaigns should represent many members of the ethnic group rather than one or a few individuals.

³ Donovan & Vlasis, 2006, p. 64.

5. The campaign should promote anti-racism as a norm for the whole society, as well as organisations and individuals in the specific fields on which the campaign focuses.
6. Anti-racism campaigns need to counter in-group negative beliefs and talk about other ethnicities. If they are based on false information (eg, Māori 'privilege'), then supplying accurate information (eg, the dollar value of Treaty settlements compared to corporate bailouts) may be helpful. Simply asking an in-group to accept other ethnicities will not affect behaviour.
7. The balance of emphasis on differences and similarities between in-groups and out-groups needs to be decided based on the political context at the time of the campaign and the environmental map. Ideally, campaigns should emphasise the diversity of cultural groups, including the dominant culture, under an overarching theme that unites them, and aim to increase in-group perceptions that the other ethnicity is similar in ways that the in-group value positively. Campaigns should avoid superficial features of other cultures that may seem alien to the in-group, and should not evoke stereotypes, appeal to nationalism or Kiwi values. If the political environment at the time of the campaign emphasises the differences of out-groups, then the campaign may need to focus more on their similarities to the in-group.
8. News editors, TV and radio producers and journalists should be major campaign audiences, as news and entertainment media consistently reinforce negative attitudes towards minority ethnicities. For example, a campaign could aim to get sub-editors and news producers to move away from the stigmatising word 'race' in headlines and teasers, in favour of 'culture'. The campaign could also encourage civic journalism projects with some media outlets.
9. Campaigns should have specific goals about changes that will reduce institutional and societal racism, and include strong advocacy for these changes. This could include changes in institutional standards, practices, structures, rules, policies, regulations, laws and norms. These changes could be measured using existing data or quality systems, and reported annually.
10. Anti-racism campaigns need to get the support of key politicians and public figures during the preparation phase; campaign messages 'must not be contradicted by statements and actions of political and other persons in power positions'⁴. If this is unavoidable, campaign goals need to be limited and modest.
11. The campaign should include community-based anti-racism and pro-diversity activities that enable target audiences to discuss the issue with their peers, as well as interact with members of ethnic groups who experience racism. This could be done in an opportunistic way at sporting and arts events, in workplaces and schools.
12. The campaign should upskill people in how to intervene in racist and discriminatory incidents, using a variety of experiential, written and audio-visual methods. These skills include knowing clearly what racism is; being aware of how damaging it is; accepting a responsibility to intervene; knowing how to intervene in different situations; and feeling supported to do so by their organisational and social environment.
13. The campaign should bring together a group of committed leaders from a range of cultures and backgrounds, such as public life, academic and sporting fields. They would need to be carefully and discreetly vetted for prior and current attitudes about racism, and well trained about what racism is and how to argue against it. Campaign leaders would need to negotiate the terms of their involvement, and get a guarantee of irreproachable behaviour about racism as long as they are associated with the

⁴ Donovan & Vlasis, 2006, p. 116.

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campaign. Their involvement should be treated as a long-term relationship.

14. The campaign should include evaluation research at all stages, from strategy development, pre-testing of visual and text messages and their communication channels, the implementation process, and a range of outcome measures. Early impact evaluation is important to check for unintended damaging effects.



Introduction

This report recommends essential factors in effective anti-racism campaigns, based on analyses of previous anti-racism campaigns in Europe, Australia, Canada and the USA. Because it is vital to understand what racism is, the report also describes the history of the concepts of 'race' and racism, which affects the meaning of language that we choose to counter racism. It also describes the history of racism in Europe, its impact on colonisation in Aotearoa, and recent changes in how racism is expressed and discussed. This provides information that will help develop details of anti-racism messages.

Thinking about 'race'

This section explains how European theories about 'race' impact on popular ideas about ethnic difference. This knowledge is important for the development of anti-racism messages.

What we learn from thinking about 'race'

Remnants of old, disproved, Western ideas about 'race' are part of ordinary Pākehā talk about Māori and other minority ethnic groups. This includes the idea that –

- 'Races' are biologically distinct
- Behaviour and culture can be transmitted biologically
- Pākehā culture is superior to indigenous and minority cultures
- Darker-skinned people are closer to apes than White people.

The media's use of the word 'race' and the justice system's use of 'Caucasian' evoke these discredited theories about race.

The division between the West, including New Zealand, and the 'developing' world is an example of cultural racism.

Thinking and theorising about different 'races' is a relatively recent trend, dating to the early days of European colonisation¹. Three sets of encounters have shaped European and later New Zealand settler concepts of 'race' and ethnic difference – contact between UK and European traders and West Africans during the slave trade; competition between European countries for colonial territory; and the migration of Māori from rural areas to cities and Pacific peoples from small island nations to New Zealand after WWII².

Three strands of theories about 'race' – religious, biological and cultural – have dominated Western thought, one after

the other³. Remnants of each of these theories and terminologies survive, stored in language in ways that give statements meanings we may not intend⁴. Popular ideas about 'race' change slowly and include a jumble of past and recent theories⁵. Extreme hate groups, such as the National Front in New Zealand in the 1970s, also keep earlier racist theories alive in their quest for White supremacy⁶.

Discredited tenets of scientific racism from 100 years ago – that humans are made up of biologically distinct categories; that other mental and cultural characteristics of these 'races' are also transmitted biologically, and that some 'races' are inherently superior – are part of current lay ideas about human difference.

These biological associations of the word 'race' are embedded in New Zealand

newspaper headlines about 'race war' or 'race debate', and evoke hierarchies of racial types, although the articles are about political disagreements, differences in customs or debates about resources⁷.

Religious racism in Europe focused on the exclusion of Jewish people⁸. One interpretation of the bible held that God created White people near the headwaters of the Tigris River in the southern Caucasus

Popular ideas about 'race' change slowly and include a jumble of past and recent theories

¹ Omi, M. & Winant, H. (1989). *Racial formation in the United States*. New York: Routledge.

² Hall, S. (1997). The spectacle of the 'other', in S. Hall (Ed.). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 223-290). Sage: London.

³ Blaut, J. (1992). The theory of cultural racism. *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography*, 23, 289-299.

⁴ Hall, S. (1997). Representation, meaning and language, in S. Hall, (Ed.). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 13-74). Sage: London.

⁵ Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1992). *Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legitimation of exploitation*. New York: Columbia University Press.

⁶ Segrest, M. (1994). *Memoir of a race traitor*. Boston, USA: South End Press.

⁷ Moewaka Barnes, A., Gregory, A., McCreanor, T., Nairn, R., Pega, F., & Rankine, J. (2005). *Media and te Tiriti o Waitangi 2004*. Auckland: Kupu Taea.

⁸ Flannery, E.H. (1985). *The anguish of the Jews: Twenty-three centuries of anti-semitism*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.

Mountains, which gave their name to the Caucasian ‘race’⁹, a term still used sporadically in New Zealand newspapers to mean Pākehā¹⁰. White Christians believed that God favoured White people, gave them agriculture and civilisation and made them superior to non-White people. Religious racism dominated European thinking about ‘other’ peoples until the early 1800s.

One version of biological racism proposed a ‘great chain of being’ with White people at the top and Black people near the bottom next to apes

Elizabethan interpretations of the bible held that Noah’s curse on his grandson Canaan caused him to become ‘blacke

and loathsome’ and that his descendants lived in Africa¹¹. The English had less experience with non-European cultures than the Spanish and the Portuguese; their first encounters in Africa led English people to view Africans as ‘black’ and ‘heathen’ and to link them with barbarity, animal behaviour and the devil¹².

Biological racism grew from versions of Mendel and Darwin’s biological theories and was a dominant form from 1850 to 1950¹³. It held that White people were biologically superior to indigenous and other non-White people, who were viewed as inherently primitive and savage¹⁴. Biological ‘race’ was described as capable of only extremely slow change through gradual human evolution over millennia¹⁵. However, scientists proposed irrational and very different classifications of ‘races’, ranging from one

to 63¹⁶. One version proposed a ‘great chain of being’ with White people at the top and black people near the bottom next to apes; the persistence of this idea is why indigenous and Black sportspeople are still called ‘monkeys’ or thrown bananas by racist sports fans¹⁷. Another version proposed three major ‘races’ of humankind – Caucasoid/Caucasian, Negroid/Negro and Mongoloid (now generalised as ‘Asian’)¹⁸. The labels Caucasian, Negro and Asiatic are still part of the NZ Police ethnicity labelling system, dating from the 1970s¹⁹.

The Nazi ideology of Aryan racial supremacy took biological racism to its logical extreme; horror at the resulting genocide discredited biological theories of ‘race’²⁰. Scientists had earlier shown that biologically distinct ‘races’ did not exist²¹; others had developed a theory about ethnicity²². The biological racism theory was dismissed in a well-known 1951 United Nations Economics and Security Council (UNESCO) ‘Statement by experts on problems of race’²³, and has been further discredited by genetic evidence since the 1970s²⁴.

9 Blaut, J. (1992). The theory of cultural racism. *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography*, 23, 289-299.

10 For example, *Ashburton Guardian*. (2007, March 27). Researcher honoured, p. 10.

11 Jordan, W. (1969). *White over black: American attitudes towards the Negro 1550-1812*. Baltimore: Penguin, p. 41.

12 Winthrop, J. (1974). *The White man’s burden: Historical origins of racism in the United States*. London: Oxford University Press.

13 Blaut, 1992.

14 Howe, K.R. (1977). The fate of the ‘Savage’ in New Zealand historiography’. *NZ Journal of History*, 11(2), 137-154.

15 Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1992). *Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legitimization of exploitation*. New York: Columbia University Press.

16 Darwin, C. (1871). *The descent of man*, Volume 2. London: J Murray.

17 Painter, N. I. (2004). Why White people are called ‘Caucasian?’ *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Gilder Lehrman Center International Conference at Yale University: Collective Degradation: Slavery and the Construction of Race*, November 7-8, 2003, 1-37. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University; Alleyne, M.D. (2011). Anti-racism as identity politics: A constructivist approach to the FARE and Ad Council campaigns. In M.D. Alleyne (Ed). *Anti-Racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 213-237). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

18 Nei, M., & Roychoudhury, A.K. (1974). Genic variation within and between the three major races of man, Caucasoids, Negroids, and Mongoloids. *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 26, 421-443.

19 Gavin Knight, NZ Police, personal communication, 2008.

20 Skinner, S. (2007). *Racist disinformation on the web: The role of anti-racist sites in providing balance*. PhD thesis, RMIT, Melbourne.

21 Miles, R. (1989). *Racism*. London: Routledge; Spoonley, P. (1993). *Racism & Ethnicity*. 2nd edn. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

22 Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1989). *Racial formation in the United States*. New York: Routledge.

23 UN Economics and Security Council 1951 Statement by Experts on Problems of Race. *American Anthropologist*, 53(1), 142-45.

24 Goodman, A.H. (2000). Why genes don’t count (for racial differences in health). *American Journal of Public Health*,

UNESCO preferred the terms 'ethnicity' and 'culture', as they were seen as innocent of the associations of inferiority and superiority embedded in the term 'race'²⁵. Māori also preferred this concept. Mason Durie outlines the difference:

Whereas race has connotations of biological variation and genetic determinism, ethnicity emphasises social and cultural distinctiveness and places greater importance on world views, lifestyles and societal interaction²⁶.

UN advocacy of this wording has contributed to the current dominance in global organisations of a form of racism that draws on 'cultural' ideas about ethnic differences: 'the old pseudo-scientific racism was replaced by new ways of explaining human difference that came cloaked as anti-racism, but which effectively produced the same pernicious consequences'²⁷. For example, in the 1950s USA theorists said that any non-White society could achieve the USA's level of development by thinking logically, behaving in certain appropriate ways, and adopting Western values and institutions. 'The obstacles to such advancement were cultural, not biological'²⁸. The assumption that USA and Western cultures are superior to those of postcolonial and indigenous cultures is embedded in this thinking. This ideology led to a division along ethnic lines between the modernised West, represented by the White-dominated USA and European countries and their white-dominated former colonies such as New Zealand, and the rest - former colonies and countries in the 'undeveloped' world.

90(11), 1699- 1702.

²⁵ Lentin, A. (2004). *Racism and anti-racism in Europe*. London: Pluto Press.

²⁶ Durie, M. (2005). Race and ethnicity in public policy: Does it work? *Social Policy Journal of NZ*, 24, 1-11, p. 2.

²⁷ Alleyne, M.D. (2011). Anti-racism as international communication: An introduction. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 1-20). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers, p. 6.

²⁸ Shah, H. (2011). Race, mass communication, and modernization; Intellectual networks and the flow of ideas. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 21-54). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers, p. 24.

A positive legacy of the UN system is the New Zealand government's reporting obligations under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), which it ratified in 1972. Every two years, the government is required to explain the continued existence of systematic and institutional racism to the Committee to Eliminate Racial Discrimination (CERD). Non-government organisations are able to counter government explanations in this international forum. This is the only venue in the world where such explanations are required, although countries are often years late in submitting their reports²⁹.



²⁹ Falcón, S.M. (2011). U.S. treaty obligations and the politics of racism and anti-racism discourse. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 55-72). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

Racism

This section discusses different definitions of racism, outlines more recent types, describes some history and current experiences of racism in Aotearoa, as well as Pākehā privilege

What we learn from history and debates about racism

Most people think of racism as only individual prejudice. Few people recognise systems as racist even when they routinely produce preventable and unfair inequities for indigenous people and other minority ethnicities, regardless of intention.

Governing systems in New Zealand remain colonial and monocultural, organised to benefit Pākehā at the expense of Māori

Definitions focused on individuals can also frame racism as resulting from misunderstanding and ignorance

and other ethnic groups; this is commonly denied by governments and officials. Racism operates at multiple levels

- individual, community, institutional and societal. Individual racism may be the most emotionally painful, but institutional racism creates the greatest injustice.

Pākehā dominance conveys unearned privileges to Pākehā, although most Pākehā are oblivious to this. Since Pākehā culture is the unspoken norm, all other cultures are inherently different and deviant. This also means that many Pākehā cannot recognise their own culture.

The way the dominant group is defined, for example, as inclusive or threatened, is more important in generating racism than how other groups are defined.

Pākehā decide whether and how racism will be discussed. As overt statements about biological racism have become more taboo, detailed arguments have developed to deny that a statement is racist. 'Modern' racism rarely mentions ethnicity, arguing instead that 'other' people threaten 'our' way of life.

Stereotypes of indigenous people and minority groups reflect the ideas of dominant groups and are a form of symbolic power. These stereotypes about 'other' peoples are usually internalised by people of all ethnic groups.

Māori and 'Asian' peoples experience multiple types of discrimination 10 times more often than Pākehā. In 2006, one in four adult Māori and one in three adult 'Asian' people had ever experienced racism; in 2007, one in seven Māori secondary students and one in six Pacific and 'Asian' students had experienced racism or racist bullying in the last year. Racism is common online.

Racism is a hotly debated concept, with many definitions¹. Definitions from psychology tend to describe racism as belonging to individuals; for example, 'a negative evaluation of a social group or ... an individual that is significantly based on the individual's ... membership' of an ethnic group². Definitions focused on individuals can also frame racism as resulting from misunderstanding and ignorance³.

Identifying racism as a belief guiding individual behaviour aligns with a liberal philosophy, in which societies are collections of individuals and 'truth' is achieved through rational thought. This definition makes it difficult to conceive of systems that could have racist effects without racists to operate them. It also requires only individual reform rather than social change.

In 1988, the New Zealand Ministerial Advisory Committee investigating racism in the Department of Social Welfare said that:

¹ Every, D., & Augoustinos, M. (2007). Constructions of racism in the Australian parliamentary debates on asylum seekers. *Discourse & Society*, 18(4), 411–436. DOI: 10.1177/0957926507077427

² Crandall, C.S., & Eshleman, A. (2003). A justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(3). DOI:10.1037/0033-2909.129.3.414, p. 414.

³ Sian, K., Law, I., & Sayyid, S. (2013). *Racism, governance, and public policy: Beyond human rights*. New York: Routledge.

'Institutional racism ignores and excludes all minority culture values, systems and viewpoints in submission to the system of the dominant culture'⁴. When such racist assumptions have been built into the way that institutional structures and processes, they routinely produce preventable and unfair inequities for indigenous and minority peoples in their everyday work, regardless of the intentions of individuals within those institutions⁵.

An Australian framework to reduce racist discrimination drew on an ecological health model⁶ that recognised the complex interactions between prejudice, everyday racism, and systemic inequities in social structures, and their operation at the individual, organisational, community and societal levels⁷. This approach emphasises the need for inclusive strategies, operating at multiple levels in different settings in a way that reinforce each other.

The dominant culture decides what racism is and how it will be discussed, as part of maintaining the social order⁸. A racist state has been defined as 'one where a racially (self-)conceived group (usually the one controlling the terms of ... definition) dominates the power, resources, and representational media of the state to the relative exclusion, subjection, or subordination of other groups racially conceived'⁹. Australia has been given as an example, because White Australians see

themselves as "masters of national space" and therefore [see] ... ethnic others 'as people [they] can make decisions *about*: objects to be governed" in the service of their drive to ensure the nation is a comfortable space for them'¹⁰.

Some researchers argue that 'the way we define the in-group is as crucial, if not more crucial, than definitions of the out-group in generating hatred' against other ethnicities¹¹. They outlined five steps in hate group justifications of murder and other vicious acts against other groups: '(i) Identification, the construction of an in-group; (ii) Exclusion, the definition of targets as external to the in-group; (iii) Threat, the representation of these targets as endangering in-group identity; (iv) Virtue, the championing of the in-group as (uniquely) good; and (v) Celebration, embracing the eradication of the out-group as necessary to the defence of virtue'¹².

This report defines racism as an ideology of superiority, embedded in powerful institutions and social norms that create and maintain avoidable and oppressive systems of inequality between dominant and other ethnic and cultural groups¹³. Many people think that racism is a personal characteristic, something that people do, and are reluctant to describe institutions and social structures as racist¹⁴. However, racist systems are those that consistently produce racist outcomes. Racism operates at interconnected societal, institutional and interpersonal levels, and elements of dominant racist stereotypes are often internalised by members of all ethnic

⁴ Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective on Social Welfare. (1988). *Puao te ata tu*. Wellington: Department of Social Welfare, p. 19.

⁵ Vasta, E. (1996). Dialectics of domination: Racism and multiculturalism. In E. Vasta & S. Castles (Ed). *The teeth are smiling: The persistence of racism in multicultural Australia* (pp. 46-72). St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, p. 49.

⁶ Stokols, D. (1992). Establishing and maintaining healthy environments: Toward a social ecology of health promotion. *American Psychologist*, 47, 6–22.

⁷ Paradies, Y., Chandrakumar, L., Klocker, N., Frere, M., Webster, K., Burrell, M., & McLean, P. (2009). *Building on our strengths: A framework to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity in Victoria: Full report*. Melbourne: Victorian Health Promotion Foundation.

⁸ Hepburn, A. (2003). *An introduction to critical social psychology*. London, England: Sage.

⁹ Goldberg, D.T. (2002). *The racial state*. London: Blackwell, p. 271.

¹⁰ Hage, G. (2000). *White nation: Fantasies of White supremacy in a multicultural society*. London: Routledge, p. 17.

¹¹ Reicher, S., Haslam, S.A., & Rath, R. (2008) Making a virtue of evil: A five-step social identity model of the development of collective hate. *Social & Personality Psychology Compass*, 2/3, 1313–1344 DOI: 10.1111/j.1751-9004.2008.00113.x, p. 1327.

¹² Reicher and colleagues, p. 1313.

¹³ Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective on Social Welfare. (1988). *Puao te ata tu*. Wellington: Department of Social Welfare.

¹⁴ Nelson, J.K. (2013). Denial of racism and its implications for local action, *Discourse & Society*, 24(1) 89-109. DOI: 10.1177/0957926512463635

groups¹⁵. The World Health Organization defines racism as a human rights violation in its own right, and because of the impact it has on other rights such as equal access to employment and the right to health¹⁶.

Dominant forms of racism in different countries are shaped by their different

The ongoing conflict between colonial power structures and indigenous peoples creates a major fault line in national identity

indigenous, colonial and immigration histories. In former British colonies with minority indigenous

populations, such as New Zealand, Australia and Canada, the ongoing conflict between colonial power structures and indigenous peoples and the 'unresolved national status of indigenous people', creates a major fault line in national identity¹⁷. The concentration of colonisation and chattel slavery in the USA made racism a vicious structuring force in the creation of the state¹⁸. In Europe, populist racism targets Romani peoples, refugees and Muslims¹⁹.

Significant events can suddenly alter the political climate surrounding racism. The bombing of the New York World Trade Centers in September 2001 changed the way in which the USA and other Western industrialised countries perceive and treat

Muslim and Middle-Eastern peoples²⁰. In Aotearoa, National Party leader Don Brash's 2004 Orewa speech took 'control of the political agenda from the government' by creating a new 'non-Māori' majority and isolating 'Māori as a major impediment to the nation's progress'²¹.

Colonisation and Māori

Māori sovereignty in Aotearoa was recognised in 1835 in the Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (the Declaration of Independence). Māori widely believed that te Tiriti o Waitangi confirmed their tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty) and extended to settlers only kawanatanga (governership) over their own members²². However, the UK Colonial office and later colonial governments viewed the English version as extinguishing Māori rights and giving them a licence to colonise²³.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand the concept of indigenous and other non-White peoples as inferior came ashore with the colonisers and was used to support the legitimacy of settler society²⁴. Aotearoa/New Zealand is similar to other former UK colonies, where racist societal norms and structures benefited

¹⁵ Moewaka Barnes, A., Taiapa, K., Borell, B., & McCreanor, T. (2013) Māori experiences and responses to racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. *MAI Journal*, 2(2), 63-77.

¹⁶ World Health Organization. (2001). Health and freedom from discrimination. World Health Organization's contribution to the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. *Health & Human Rights publication series*, 2. Geneva: World Health Organization.

¹⁷ Hartley, J., & McKee, A. (2000). *The indigenous public sphere – The reporting and reception of Aboriginal issues in the Australian media*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 12.

¹⁸ Zinn, H. (1980). *A people's history of the United States*. New York: Harper & Row.

¹⁹ TOP Berlin. (2014). Vienna: Protests against the right-wing 'Akademikerball' (Academic's Ball) and discussions about Europe, racism and the right wing. *Beyond Europe*. Retrieved 20 August, 2014 from <http://beyondeurope.net/162/vienna-protests-against-the-right-wing-akademikerball-academics-ball-and-discussions-about-europe-racism-and-the-right-wing/>.

²⁰ Kellner, D. (2013). Media spectacle, insurrection and the crisis of neoliberalism from the Arab uprisings to Occupy Everywhere! *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 23(3), 251-272. doi:10.1080/09620214.2013.790665

; Pedersen, A., Walker, I., & Wise, M. (2005). 'Talk does not cook rice': Beyond anti-racism rhetoric to strategies for social action. *Australian Psychologist*, 40(1), 20-31. DOI: 10.1080/0005006051233131729

²¹ Johansson, J. (2004). Orewa and the rhetoric of illusion. *Political Science*, 56(2), 111-129, p. 123.

²² Healy, S., Huygens, I., & Murphy, T. (2012). *Ngapuhi speaks: Independent report on Ngapūhi Nui Tonu claim*. Whangarei: Te Kōwhiri & Network Waitangi Whangarei.

²³ Orange, C. (2011). *The Treaty of Waitangi*. (Rev. ed.) Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

²⁴ Belich, J. (1996). *Making peoples: A history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*. Auckland: Penguin; McCreanor, T. (1997). When racism stepped ashore: Antecedents of anti-Māori discourse in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 26, 43-57.

the dominant settler population²⁵, at the expense of indigenous peoples, and non-White migrant communities. From 1840 conflict gradually escalated as colonisation continued. By 1860 there were as many settlers as Māori, and an influx of UK migrants in the next decade made Māori less than one-tenth of the national population by 1874²⁶.

The English Acts Act 1854²⁷ was the first of more than 70 colonial and recent laws and government actions that have breached te Tiriti. Among others, they created a settler administration; invaded, appropriated and confiscated land; provided education based on assimilation and in English only; punished rebellions against Crown invasions; limited Māori to four parliamentary seats; and outlawed or undermined Māori cultural structures²⁸.

This history created government and social institutions that routinely reproduce inequities, between Māori and non-Māori and between Pākehā and ethnic minority groups in access to income, services and opportunities, through mundane organisational practices and policies. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, this institutional racism has been identified in public health²⁹; other areas of the health system, education, justice and the public service³⁰; housing³¹;

early childhood education³²; social and other services³³; and sport³⁴ among other areas. In news media it produces limited and negative representation of Māori³⁵ and Pacific peoples³⁶. Institutional racism 'can systematically disadvantage many members of a racial group, and the consequences can endure for many years, even for generations'³⁷.

As an example, Māori were not paid equal state benefits to Pākehā until 1945; Māori received two-thirds of the Pākehā rate for old-age pensions after 1898, increased to three-quarters from 1926³⁸. People with Māori ancestry were eligible for only half the relief (unemployment) payment available to Europeans from 1928 to 1936, and then

25 Morgensen, S.L. (2011). The biopolitics of settler colonialism: Right here, right now. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1(1), 52-76. DOI: 10.1080/2201473X.2011.10648801; Glover, M., Dudgeon, P., & Huygens, I. (2005). Colonisation and racism. In G. Nelson & I. Prilleltensky (Eds.). *Community psychology: In pursuit of liberation and well-being* (pp. 330-347). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

26 Pool, I., & Kukutai, T. (2014). Taupori Māori – Māori population change - Decades of despair, 1840–1900. *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/taupori-maori-maori-population-change/page-2

27 Durie, M. (2005). Race and Ethnicity in Public Policy: Does it work? *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 24, 1-11, p. 3.

28 Network Waitangi. (2012). *Treaty of Waitangi: Questions and answers*. Christchurch & Whangarei: Network Waitangi.

29 Came, H. (2014). Sites of institutional racism in public health policy making in New Zealand. *Social Science & Medicine*, 106, 214-220.

30 Human Rights Commission. (2012). *A fair go for all? Rite tahi tātou katoa? Addressing structural discrimination in public services*. Wellington: HRC.

31 Rankine, J. (2005). *Housing and health in Auckland*. Auckland: Auckland Regional Public Health Service.

32 Miller, M.G. (2014). Productive and inclusive? How documentation concealed racialising practices in a diversity project. *Early Years: An International Research Journal*, 34(2), 146-160. DOI: 10.1080/09575146.2014.899998

33 Black, R., & Cox, A. (2011). *Talk about poverty: Reporting back and moving forward*. Hamilton: Poverty Action Waikato; Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective on Social Welfare. (1988). *Puao te ata tu*. Wellington: Department of Social Welfare.

34 Hippolite, H. R. (2010). *Speaking the unspoken: Maori experiences of racism in New Zealand sport*. (Unpublished master's thesis, University of Waikato, New Zealand). Retrieved from <http://waikato.researchgateway.ac.nz/>;

Hippolite, H.R., & Bruce, T. (2010). Speaking the unspoken: Racism, sport and Maori. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 2(2), 23-45.

35 Matheson, D. (2007). The interpretative resources of Aotearoa New Zealand journalists reporting on Maori. *NZJMS*, 10(2), 91-105; Moewaka Barnes, A., Borell, B., Taiapa, K., Rankine, J., Nairn, R., & McCreanor, T. (2012). Anti-Māori themes in New Zealand journalism - toward alternative practice. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 18(1), 195-216; Phelan, S. (2009). The newspaper as political antagonist: Editorial discourse and the othering of Maori perspectives on the foreshore and seabed conflict. *Journalism*, 10(2). 217–237. DOI: 10.1177/1464884908100602

36 Loto, R., Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Nikora, L.W., Karapu, R., & Barnett, A. (2006). Pasifika in the news: The portrayal of Pacific peoples in the New Zealand press. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 16, 100–118. DOI: 10.1002/casp.848.

37 Reed, W. (2009). Framing the discussion of racism. In Williams, Z. (Ed.). *African cultures and policy studies: Scholarship and the transformation of public policy*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, p. 59.

38 Pearson, D. (2012). Ethnic inequalities - European majority, Māori minority: 1840–1945. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, retrieved from www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ethnic-inequalities/page-2

received only one-third in cash³⁹. This was accompanied by discrimination from businesses and commercial services. In the 1900s, some hotels continued refusing to sell alcohol to Māori or sold it in a separate bar, and some cinemas and public pools were segregated until the 1960s. Historic widespread discrimination against Māori in rental accommodation and against Māori and Pacific peoples in employment continues⁴⁰.

Institutional racism tends to be less visible than everyday discrimination⁴¹. Came⁴² identified five ways in which institutional racism affected public health policy-making - majoritarian decision-making; misuse of evidence; deficiencies in cultural and political competencies; flawed consultation processes; and Crown filters (how Crown officials manage the development and sign-off of policies). She identified five similar points in the funding process - historic funding allocations that are not reviewed

Māori, Pacific peoples and ethnic communities are not getting a fair go

regardless of performance; monocultural funding specifications;

uneven access to Crown officials for Māori compared with others; inconsistent funding criteria and financial reporting; and lack of leadership. These factors may also apply to other government agencies.

³⁹ Statistics NZ. (1997). *New Zealand Official Yearbook Te Pukapuka Houanga Whaimana o Aotearoa 1997*. Retrieved July 1, 2014 from www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1997/NZOYB_1997.html

⁴⁰ Brookes, B. (1997). Nostalgia for 'innocent homely pleasures': The 1964 New Zealand controversy over Washday at the Pa. *Gender & History*, 9(2), 242–261; Rankine, J. (2005). *Housing and health in Auckland*. Auckland: Auckland Regional Public Health Service; Darity, W., & Nembhard, J. (2000). Racial and ethnic economic inequality: The international record. *American Economic Review*, 90(2), 308–311.

⁴¹ Karlsen, S. & Nazroo, J.Y. (2002). The relationship between racial discrimination, social class and health among ethnic minority groups. *American Journal of Public Health* 92, 624–631.

⁴² Came, H.A. (2012). *Institutional racism and the dynamics of privilege in public health*, PhD thesis, University of Waikato. Retrieved from <http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/>

The Human Rights Commission said in 2012⁴³: 'Māori, Pacific peoples and ethnic communities are disproportionately disadvantaged by a 'one size fits all' model of provision. The formal equality of universal provision does not result in the substantive equality of significantly improved outcomes for everyone. Put simply, Māori, Pacific peoples and ethnic communities are not getting a fair go.'

Racism against other ethnicities

Pacific peoples from Eastern Polynesia originally settled in Aotearoa from about 1250CE⁴⁴. The colonisation of the country by the UK in the 1800s dramatically changed its relationship with its Pacific neighbours. The fledgling New Zealand government was an enthusiastic partner in UK colonisation of the Pacific⁴⁵; New Zealand has had a role in administering or occupying the Cook Islands, Niue, German Samoa and Tokelau. New Zealand police were responsible for the killing of independence leader Tupua Tamasese Lealofi and 10 other non-violent marchers in Apia on Black Saturday, December 28, 1929⁴⁶. This history enabled unrestricted entry to New Zealand and permanent residence for Tokelau, Niue and Cook Islands people for most of the 1900s, while entry for people from Tuvalu, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa has usually been restricted by a permit system.

A second wave of Pacific migration started from the early 1900s and significantly increased in the 1960s, encouraged by a high demand for labour due to economic growth.

⁴³ Human Rights Commission. (2012). *A fair go for all? Rite tahi tātou katoa? Addressing structural discrimination in public services*. Wellington: HRC.

⁴⁴ Howe, K.R. (2012). Ideas of Māori origins - 1920s–2000: New understanding. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Retrieved August 5, 2013, from www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ideas-of-maori-origins/page-5

⁴⁵ Hiery, H. (1995). *The neglected war: The German South Pacific and the influence of World War I*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

⁴⁶ Field, M. (2006). *Black Saturday: New Zealand's tragic blunders in Samoa*. Auckland: Reed Books

During the economic downturn in the early 1970s and 80s, Tongans and other Pacific peoples were subject to official dawn raids and street checks as part of a search for over-stayers. The majority of over-stayers, who were from Europe and North America, were not raided or checked⁴⁷. These campaigns have been described as traumatising a generation of Pacific peoples⁴⁸.

Chinese people, mostly men, came to New Zealand to mine gold from the 1860s. In 1926 the White New Zealand League was set up to restrict Asian immigration and rights for Chinese, Indian and other Asian peoples⁴⁹. The government passed 33 different laws to limit immigration from China and other Asian countries from the late 1880s to 1920, and restrict the rights of these migrants. Chinese people could not be naturalised as citizens from 1908 to 1952, were not allowed to vote or stand for political office until 1952, and were barred from government jobs and many professions⁵⁰. Negative settler attitudes about Chinese and other Asian peoples improved during the 1900s 'before once again emerging as an issue in the mid-1990s, especially in the lead up to the 1996 general election'⁵¹.

Indian residents had their travel restricted by a law against hawkers in 1896. They were somewhat protected as members of the British Empire, but an 1899 immigration law required those not of 'British parentage' to apply in a European language, and they had to apply for a permit after 1920⁵². Indian

and Chinese people were denied old-age pensions from their introduction in 1898 until 1936⁵³. In Pukekohe, Indian people were barred from shops, private bars and the local cinema balcony until the 1950s.

Dawn raids have been described as traumatising a generation of Pacific peoples

There have been few examples of institutionalised anti-Semitism in New Zealand, and the racism and anti-Semitism of White supremacist groups has had little appreciable effect on New Zealand national politics⁵⁴. The Social Credit political tradition, originally hostile to Jews, became more liberal by the 1970s. However, Jewish gravestones have been defaced in Wellington and Auckland⁵⁵.

'Modern' racism

Expressions of racism changed gradually during the 1900s, as what is variously called 'cultural', 'modern', 'symbolic' or 'new' racism adding to more obvious forms⁵⁶. In these more recent forms, 'racial meanings are inferred rather than stated'⁵⁷ and national identity is described in racist

⁴⁷ Mitchell, J. (2003). *Immigration and national identity in 1970s New Zealand*. PhD thesis, University of Otago.

⁴⁸ Anae, M. (1997). Towards a NZ-born Samoan identity: Some reflection on 'labels'. *Pacific Health Dialog*, 4(2), 128-137.

⁴⁹ Spoonley, P. (2013). Ethnic and religious intolerance. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Retrieved September 16, 2014, from www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ethnic-and-religious-intolerance

⁵⁰ Pearson, D. (2012). Ethnic inequalities - European majority, Asian minorities: 1840-1945. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Retrieved June 30, 2014 from www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ethnic-inequalities/page-3

⁵¹ Gendall, P., Spoonley, P., & Butcher, A. (2013). *New Zealanders' perceptions of Asia and Asian peoples: 1997-2011*. Wellington: Asia New Zealand Foundation, p. 21.

⁵² Spoonley, P. (2012). Ethnic and religious intolerance - Intolerance towards Asians. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New*

Zealand. Retrieved from www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ethnic-and-religious-intolerance/page-3

⁵³ Pearson, D. (2012). Ethnic inequalities - European majority, Asian minorities: 1840-1945. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Retrieved from www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ethnic-inequalities/page-3

⁵⁴ Spoonley, P. (1987). *The politics of nostalgia: Racism and the extreme right in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

⁵⁵ Spoonley, P. (2013). Ethnic and religious intolerance. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Retrieved from: www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ethnic-and-religious-intolerance

⁵⁶ Augoustinos, M., & Every, D. (2007). The language of 'race' and prejudice: A discourse of denial, reason, and liberal-practical politics. *Journal of Language & Social Psychology*, 26(2), 123-141. DOI: 10.1177/0261927X07300075; Liu, J.H., & Mills, D. (2006). Modern racism and neo-liberal globalization: The discourses of plausible deniability and their multiple functions. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 16, 83-99. DOI: 10.1002/casp.847; Van Dijk, T.A. (1992). Discourse and the denial of racism. *Discourse & Society*, 3(1), 87-118.

⁵⁷ Gilroy, P. (1992). The End of Anti-Racism. In J. Donald & A. Rattansi (Eds.). *'Race', culture and difference* (pp. 49-61). London: Sage.

and exclusive ways⁵⁸. Rather than relying on concepts of racial superiority, 'new' racism argues that people from foreign cultures threaten 'our' way of life and society, which is usually perceived as homogenous. This belief is racist because it sees cultural differences that result from social processes as biological, natural and inevitable.

Such racism distinguishes between citizenship and other cultural or linguistic features of national identity. Thus Paul

Denial is typical of 'modern' racism, and helps protect White privilege

Henry's 2010 dismissal of Governor-General Sir Anand Satyanand, born and raised

in Auckland, as someone who 'did not look or sound like a New Zealander' was an example of this kind of racism⁵⁹. The language of 'symbolic' racism is complex and 'sinuous, loaded with ambivalence and contradiction'⁶⁰. Speakers may use arguments based on morality, justice, equality and other liberal-democratic principles. While ethnicity may not be mentioned in 'new' racist arguments, their effects are just as harmful as more obvious forms.

The 'symbolic' form of racism is marked by –

- Defending traditional values, such as individualism, self-reliance and the Protestant work ethic
- Exaggerating cultural differences between the dominant population and 'others'
- Denying that serious racism or discrimination against minorities exists any more
- Claiming that any remaining inequalities between ethnicities are the fault of minorities just not working hard

⁵⁸ Moewaka Barnes, A., Borell, B., Taiapa, K., Rankine, J., Nairn, R., & McCreanor, T. (2012). Anti-Māori themes in New Zealand journalism - toward alternative practice. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 18(1), 195-216.

⁵⁹ Kay, M. (2010). Henry apology for G-G race comments. *Stuff.co.nz – Entertainment*. Retrieved from www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/tv-radio/4194441/Henry-causes-a-stir-again, par. 2.

⁶⁰ Tuffin, K. (2013). Studying racism in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Annual Review of Critical Psychology*, 10, 50-61. Retrieved from www.discourseunit.com/arcp10/Aotearoa-New%20Zealand%2011%2050-61.pdf, p. 57.

- Claiming that demands for 'special treatment' are therefore unjustified
- Asserting that minority groups have already received more from government agencies than they deserve⁶¹.

'Modern' racism is a response to increasing taboos against overt racist statements, which means that accusations of racism are now taken seriously. Those discussing ethnicity aim for 'plausible deniability', by expressing themselves in covert ways that enable them credibly to disavow any racist aim and provide alternative explanations⁶², 'while still maintaining (or defending) an argument or position which discriminates on the basis of race'⁶³. They may do this by criticising minorities for breaching traditional values of fairness or honesty, or by defending the national majority against outside threats.

Denial is typical of 'modern' racism, and helps 'protect and defend white privilege'⁶⁴. Other ways speakers can deny racism include –

- What they said wasn't racist
- They didn't say it on purpose
- They hadn't meant it in a racist way
- Their goal wasn't racist
- What they said wasn't significant
- It is actually White people who are the victims of discrimination and political correctness⁶⁵.

⁶¹ Sears, D.O., & Henry, P.J. 2003. The origins of symbolic racism. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 85(2), 259-75; Vrij, A., & Smith, B.J. (1999). Reducing ethnic prejudice by public campaigns: An evaluation of a present and a new campaign. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 9, 195-215.

⁶² Liu, J.H. & Mills, D. (2006). Modern racism and neo-liberal globalization: The discourses of plausible deniability and their multiple functions. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 16, 83-99. DOI: 10.1002/casp.847

⁶³ Due, C. (2011). 'Aussie humour' or racism? *Hey Hey It's Saturday* and the denial of racism in online responses to news media articles. *Platform*, 3(1), 36-53, p. 40.

⁶⁴ Nelson, J.K. (2013). Denial of racism and its implications for local action, *Discourse & Society*, 24(1), 89-109. DOI: 10.1177/0957926512463635, p. 91.

⁶⁵ Van Dijk, T.A. (1992). Discourse and the denial of racism. *Discourse & Society*, 3(1), 87-118; Van Dijk, T. (1993). Denying racism: Elite discourse and racism. In J. Solomos & J. Wren (Eds.), *Racism and migration in Western Europe* (pp.179-193). Oxford: Berg.

People also deny racism more generally –

- In time; for example, that racism is less than it was in the colonial past and people are equal now
- In place; for example, that that racism is much worse in Australia, or not a problem in the local place being discussed
- In populations; for example, by saying it is a problem only with small groups of people, such as the working class or elderly or those otherwise different from the powerful. This implies that dominant policies and institutions are neutral and unprejudiced and leaves white privilege ‘unquestioned and protected’⁶⁶
- By type: for example, by focusing only on extreme forms of racism and ignoring institutional and everyday racist actions; or by moving the focus immediately from institutional to individual racism⁶⁷.

New Zealand is one of many liberal democracies with official ideologies of ethnic equality, and government agencies and official discussions usually ‘strongly deny the existence and influence of racism, colonisation and privilege’⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ Nelson, J.K. (2013). Denial of racism and its implications for local action. *Discourse & Society*, 24(1) 89–109. DOI: 10.1177/0957926512463635, p. 92.

⁶⁷ Hippolite, H. R., & Bruce, T. (2010). Speaking the unspoken: Racism, sport and Maori. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 2(2), 23-45; Hodgetts, D., Masters, B., & Robertson, N. (2004). Media coverage of ‘Decades of Disparity’ in ethnic mortality in Aotearoa. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 14, 1-18. DOI: 10.1002/casp.792

⁶⁸ Rankine, J., Gregory, A., Tonks, A., & Thompson-Evans, Te P. (2013). *Women and alcohol in Aotearoa/New Zealand/ Te waipiro me ngā wāhine i Aotearoa*. Auckland: Alcohol Healthwatch, p. 19; Cunningham, C. (2011). Adolescent development for Maori. In OPMSAC (Ed.), *Improving the transition - Reducing social and psychological morbidity during adolescence* (pp. 145-152). Wellington: Office of the Prime Minister’s Science Advisory Committee; Mikaere, A. (2011). *Colonising myths - Maori realities: He rukuruku whakaaro*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.

Multiculturalism and cultural diversity

Discussions about racism usually overlap with those about multiculturalism and the two are often represented as binary opposites. Some researchers argue that the two belong on a continuum; at one end is celebrating cultural and ethnic diversity and at the other is eliminating inequities and racism⁶⁹. Both goals are important: ‘the fight for multiculturalism and the fight against racism go hand-in-hand; anti-racism is the element that makes multiculturalism dynamic and progressive’⁷⁰.

Multiculturalism is an official strategy used by some countries and groupings, such as Australia, Canada and the European Union, to manage social issues related to cultural, ethnic and religious diversity in their populations⁷¹. The strategy distinguishes between the dominant ethnicity and social minorities, and establishes processes for the recognition and maintenance of minority languages, cultural and religious practices.

Anti-racism is the element that makes multiculturalism dynamic and progressive

This includes providing specific public broadcasting and print publishing programmes in minority languages or for minority communities. The 1994 European Broadcasting Union Declaration on the role of public broadcasters in a diverse Europe was overtly anti-racist, stating that

⁶⁹ Burdsey, D. (2011). British Asians and the cultural politics of anti-racist campaigning in English football. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (p. 187-211). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

⁷⁰ Sivanandan, A. (2006). Britain’s shame: From multiculturalism to nativism. *Institute of Race Relations*. Retrieved from www.irr.org.uk/news/britains-shame-from-multiculturalism-to-nativism/

⁷¹ Horsti, K. (2011). Celebrating multiculturalism: European multicultural media initiatives as anti-racist practices. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (p. 153-168). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

it believed ‘it our duty to combat [racism and fascism]’⁷². Multicultural policies can recreate boundaries between different ethnicities as rigid and static⁷³. But ‘there is always a majority that decides what is tolerated and what is not, what is “too particular”, and what is an acceptable difference’⁷⁴.

European countries experienced terrorist attacks, riots, and controversies over the wearing of the hijab in schools in the first decade of this century. In reaction, politicians in these countries criticised

Multicultural and diversity strategies can celebrate cultural differences without challenging power differences between groups that maintain inequalities

multicultural policies as dividing rather than uniting national communities: ‘Cultural pluralism has gone too far ... A line

has to be drawn on difference’⁷⁵. The lack of supposedly common ‘core values’ was, wrongly, described as the reason why many minority groups were socially excluded, and why Muslim religious extremism had increased⁷⁶. Multicultural policies were gradually replaced by a more vague strategy of cultural diversity that emphasised social cohesion⁷⁷. This policy is more popular with state officials ‘because it provides a gently unifying, cost-free form of political

commitment’⁷⁸. Diversity policies have a more assimilationist approach to minority communities, and have resulted in the demise of specific minority programmes on public broadcasters in European countries⁷⁹.

Cultural diversity policies are also controlled by the dominant culture; however, they are less specific than multicultural policies about what counts as diverse and what its limits are. Both strategies have been criticised for celebrating individualised cultural differences within consumer societies while failing to challenge the power relations between cultural groups that reproduce inequalities⁸⁰. For example, the 2007 *Diversity Toolkit* by European public service broadcasters, and their *Diversity Show*, framed the problem as poor integration by migrant communities, rather than national policies and practices in European countries that create segregation, and did not mention the words ‘racism’ or ‘anti-racism’. Researchers have criticised both strategies for focusing on individual prejudice, rather than systemic racism and inequity.

Representations and stereotypes

Stereotyping is one of the tools that maintain social order and define what is normal; for any in group, it describes the boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’, normal and deviant, acceptable and unacceptable⁸¹. Stereotypes reflect the ideas of dominant groups and are a symbolic use of power against marginalised social groups. In representing non-White people, stereotypes use “the few ‘simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized’ characteristics about a person, *reduce* everything about the person to those

⁷² Horsti, 2011, p. 162.

⁷³ Burdsey, D. (2011). British Asians and the cultural politics of anti-racist campaigning in English football. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (p. 187-211). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

⁷⁴ Horsti, 2011, p. 158.

⁷⁵ Sivanandan, A. (2006). Britain’s shame: From multiculturalism to nativism. *Institute of Race Relations*. Retrieved from www.irr.org.uk/news/britains-shame-from-multiculturalism-to-nativism/

⁷⁶ Burdsey, D. (2011). British Asians and the cultural politics of anti-racist campaigning in English football. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 187-211). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

⁷⁷ Horsti, K. (2011). Celebrating multiculturalism: European multicultural media initiatives as anti-racist practices, In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 153-168). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

⁷⁸ Lentin, A., & Tittley, G. (2008). More Benetton than barricades? The politics of diversity in Europe. In G. Tittley & A. Lentin (Eds.). *The politics of diversity in Europe* (pp. 9-30). Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, p. 13.

⁷⁹ Horsti, 2011.

⁸⁰ Horsti, 2011.

⁸¹ Hall, S. (1997). The spectacle of the ‘other’, in S. Hall, (Ed.). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 223-290). Sage, London.

traits, *exaggerate* and *simplify* them, and *fix* them without change or development to eternity...*stereotyping reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes 'difference'*"⁸².

Stereotyping paints these exaggerated negative characteristics as fixed and permanent, unrelated to history. Stereotypes are often sharply polarised binaries – primitive or civilised, cultural or natural, good or bad. Stereotyped groups can sometimes be represented as both of these opposites – noble savage and barbarian – at the same time. Stereotypes are always struggled over, but traces of earlier stereotypes – such as the colonial noble savage – persist into this century as part of news media themes about 'good Māori/bad Māori' and 'Māori violence'⁸³.

Experience of racism in Aotearoa

The 2002/2003 NZ Health Survey asked a representative sample of people whether they had ever experienced any discrimination because of their ethnicity. Māori reported the highest rate (34.3%), followed by 'Asian' peoples (28.1%), Pacific peoples and (27.3%) and Pākehā (14.5)⁸⁴. 'Asian' people reported an increased experience of discrimination in the 2006/07 survey (35%), while rates dropped slightly for Māori (29.5%), Pacific peoples (23%) and Pākehā (13.5%). However, in 2006, 'Māori and Asian peoples ... were 10 times more likely to report 'ever' experiencing multiple (three or more) types of discrimination than Europeans'⁸⁵. This was unchanged for

⁸² Dyer, R. (Ed.). (1977). *Gays and film*. London: British Film Institute, p. 28.

⁸³ Moewaka Barnes, A., Borell, B., Taiapa, K., Rankine, J., Nairn, R., & McCreanor, T. (2012). Anti-Māori themes in New Zealand journalism—toward alternative practice. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 18(1), 195-216

⁸⁴ Harris, R., Cormack, D., Tobias, M., Yeh, L-C., Talamaiavao, N., Minster, J., & Timutimu, R. (2012). The pervasive effects of racism: Experiences of racial discrimination in New Zealand over time and associations with multiple health domains. *Social Science & Medicine*, 74. DOI: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.11.004

⁸⁵ Harris et al, (2012), p. 411.

Māori from the 2002 survey. Experiencing discrimination was linked with a range of health risks and problems for all groups, but more so for those who experienced the most discrimination.

These results were similar to the 2012 New Zealand General Social Survey, where 'Asian' peoples (15.8%), Māori (15.7%) and recent migrants (15.1%) reported the highest rates of discrimination due to ethnicity in the last 12 months⁸⁶. 'Asian' peoples also reported more discrimination in 2012 than they had in the 2008 NZGSS (18%).

'Asian' secondary students (8%) also reported the most bullying due to ethnicity in the last 12 months in the Youth 2007 representative survey, compared with less than two percent of Pākehā students. However, Pacific students reported the highest rate of unfair treatment by the police (7.5%) and health professionals (8.6%). When all three forms of discrimination were included –

- Pacific students reported the most (17.4%)
- 'Asian' students 16.7 percent
- Māori students 12.9 percent
- Pākehā students 5.4 percent.

Other researchers have also found strong evidence of racism

against Pacific and Māori people in the health system, particularly in referrals to specialists⁸⁷.

Complaints about abusive, derogatory or offensive words used in a public place made up 19 percent of race discrimination complaints to the Human Rights

Māori and Asian peoples were 10 times more likely to report ever experiencing three or more types of discrimination

⁸⁶ Statistics New Zealand. 2013. *New Zealand General Social Survey: 2012*. Retrieved December 10, 2013 from www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/Households/nzgss_HOTP2012.aspx

⁸⁷ Davis, P., Suaalii-Sauni, T., Lay-Yee, R., & Pearson, J., A. (2005). *Pacific patterns in primary health care: A comparison of Pacific and all patient visits to doctors: The National Primary Medical Care Survey (NatMedCa): 2001/02*. Report 7. Wellington: Ministry of Health; MOH & MPIA. (2004). *Tupu oia moui: Pacific health chart book 2004*. Wellington: Ministry of Health and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs.

The more types of discrimination, the poorer their health

Commission in 2013. Complaints about offensive comments in online media made up more than twice those about content in television, radio and newspapers⁸⁸. This is similar to Australia, where being called an offensive name for their cultural group was the most common form of reported racism⁸⁹.

Ministry of Health policy documents have recognised institutional racism as one of the causes of poorer health for more than 20 years⁹⁰. Secondary students who reported racial discrimination were less likely to say their health was good, less likely to feel safe in their neighbourhood and more likely to say they recently binge drank, smoked cigarettes, were depressed and were not doing well at school than those who did not⁹¹. The more forms of discrimination respondents reported in the 2002/3 NZ Health Survey, the poorer they rated their health⁹². These researchers found that experience of racism and socio-economic inequities – which reflect institutional racism – explain most of the health disparities between Māori and Pākehā.

88 HRC. (2014). *Tūi tūi Tuitiā: Race relations in 2013*. Wellington: Human Rights Commission.

89 Nelson, J., Dunn, K., Paradies, Y., Pedersen, A., Sharpe, S., Hynes, M., & Guerin, B. (2010). *Review of bystander approaches in support of preventing race-based discrimination*. Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth), Carlton, Australia.

90 Came, H. (2014). Sites of institutional racism in public health policy making in New Zealand. *Social Science & Medicine*, 106, 214-220.

91 Crengle, S., Robinson, E., Ameratunga, S., Clark, T., & Raphael, D. (2012). Ethnic discrimination prevalence and associations with health outcomes: Data from a nationally representative cross-sectional survey of secondary school students in New Zealand. *Public Health*, 12(45), www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2458/12/45

92 Harris, R., Tobias, M., Jeffreys, M., Waldegrave, K., Karlsen, S., & Nazroo, J. (2006). Racism and health: The relationship between experience of racial discrimination and health in New Zealand. *Social Science & Medicine*, 63, 1428-1441.

Racism online

Cyber-racism includes racist websites, website content, blogs, images, videos, website comments, text messages, social networking posts and emails⁹³. The number of reports of racist content on social networking sites, blogs, discussion fora and message boards in New Zealand is increasing⁹⁴, as is the number of international internet and social networking sites devoted to racism and hate speech⁹⁵. Racial harassment and hate speech on social media is more difficult to monitor, 'and it is often left up to individuals and communities to take action'⁹⁶.

The 2014 UN Universal Periodic Review of human rights in New Zealand recommended the development of 'a comprehensive legislative framework for addressing the problem of incitement to racial hatred on the Internet'⁹⁷. A 2010 Australian summit about cyber-racism agreed that any strategy to deal with this human rights issue needed to use a range of measures that empowered all the people involved, including those harmed by online racism, observers, participants in racist online groups and instigators of racism⁹⁸. Unlike the UN, they saw the problem as too fast-moving for traditional regulation, and said that young people needed to be empowered to create their own solutions.

93 Australian Human Rights Commission. (2011). *Cyber racism fact sheet*. Retrieved August 15, 2014 from <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/cyber-racism-fact-sheet-2011#s5>

94 Human Rights Commission. (2014). *Tūi tūi Tuitiā: Race relations in 2013*. Wellington: HRC.

95 Messmer, E. (2009). Racism, hate, militancy sites proliferating via social networking. *Network World*, 29. Retrieved August 15, 2014 from www.networkworld.com/article/2255534/lan-wan/racism-hate-militancy-sites-proliferating-via-social-networking.html; Simon Wiesenthal Center. (2014). *Digital terrorism and hate report*. Retrieved August 2014 from www.wiesenthal.com, Los Angeles, USA.

96 HRC. (2014), p.57.

97 United Nations Human Rights Council. (2014). *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: New Zealand (A/HRC/26/3)*. Geneva: UN.

98 Australian Human Rights Commission. (2010, 27 April). *Communiqué from the Cyber-Racism Summit*. Retrieved July 23, 2014 from www.humanrights.gov.au/news/media-releases/communiqu-cyber-racism-summit

Racism and sport

The concept of Māori and Pacific peoples as instinctively good at sport but less intelligent and disciplined than Pākehā has a long history⁹⁹. A similar stereotype of black and indigenous players is common in Europe¹⁰⁰; Australia¹⁰¹ and the USA¹⁰². The scientific racism of the early 1800s is evident in chants of ‘monkeys’ at black soccer players in the UK and bananas thrown at them on soccer fields¹⁰³. Racism is active in all levels of sport¹⁰⁴. Clubs use monocultural processes, coaches and officials are culturally insensitive about Māori players and did not understand or were indifferent to their communication styles. Māori, Pacific, and New Zealand-based West Indian and Pakistani players have also experienced racist abuse from other players and spectators¹⁰⁵. Māori are under-represented in New Zealand sports coaching and administration in relation to their representation among

99 Thompson, R.H.T. (1954). Maori affairs and the New Zealand press II, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 63(1), 1-16; Hokowhitu, B. (2004). Physical beings: Stereotypes, sport and the ‘physical education’ of New Zealand Maori. In J.A. Mangan & A. Ritchie (Eds.), *Ethnicity, sport, identity: Struggles for status* (pp. 192-218). London, England: Frank Cass; Schaaf, M. (2007). Élite Pacific male rugby players’ perceptions and experiences of professional rugby. *Junctures*, 7, 41-54.

100 Muller, F., van Zoonen, L., & de Roode, L. (2011). Anti-racist communication in soccer: A spoilt vocabulary? In M.D. Alleyne (Ed.), *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 73-94). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

101 Donaghue, N., & Walker, I. (2007). Contact sports: Judgements of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australian football league players’ performance. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 37(4), 771-782.

102 Bruce, T. (2004). Marking the boundaries of the ‘normal’ in televised sports: The play-by-play of race. *Media Culture Society*, 26, 861-879. DOI: 10.1177/0163443704047030

103 Alleyne, M.D. (2011). Anti-racism as identity politics: A constructivist approach to the FARE and Ad Council campaigns. In M.D. Alleyne (Ed.), *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 213-237). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

104 Hippolite, R. (2010). *Speaking the unspoken: Maori experiences of racism in New Zealand sport*. Masters of Sport and Leisure Studies Thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton.

105 Human Rights Commission. (2006). *Tūi Tūi Tuitiā: Race Relations in 2005*. Wellington: HRC.

players¹⁰⁶, indicating that sport is not the socially mobile and egalitarian playing field of popular imagination.

Whiteness

News media and Pākehā speakers in Aotearoa routinely talk about Māori MPs, Māori

issues, Māori schools and Māori offenders but rarely or never about Pākehā

MPs, Pākehā issues, Pākehā schools or Pākehā offenders¹⁰⁷. The category ‘Pākehā’, like the category ‘White’ in other former UK colonies, is presented as an unacknowledged norm, somehow outside ethnicity. This makes Pākehā people’s experiences simply human and universal. This normalisation enables Pākehā people to be seen as individuals, while Māori people and those of other ethnicities are usually seen as representing their ethnic group¹⁰⁸.

The social system that established and maintains Pākehā power also conveys unearned privileges to Pākehā people, such as more positive health and social well-being than Māori, of which most Pākehā are unaware¹⁰⁹. The first race-based legislation in Aotearoa was the English Acts Act, passed in 1854 by the new settler parliament at a time when Māori outnumbered settlers. It made ‘all English laws applicable to New Zealand’ and took for granted ‘that if the laws worked in England, they should world in New Zealand’¹¹⁰. This established

106 Hippolite, 2010.

107 Archie, C. (2007). *Pou korero: A journalists’ guide to Maori and current affairs*. Wellington: NZ Journalists Training Organisation.

108 Jeyasingham, D. (2012). White noise: A critical evaluation of social work education’s engagement with Whiteness studies. *British Journal of Social Work*, 42, 669-686. DOI: 10.1093/bjsw/bcr110

109 Borell, B.A.E., Gregory, A.S., McCreanor, T.N., Jensen, V.G.L. & Moewaka Barnes, H.E. (2009). It’s hard at the top but it’s a whole lot easier than being at the bottom: The role of privilege in understanding disparities in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Race/Ethnicity*, 3(1), 29-50.

110 Durie, M. (2005). Race and ethnicity in public policy: Does it work? *Social Policy Journal of NZ*, 24, 1-11, p. 1.

The first race-based legislation made all English laws applicable to New Zealand

English governance systems and structures as the basis of the settler society, benefiting Pākehā settlers and their descendants at the expense of Māori, Chinese and other groups not recognised as full citizens. Following governments have continued to pass what Durie calls ‘race-based’ laws, which limited or snuffed out Māori property, cultural and political rights.

Parliamentary democracy, the rule of the majority, has enabled structural racism against minority indigenous peoples and other ethnic minorities, giving them a very different experience of democracy from the Pākehā majority. US Congressman Alexander Duncan said without conscious irony in 1845: ‘There seems to be something

One of the results of colonisation for the dominant culture is that falsification of history becomes a permanent process

in our laws and institutions peculiarly adapted to the Anglo-Saxon American race, under which they will thrive and prosper but under which all others wilt and die¹¹¹.

The definition of colonist, European and Pākehā has changed over time, with some groups initially excluded, such as Dutch immigrants in the 1950s, and later included¹¹². This was similar in other countries such as the USA, where the category of ‘whiteness’ was expanded to include eastern Europeans and Jews after the end of the Civil War in 1865 and the emancipation of Black slaves in southern states¹¹³. One of the consequences of colonisation for the dominant culture, the descendants and beneficiaries of settlers, is that falsifications of this history ‘become a permanent process’¹¹⁴. Colonial history is full of White settlers, but when the topic

is racism, Whites ‘suddenly disappear’¹¹⁵. Leonardo describes the process of Pākehā sovereignty as ‘quite simple: set up a system that benefits the group, mystify the system, remove the agents of actions from discourse, and when interrogated about it, stifle the discussion with inane comments’¹¹⁶.

Some organised Pākehā Treaty educators in Aotearoa have encouraged workshop participants in:

1. ‘Revisiting the history of the settler coloniser relationship with indigenous people;
2. Sharing and supporting emotional responses to a shift in worldview about the colonial relationship;
3. Building a critical sense of cultural collectivity among settler colonisers;
4. Working towards an accountable, mutually agreed relationship between indigenous and settler coloniser peoples¹¹⁷.

The individualised focus of Pākehā/European culture has meant that the response by some Pākehā to the notion of Pākehā privilege is to focus on their individual experience, rather than on the laws and systems that maintain it. Research on privilege has also maintained an individual focus, and implied that Pākehā and other White people are passive beneficiaries rather than active agents who maintain individual and institutional Pākehā norms every day¹¹⁸. They may do this by choosing ‘good’ – that is, Pākehā-dominated – schools for their children; or by not criticising discriminatory treatment in health, justice, education and social services from which they benefit.

This personalisation of Whiteness implies that ‘the problem of racism can be solved by white people changing their

¹¹¹ Gossett, T. (1975). *Race: The history of an idea in America*. Dallas: Southern Methodist university Press, p. 235.

¹¹² Huygens, I. (1979). *Sociolinguistic stereotyping in New Zealand*. MA Thesis. Auckland: University of Auckland.

¹¹³ Painter, N.I. (1987). *Standing at Armageddon: The United States 1877-1919*. New York, WW. Norton.

¹¹⁴ Huygens, I. (2011) Developing a decolonisation practice for settler colonisers: A case study from Aotearoa New Zealand. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1(2), 53-81. DOI: 10.1080/2201473X.2011.10648812

¹¹⁵ Leonardo, Z. (2004), The color of supremacy: Beyond the discourse of ‘white privilege’. *Educational Philosophy & Theory*, 36(2), 137-152, p. 149.

¹¹⁶ Leonardo, 2004, p. 148.

¹¹⁷ Huygens, I. (2011) Developing a decolonisation practice for settler colonisers: A case study from Aotearoa New Zealand. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1(2), 53-81. DOI: 10.1080/2201473X.2011.10648812

¹¹⁸ Leonardo, 2004.

minds¹¹⁹. A common Pākehā response is to feel concerned about whether they are perceived as individually racist. Personal reflections about Whiteness simply change the position of concerned White people in relation to racism without changing a racist system¹²⁰. Social change, alternative and women's groups commonly use discussion of personal experiences and feelings to generate social analysis and political action, and this approach can also deflect attempts to change groups and institutions.

119 Andersen, M. (2003). *Whitewashing race: A critical perspective on whiteness*, in E. Bonilla-Silva & A. Doane. (Eds.). *White out: The continuing significance of racism*. London, Routledge, p. 30.

120 Jeyasingham, D. (2012). White noise: A critical evaluation of social work education's engagement with Whiteness studies. *British Journal of Social Work*, 42, 669–686. DOI: 10.1093/bjsw/bcr110

White women's 'emotional attachment to innocence' is bolstered by official histories which whitewash the race-based legislation and structures that ensure their privilege¹²¹. In these organisations, a focus on hurt feelings can mean that discussions about racism get bogged down in personalities, or an emotional shift can seem like an anti-racist breakthrough. Anti-racist activist Mab Segrest is more positive: "If we white folks were constructed by history, we can, over time and as a people, unconstruct ourselves"¹²². Using the language of US far-right groups, the question for her is: "How, then, to move masses of white people to become traitors to the concept of race."



From Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation campaign for constitutional recognition of the status of indigenous people.

121 Srivastava, S. (1996). Song and dance?: The performance of antiracist workshops. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*, 33, 291–315. DOI: 10.1111/j.1755-618X.1996.tb02454.x, p. 62.

122 Segrest, M. (1994). *Memoir of a race traitor*. Boston, USA: South End Press, p. 195.

Anti-racism

What we learn from research about anti-racism

The vast majority of interventions use education to change individual attitudes and beliefs.

Treaty and decolonisation education in Aotearoa has been informal and unevaluated, but has led to sustained institutional change in many NGOs and health and social services.

The majority of anti-racist interventions attempt to change individual or interpersonal racism and cultural norms, and most research focuses on this level. There are very few studies of attempts to change systemic or institutional racism¹. Most anti-racist interventions are not evaluated, and in those that are, few evaluations are unable to determine any resulting behavioural or long-term changes². One review said: ‘... most of the evaluations of anti-racism strategies we uncovered have substantial methodological flaws, such as ill-defined outcomes, poorly-measured outcomes, no follow-up assessment, over-reliance on university students as participants, small numbers of participants, and over-reliance on one-off short-term interventions’³ (see Recommendations for suggestions about evaluation).

¹ Pedersen, A., Walker, I., & Wise, M. (2005). ‘Talk does not cook rice’: Beyond anti-racism rhetoric to strategies for social action. *Australian Psychologist*, 40(1), 20-31. DOI: 10.1080/0005006051233131729, p. 22.; Pedersen, A., Walker, I., Rapley, M., & Wise, M. (2003). *Anti-racism – What works? An evaluation of the effectiveness of anti-racism strategies*. Perth, Australia: Centre for Social Change & Social Equity, Murdoch University.

² Donovan, R.J., & Vlasis, R. (2006). *A review of communication components of anti-racism and pro-diversity social marketing/ public education campaigns* (Paper 1). Melbourne: VicHealth.

³ Pedersen et al., 2003, p. 10.

Lessons from individual and interpersonal interventions

There are some conclusions from research into individual and interpersonal change that are relevant to mass campaigns.

One point that all anti-racist initiatives need to bear in mind is that any change for people holding ‘modern’ racist or ambivalent views ‘is often difficult, stressful, uncomfortable, unpleasant, and perhaps coercive. It may also be the case, for racism, that change is impossible without some aversive consequences for a person holding racist views’⁴.

A review of research on individual behaviour change found that successful interventions included⁵: ‘the provision of accurate information, involving the audience with respect ... being careful of emotions used, emphasising both commonality and difference for “in-groups” and “out-groups,” taking context into account, using cognitive dissonance, evaluating properly, allowing contact with “out-group” members ... having longer rather than shorter interventions, and using multiple voices from multiple disciplines’.

One classic 1960s study, in an American primary school in a mainly white rural community, used experiential learning to encourage empathy with those facing discrimination⁶. In the ‘Blue Eyes-Brown Eyes’ experiment, the teacher separated

⁴ Pedersen et al., 2005, p. 22.

⁵ Pedersen, A., Walker, I., Paradies, Y., & Guerin, B. (2011). How to cook rice: Ingredients for teaching anti-prejudice. *Australian Psychologist*, 46(1), 55-63, p. 61.

⁶ Peters, W.A. (Producer and Director) (1971). *The eye of the storm* (Video). New York: American Broadcasting Company.

8-9-year-old children into two groups depending on their eye colour. She then actively discriminated against the blue-eyed children, then against the brown-eyed children in a series of practical experiences. 'Thirty years later, participants still saw this experience as life-changing and positive'⁷. Concern about the distress to those who experience discrimination in this experiment have prevented recent academic repetitions of this study⁸, but the teacher involved has developed a career as a diversity trainer by running the workshops all over the world⁹.

Informal decolonisation training has been carried out by Māori and tauwiwi on marae and in other educational contexts for decades¹⁰, to identify the damage of colonial ideologies and systems and reconstruct indigenous knowledge. This has resulted in institutional change with decolonisation being included as an important underpinning philosophy in services for Māori in alcohol and other drug treatment, mental health, family violence, criminal justice and other sectors¹¹.

⁷ Pedersen, A., Walker, I., Rapley, M., & Wise, M. (2003). *Anti-racism – What works? An evaluation of the effectiveness of anti-racism strategies*. Perth, Australia: Centre for Social Change & Social Equity, Murdoch University, p. 14.

⁸ Pedersen et al., 2003.

⁹ See www.janeelliott.com/index.htm

¹⁰ For example, Barnes, A. (No date.) *A Pakeha (non-Maori) male perspective of decolonisation in Aotearoa*. Retrieved 29 September 2014 from http://www.swaraj.org/shikshantar/ls3_jessica.htm; Moeke-Pickering, T.M. (2010). *Decolonisation as a social change framework and its impact on the development of indigenous-based curricula for helping professionals in mainstream tertiary education organisations*. PhD thesis, University of Waikato.

¹¹ Adamson, S., Deering, D., Hinerangi, M., Huriwai, T., & Noller, G. (2010a). An evaluation of the Moana House residential therapeutic community. Wellington: ALAC; Second Māori Taskforce on Whānau Violence. (2004). *Transforming whānau violence: A conceptual framework*. Wellington: Te Puni Kokiri; Evans, D. (2010). *Ki te marama i te tangata me marama hoki i tona ao: Are cultural competencies critical for Maori mental health practitioners?* MPhil, Massey University, Wellington; Cunningham, C. (2011). Adolescent development for Maori. In OPMSAC (Ed.). *Improving the transition - Reducing social and psychological morbidity during adolescence* (pp. 145-152). Wellington: Office of the Prime Minister's Science Advisory Committee; Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed.

Treaty education aimed at members of the dominant culture has run parallel to these efforts. Overseas research indicates that techniques such as anti-racism training courses¹² and providing accurate information¹³ rarely lead to long-term attitude change on their own. In New Zealand from at least the 1970s, informal community education courses about the Treaty of Waitangi and how to apply it in institutions have been run by Māori and tauwiwi anti-racist groups and individuals, and as part of organisational in-service training. It has rarely been evaluated; one facilitator believes the workshops improve understanding of the Treaty, have a small impact on attitudes, and only rarely result in action¹⁴. However, many Māori and tauwiwi have used ideas from these workshops to create Treaty-based structural change within institutions in education, social services; health promotion; libraries; international development agencies; and city councils¹⁵. Networks of decolonisation and Treaty educators around Aotearoa remain strong supporters of anti-racism campaigns¹⁶.

Contact between people from the dominant culture and ethnic minorities, or between minorities, can reduce racism under 'four essential conditions'¹⁷:

¹² Pedersen, Walker & Wise, 2005.

¹³ Pedersen, A., Walker, I., Paradies, Y., & Guerin, B. (2011). How to cook rice: Ingredients for teaching anti-prejudice. *Australian Psychologist*, 46(1), 55-63.

¹⁴ Personal communication. (2014, May 28). Christine Herzog, Treaty Resource Centre, Auckland.

¹⁵ Treaty Conference 2000 Publication Group. (2000). *Treaty Conference 2000 proceedings*. Auckland: Treaty Conference 2000 Publication Group. Available from www.trc.org.nz/publications; Treaty Resource Centre. (2007). *Treaty journeys: International development agencies respond to the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Council for International Development / Te Kaunihera mo te Whakapakari Ao Whanui o Aotearoa.

¹⁶ AWEA. (2014). *Treaty Educators Aotearoa*. Retrieved 29 September 2014 from <http://www.treatyeducators.org.nz/>

¹⁷ Pedersen, A., Walker, I., & Wise, M. (2005). 'Talk does



From Tamaki Treaty Workers

1. Conflicting groups must have equal status within the contact situation
2. There should be no competition along group lines within the contact situation
3. Groups must seek superordinate goals within the contact situation
4. Relevant institutional authorities must sanction the intergroup contact and must endorse a reduction in intergroup tensions.'

However, again, this contact will not end long-term racism on its own. Intense, long-term dialogue about ethnic relations can change dominant culture attitudes, although it is a time-consuming and resource-intensive strategy¹⁸.

not cook rice': Beyond anti-racism rhetoric to strategies for social action, *Australian Psychologist*, 40(1), 20-30. DOI: 10.1080/0005006051233131729, p. 23-4.

¹⁸ Issues Deliberation Australia/America. (2001). *Australia deliberates: Reconciliation - Where from here?* Austin, Texas,

Australian researchers said it is commonly assumed that changes in attitudes lead to changes in behaviour, but that this is not the case: 'attitudes have only a tenuous relationship with behaviours, and attempts to change behaviours by inducing prior changes in attitudes are ineffective and inefficient'¹⁹. They suggested that it is more effective to change racist behaviour directly by attempting to change the norms of organisational and public contexts.



From 1000 Conversations Across Canada On Reconciliation, a campaign about the legacy of residential schools for indigenous children.

USA: IDA.

¹⁹ Pedersen, A., Walker, I., & Wise, M. (2005). 'Talk does not cook rice': Beyond anti-racism rhetoric to strategies for social action, *Australian Psychologist*, 40(1), 20-31. DOI: 10.1080/0005006051233131729, p. 28.

Anti-racism campaigns

This section analyses examples of anti-racist campaigns that include mass communication. It draws heavily on an excellent Australian review of mass communication components of anti-racism social marketing campaigns, written in 2006 by Robert Donovan and Rodney Vlasis.

What we learn from research about anti-racism campaigns

Many anti-racism campaigns are not pre-tested or evaluated, and there is little knowledge about their impacts on racist behaviour. Most campaigns have had vague target audiences and goals, and provided no information about media spending or schedules

Some campaigns have actually increased prejudice.

Celebrating diversity does not challenge racist structures; pro-diversity campaigns need to include specific anti-racist interventions, and include Pākehā culture among other examples of cultural diversity.

Anti-racism campaigns need to be well-funded and long-term. They should include sophisticated representations of the similarities and differences between the in-group (target audience) and other ethnicities.

Endorsement of campaigns by political leaders is very important. Celebrities can raise awareness of a campaign, but campaigns can also be damaged if their private actions contradict the campaign message.

Detailed pre-testing and evaluation is essential, not least to ensure that the campaign is not having unintended negative effects.

Changing social norms towards anti-racism can change behaviour. One example is campaigns promoting bystander action against racism in public spaces and organisations; they have potential but have not been evaluated.

Campaigns in small geographical areas have been effective. Campaigns against racism in

sport have helped reduce racist fan behaviour and promoted anti-racism as a norm, but have not reduced institutional racism in sports administration.

Changing false beliefs may be useful but may not reduce prejudice.

Introduction

The term 'campaign' refers to programmes run by identifiable institutions rather than anonymous groups; with clear start and finish dates; and a series of actions deliberately planned for specific goals¹. The research agrees that mass media campaigns should not be seen as a strategy in themselves, but a way of disseminating an anti-racism strategy². Many anti-racism initiatives also assume that

1 Alleyne, M.D. (2011). Anti-racism as identity politics: A constructivist approach to the FARE and Ad Council campaigns. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 213-237). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

2 Pedersen, A., Walker, I., & Wise, M. (2005). 'Talk does not cook rice': Beyond anti-racism rhetoric to strategies for social action. *Australian Psychologist*, 40(1), 20-31. DOI:10.1080/0005006051233131729

From 'I too am Harvard, an exhibition of images of Harvard University students of colour, holding signs showing some of the racist comments made to them.



racism is a result of individual prejudice, and so aim to improve people's understanding of their racist behaviour, in what New Zealand researcher Bernard Guerin called 'global "train and hope" strategies'³.

However, Guerin said that contexts have more influence on whether people act in racist ways, and that interventions should therefore focus on the economic, social, cultural and historical contexts surrounding racist behaviour. Partly as a result of these factors, many interventions designed to reduce stereotypes, racism and prejudice had limited short-term affect that did not persist across time⁴.

Most of the campaigns reviewed here are either offline or integrated with some online elements. Campaigns against cyber-bullying aimed at young people are common in industrialised countries⁵, but few have a specific focus on racist harassment.

The source of funding can have an effect on what a campaign is able to do or achieve.

many interventions designed to reduce stereotypes, racism and prejudice had limited short-term affect

Accepting government funding for anti-racist programmes makes it very difficult for

anti-racist organisations to critique racist government policies and actions⁶.

A summary of mass communication in anti-racist social marketing campaigns found that⁷ –

³ Guerin, B. (2005). Combating everyday racial discrimination without assuming racists or racism: New intervention ideas from a contextual analysis. *Behavior & Social Issues*, 14, 46-70, p. 57.

⁴ Pedersen, A., Walker, I., & Wise, M. (2005). 'Talk does not cook rice': Beyond anti-racism rhetoric to strategies for social action. *Australian Psychologist*, 40(1), 20-31. DOI:10.1080/0005006051233131729, p. 21.

⁵ Eg, Australian Human Rights Commission. (2013). *Back me up: Don't stand by, it could be you!* Retrieved from www.humanrights.gov.au/back-me; Delete Cyberbullying. (2014). *Delete Cyberbullying*. Retrieved from www.deletecyberbullying.org/; Get Cyber Safe. (2014). *Stop hating online*. Retrieved from www.getcybersafe.gc.ca/index-eng.aspx

⁶ Lentin, A. (2004). *Racism and anti-racism in Europe*. London: Pluto Press.

⁷ Donovan, R.J., & Vlasis, R. (2006). *A review of communication components of anti-racism and pro-diversity*

- '...there is little reporting of pre-testing materials against the ethnic groups that are the subjects of the materials
- Communication campaigns are rarely explicitly based on any communication principles, attitude-behaviour change models or psycho-social concepts of racism....
- The target audiences for the campaigns are only vaguely stated or simply assumed to be 'the general population'.
- Communication objectives are broadly stated rather than delineating specific beliefs being targeted...
- Evaluations are generally not conducted, and where conducted are inadequate to assess campaign effectiveness
- Media expenditure, media schedules and media weights are rarely reported'.

First, do no harm

Mass media or advertising can affect different groups in the population differently; for some, it can intensify racist attitudes and have other backlash effects. The research shows that many well-intentioned anti-racism campaigns have actually increased prejudice against other ethnic groups among members of dominant cultures, achieving the opposite of what they intended.

For example, several television social marketing campaigns in Holland strengthened dominant culture members' beliefs that ethnic minorities are criminals and troublemakers and eat strange food⁸.

A 1997 survey in European Union countries after a year of co-ordinated anti-racism campaigns found that Europeans in several countries were more willing to declare themselves openly as 'racist', rather than less⁹.

social marketing/ public education campaigns (Paper 1). Carlton, Australia: VicHealth, p. 4.

⁸ Vrij, A., & Smith, B.J. (1999). Reducing ethnic prejudice by public campaigns: An evaluation of a present and a new campaign. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 9, 195-215.

⁹ Cited by Millbank, A. (1998). *An anti-racism campaign: Who needs it?* Current Issues Brief No. 20. Canberra: Department of the Parliamentary Library, p. 4.

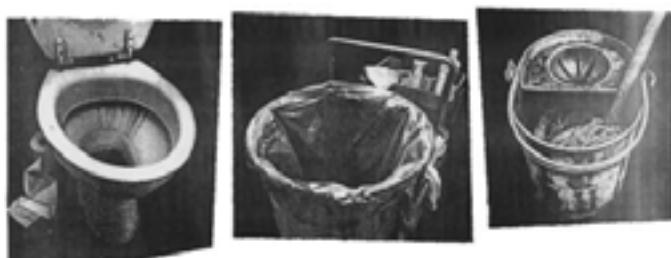
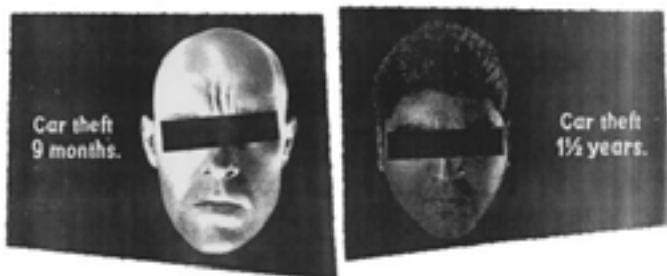
The large *One Scotland – No place for racism* campaign, later renamed *One Scotland*, started before 2002, and was formatively evaluated beforehand. While some racist attitudes showed minor shifts after the first phase, they had returned to pre-campaign levels by the end of the second phase, and fewer respondents believed that Scottish people needed to do more to stop racism and to respect other cultures. However, the evaluation design had several weaknesses¹⁰.



found that the CRE images increased their prejudice scores.

A later CRE campaign run in 1999, called 'Racism: Condemn or condone - there's no in between', was criticised by the same researchers for the way it attempted to

counter negative stereotypes. It featured three billboard images; the first featured a close-up of the face of a Black man asking, in huge capitals, SCARED? Underneath, in tiny print was 'you should be – he's a dentist'. A picture of an Indian woman in a sari had the large words IMPROVE YOUR ENGLISH, with 'perhaps this head teacher could help' in tiny print; and an image of an Indian boy wearing a Muslim kufi ran the words NO-ONE RESPECTS ME, above 'I'm an Arsenal fan'.



Another example was a campaign in the 1990s by the UK Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), which used three images, reproduced below¹¹. (The titles are omitted.)

One was an untitled picture of four brains, the smallest one of which was labelled 'racist'. Another about unequal sentencing for Black people was titled 'Criminal, isn't it?' The third, featuring a dirty toilet and grimy cleaning gear, was titled 'Who says ethnic minorities can't get jobs? There are openings everywhere'. The researchers showed cards featuring the CRE images and the same images modified by the researchers to a group of 190 White British people, and

One group of researchers criticised this campaign because it did not include positive similarities between the dominant culture and ethnic minorities, and because it presented the images in a negative context – two factors they found important in their study of the previous damaging CRE campaign¹². Another researcher was also critical, saying that viewers may not read the ads as developers intended, and the danger is that the billboards could reinforce the stereotypes they are trying to counter¹³.

¹⁰ Donovan & Vlasis, 2006.

¹¹ Donovan & Vlasis, 2006.

¹² Vrij, A., Akehurst, C. & Smith, B. (2003). Reducing ethnic prejudice: An evaluation of seven recommended principles for incorporation in public campaigns. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 13(4), 284-299

¹³ Murji, K. (2006). Using racial stereotypes in anti-racist campaigns. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 29(2), 260-280.

Australian researchers agreed¹⁴; they had found that negative images of Aboriginal people reinforced prevailing stereotypes, and led people from the dominant culture to reject the message that land rights could improve the situation.

Celebrating diversity

The Human Rights Commission is one of many organisations that host multicultural events in Aotearoa and elsewhere. The research indicates that it is important these events clearly state that New Zealand includes people from a wide range of backgrounds, all of whom are accepted and welcome¹⁵. However, without any accompanying challenge to the centrality of the dominant culture, these events can become ornamental multiculturalism, presenting the food and performances of other cultures as something for Pākehā to consume¹⁶. Researchers suggest that they should be connected to other, more specifically anti-racist, initiatives.



One of the research recommendations is that diversity campaigns using mass media should also be accompanied by community-based pro-diversity and anti-racism initiatives. One example of this is Australia's National Harmony Day; the biggest component of its budget goes to partnership and community grants. However, no evaluations of this campaign were available¹⁷.

¹⁴ Donovan & Vlasis, 2006.

¹⁵ The Challenging Racism project. (2014). *Anti-racism initiatives*. University of Western Sydney. Retrieved 3 September 2014 from www.uws.edu.au/ssap/ssap/research/challenging_racism/initiatives

¹⁶ Lugones, M. & Price, J. (1995). Dominant culture: El deseo por un alma pobre (The desire for an impoverished soul). In D. Harris (Ed.). *Multiculturalism from the margins: Non-dominant voices on difference and diversity* (pp. 103-127). Westpoint, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

¹⁷ Donovan, R.J., & Vlasis, R. (2006). *A review of communication components of anti-racism and pro-diversity social marketing/public education campaigns* (Paper 1).

Promote similarities or differences?

Researchers have debated whether it was more useful to highlight diversity and differences between groups or to emphasise similarities. Many anti-racism campaigns that Donovan and Vlasis reviewed emphasised similarities between different ethnicities rather than their diversity¹⁸. An example is Victoria's 2006 Just Like You campaign on the left, which included White culture as part of the state's diversity. Vrij¹⁹ argued that campaigns should focus on positive similarities between groups in a positive context that represent minorities as part of 'us' rather than 'them'. Some researchers thought this was particularly important at times when media or public figures were repeatedly emphasising cultural difference between the dominant culture and particular groups²⁰.

Positive similarities was one of three factors tested in television advertisements aimed at reducing prejudice against people from Turkey, Morocco and Surinam who were living in Holland²¹. The other factors were showing many members of the minority groups; and using explicit messages. TV spots using a combination of all three elements resulted in more positive judgements of minority groups by White Dutch shoppers than in a control group that did not see the advertisements.

Melbourne: VicHealth.

¹⁸ Donovan & Vlasis, 2006.

¹⁹ Vrij, A., Akehurst, C. & Smith, B. (2003). Reducing ethnic prejudice: An evaluation of seven recommended principles for incorporation in public campaigns. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 13(4), 284-299.

²⁰ Pedersen, A., Walker, I., Rapley, M., & Wise, M. (2003). *Anti-racism – What works? An evaluation of the effectiveness of anti-racism strategies*. Perth, Australia: Centre for Social Change & Social Equity, Murdoch University.

²¹ Vrij, A., Van Schie, E., & Cherryman, J. (1996). Reducing ethnic prejudice through public communication programs: A social-psychological perspective. *Journal of Psychology*, 130, 413-420.

However, Kerchis and Young²² argued that emphasising similarities can force minority groups to fit into the practices and values of the dominant group, and hide the unequal power relations and historical disadvantage experienced by indigenous and minority ethnicities. They argued that promoting positive cultural diversity would help to expose dominant culture practices as culturally specific instead of universal. They suggested that campaigns emphasise the diversity of cultural groups under an over-arching theme – such as a positive future – that unites them. Rather than a consumerist understanding of culture as food and dance performances, they suggested that campaigns could portray what different cultures (including the dominant one) could learn from each other about ways of relating and family connectedness.

Donovan and Vlasis²³ gave the example of a suggested Melbourne project called ‘Babymoon’, ‘to encourage mothers and other community members to learn from the birthing practices of local women and families originating from the Horn of Africa.’ These practices included intense support for mothers by intergenerational extended family members and other community women. Unfortunately this project was never funded. Donovan said that focusing learning from each other about a topic that is universally treasured – new mothering – may be more useful than focusing on values, which may be more contentious.

Another study of 12-14-year-old Latino and Black students in the USA found that text messages in science books that combined similarity with uniqueness improved social tolerance more than messages that emphasised similarities or those that stressed

uniqueness²⁴. The effective message read: ‘All humans are the same. Everyone gets scared sometimes, but each person also is a unique individual. Different things scare different individuals.’

Researchers agree that anti-racist campaigns need to have a sophisticated understanding of similarities and differences, and that, where possible, this should challenge the dominant culture as the norm against which all others are compared²⁵.

The choice of the over-arching, uniting theme need to be considered carefully and evaluated with potential audience members beforehand. For example, several campaigns appealed to national identity, but this can increase racism because national identities are often defined by the norms and practices of the dominant culture²⁶.

**Appealing to national identity
can increase racism**

Involvement of political leaders and media

Many researchers agreed that leadership at every level, from senior politicians, local government and community leaders, was required to support the need for anti-racism campaigns and an anti-racist norm²⁷. However, statements by

²⁴ Levy, S.R., West, T.L., Bigler, R.S., Karafantis, D.M., Ramirez, L., & Velilla, E. (2005). Messages about the uniqueness and similarities of people: Impact on U.S. Black and Latino youth, *Applied Developmental Psychology* 26, 714–733. DOI 10.1016/j.appdev.2005.08.004, p. 720.

²⁵ The Challenging Racism project. (2014). *Anti-racism initiatives*. University of Western Sydney. Retrieved 3 September 2014 from www.uws.edu.au/ssap/ssap/research/challenging_racism/initiatives

²⁶ Donovan & Vlasis, 2006; Lugo-Ocando, J. (2011). Media campaigns and asylum seekers in Scotland. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 95-128). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

²⁷ Nelson, J.K. (2013). Denial of racism and its implications for local action. *Discourse & Society*, 24(1), 89-109. DOI: 10.1177/0957926512463635; Pedersen, A., Walker, I., & Wise, M. (2005). ‘Talk does not cook rice’: Beyond anti-racism rhetoric to strategies for social action. *Australian Psychologist*,

²² Kerchis, C. & Young, I. (1995). Social movements and the politics of difference. In D. Harris (Ed.). *Multiculturalism from the margins: Non-dominant voices on difference and diversity* (pp. 1-27). Westpoint, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

²³ Donovan, R.J., & Vlasis, R. (2006). *A review of communication components of anti-racism and pro-diversity social marketing/ public education campaigns* (Paper 1). Melbourne: VicHealth, p. 96.

political and social leaders that highlight threats to the dominant culture are likely to increase racism²⁸. In this situation, it was recommended that anti-racism campaign set modest and achievable goals²⁹.

Researchers also highlighted the importance of challenging media racism³⁰. One example of a media-led campaign was the *Akron Beacon Journal's Coming Together* civic journalism project in the USA from 1993-4. It started with a series of large articles under the banner 'A question of color', which covered a range of issues related to 'race' and racism over a year, and aimed to get readers to sign and return a pledge to improve race relations in the town. More than 25,000 pledges were received. This evolved into the project; the newspaper donated office space and a salary for another two years, after which the group became independent and is still active. There was no evaluation, but the fact that it has led to such sustained action is a significant result.



40(1), 20-30. DOI: 10.1080/0005006051233131729;

28 Stephan, W. & Stephan, C. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.). *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 23-45). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

29 Donovan, R.J., & Vlasis, R. (2006). *A review of communication components of anti-racism and pro-diversity social marketing/public education campaigns* (Paper 1). Melbourne: VicHealth.

30 Donovan & Vlasis, 2006.

Dispel 'false beliefs' with accurate information

Some racist behaviour and attitudes, for example about asylum seekers or refugees, is based on 'false beliefs' that these groups get special treatment not available to others. Providing accurate information has been recommended by several reviews of anti-racist campaigns as an effective way to lessen the number of people who hold these beliefs³¹. For example, challenging false beliefs about Aboriginal Australians – for example, that they get more benefit payments than other Australians – was found to be more effective in lowering prejudice scores than encouraging empathy³². However, changing false beliefs may not always reduce prejudice against the groups involved³³, and should be accompanied by other anti-racist initiatives.

The Hot Potato initiative by the Asylum Seeker Resource Centre in Australia is an example of a campaign based on correcting false beliefs. It involved a high-profile talking tour, which also served 10,000 hot potatoes with a range of international recipes and a website (<http://thehotpotato.com.au/>). I could find no evaluation of this campaign, apart from the website statement that it had stimulated more than 12 million conversations about the issue.

31 Paradies, Y., Chandrakumar, L., Klocker, N., Frere, M., Webster, K., Burrell, M., & McLean, P. (2009). *Building on our strengths: A framework to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity in Victoria. Full report*. Melbourne: VicHealth; Pedersen, A., Walker, I., Rapley, M., & Wise, M. (2003). *Anti-racism – What works? An evaluation of the effectiveness of anti-racism strategies*. Perth, Australia: Centre for Social Change & Social Equity, Murdoch University.

32 Batterham, D. (2001). *Modern racism, reconciliation and attributions for disadvantage: A role for empathy and false beliefs?* Paper presented at the 2nd Victorian Postgraduates in Psychology Conference, Swinburne University of Technology, November 24.

33 Pedersen, A., Walker, I., Paradies, Y., & Guerin, B. (2011). How to cook rice: Ingredients for teaching anti-prejudice. *Australian Psychologist*, 46(1), 55-63.

Institutional and systemic racism

Researchers agreed that anti-racism efforts need to be targeted at all the levels at which racism works, including institutional and societal structures, and across different settings³⁴. Stand-alone social marketing campaigns are unlikely to succeed. Reviews stress the need for accompanying work on institutions (standards, practices and structures), structural (rules, policies, regulations and laws) and environmental changes (norms among families, friends, peers and social networks)³⁵.

An example of an initiative which had an institutional effect is the Asylum positive images network (APIN) in Scotland, a campaign by refugee and refugee support groups, public bodies and international organisations, led by Oxfam, which aimed to increase positive images of asylum seekers. APIN produced a journalism guide to reporting asylum-seeker issues – *Fair play: A guide for journalists in Scotland* – organised media awards and trained journalism students, as well as people seeking asylum to speak to the media. The bulk of articles that depicted asylum seekers as threats were orchestrated by London-based tabloids and reprinted in their Scottish editions, and there was no evidence that APIN's work with media changed the media practices of these

³⁴ Pedersen, A., Walker, I., & Wise, M. (2005). 'Talk does not cook rice': Beyond anti-racism rhetoric to strategies for social action. *Australian Psychologist*, 40(1), 20-30. DOI: 10.1080/0005006051233131729; Paradies, Y., & Williams, D. (2008). Racism and health. In S. Quah & K. Heggenhougen (Eds.). *International encyclopedia of public health* (pp. 474–483). San Diego, CA: Academic Press; Pedersen et al., 2003; The Challenging Racism project. (2014). *Anti-racism initiatives*. University of Western Sydney. Retrieved 3 September 2014 from www.uws.edu.au/ssap/ssap/research/challenging_racism/initiatives

³⁵ Health Sponsorship Council. (2004). *Role of social marketing in improving nutrition and increasing physical activity*. Unpublished paper. Wellington: Ministry of Health, cited in Nemec, K. (2005). *Public health depression initiative: A review of depression campaigns - Lessons for New Zealand*. Wellington: Ministry of Health.



London tabloids³⁶. However, after intensive lobbying by APIN members, the Press Complaints Commission asked newspapers to 'to moderate their coverage of asylum seekers and to stop using terms such as "illegal" or "bogus"'. Although some tabloids continue using these terms, they can now be grounds for formal complaints.

Two examples of structural and contextual anti-discrimination interventions in the housing area aimed to overcome perceptions of discrimination by Somali tenants in London, and people with psychiatric histories in New Haven, USA³⁷. Rather than attempting global cultural understanding or building empathy, both interventions brought tenants and landlords together to discuss and write concrete agreements that protected each group.

Asylum Positive Images Network guide for journalists

The importance of

³⁶ Lugo-Ocando, J. (2011). Media campaigns and asylum seekers in Scotland. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 95-128). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers, p. 119.

³⁷ Guerin, B. (2005). Combating everyday racial discrimination without assuming racists or racism: New intervention ideas from a contextual analysis. *Behavior & Social Issues*, 14, 46-70.

Social norms

Social influence has a strong effect on individual responses to racism⁴⁵. Highly prejudiced people are more likely to believe that others share their opinions, and if bystanders do nothing they have an influence out of proportion to their share of the population⁴⁶. In Australia, more prejudiced participants significantly over-estimated community support for their views about indigenous Australians and asylum seekers⁴⁷. One USA experiment, participants were influenced in both directions by hearing another participant express either strong racist or strong anti-racist views, indicating that such beliefs are malleable⁴⁸. This effect may last more than a week⁴⁹, and implies that a few outspoken people can influence social norms in group settings.

Again, this approach requires care, as people holding 'modern' racist views may support cultural diversity while being suspicious or feeling negative about it⁵⁰. One example of a social norms initiative is Heritage Canada's annual Racism: Stop it! video competition, which aims to encourage young people to write, direct, shoot and edit a one-minute video expressing their thoughts about racism, which are then edited and made available as community service announcements. A wide range of community

⁴⁵ Blanchard, F., Crandall, C., Brigham, J., & Vaughn, L. (1994). Condemning and condoning racism: A social context approach to interracial settings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 79(6), 993-997.

⁴⁶ Nelson, J., Dunn, K., Paradies, Y., Pedersen, A., Sharpe, S., Hynes, M., & Guerin, B. (2010). *Review of bystander approaches in support of preventing race-based discrimination*. Carlton, Australia: VicHealth.

⁴⁷ Pedersen, A., Griffiths, B., & Watt, S. (2008). Attitudes toward out-groups and the perception of consensus: All feet do not wear one shoe. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 18(6), 543-557.

⁴⁸ Blanchard, F.A., Crandall, C.S., Brigham, J.C., & Vaughn, L.A. (1994). Condemning and condoning racism: A social context approach to interracial settings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 79(6), 993-997.

⁴⁹ Stangor, C., Sechrist, G.B., & Jost, J.T. (2001). Changing racial beliefs by providing consensus information. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27(4), 486-496.

⁵⁰ Dunn, K., Forest, J., Burnely, I. & McDonald, I. (2004). Constructing racism in Australia. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 39(4), 409-430.

activities accompany the competition, but no evaluations were available⁵¹.

It may be more successful to change the



dominant group's view of itself than to change its view of a minority ethnic group: 'If the in-group is redefined psychologically and socially to be tolerant, inclusive, and diverse, then changes in intergroup relationships are inevitable and will more likely be persistent and generalizable⁵²'.

Action from bystanders

Campaigns that promote bystander anti-racism are examples of an attempt to change social norms. A 2010 Australian review concluded that bystander anti-racism had a 'strong and largely untapped potential'⁵³. However, there has been little research in Australia and none in New Zealand about how often bystanders intervene about racism, whether this has any impacts, or about what form this action could take in online environments. The Australian review defined bystander action as: 'taken by a person or persons (not directly involved as a subject or perpetrator) to

⁵¹ Donovan, R.J., & Vlasis, R. (2006). *A review of communication components of anti-racism and pro-diversity social marketing/ public education campaigns* (Paper 1). Melbourne: VicHealth.

⁵² Pedersen, A., Walker, I., & Wise, M. (2005). 'Talk does not cook rice': Beyond anti-racism rhetoric to strategies for social action. *Australian Psychologist*, 40(1), 20-30. DOI: 10.1080/0005006051233131729, p. 24.

⁵³ Nelson et al., 2010, p. 35.

Factors that help and hinder bystander action about racism

Enablers of bystander action	Obstacles to bystander action
Knowledge of what constitutes racism	The ambiguous nature of racism
Awareness of harm caused by racism	Exclusive group identity
Perception of responsibility to intervene	Fear of violence or vilification, being targeted by perpetrator
Perceived ability to intervene – skills (optimism, self/collective efficacy)	Perception that action would be ineffective
Desire to educate perpetrator	Lack of knowledge about how to intervene
Self-validation, catharsis – expressing anger, disapproval	Gender role prescriptions for women
Desire to aid target of racism	Impression management, preserving interpersonal relations
Self-affirmation	Desire to avoid conflict
Anti-racist social norms	Freedom of speech/right to express one's opinion

identify to speak out about or seek to engage others in responding, either directly or indirectly, to specific incidents of racism, or racist practices, cultures and systems⁵⁴. The review found that in organisations, bystander anti-racism helped reduce absenteeism and turnover of staff, and increase staff creativity and productivity.

Most of the available research about bystander action on discrimination is from the USA, and uses a social psychology approach. Although most people considered assertive responses when they saw a racist incident, researchers found that only up to 40 percent actually said anything⁵⁵.

One model suggests that bystanders implicitly consider five things before they intervene⁵⁶ –

- They interpret the incident as racist or

⁵⁴ Nelson, J., Dunn, K., Paradies, Y., Pedersen, A., Sharpe, S., Hynes, M., & Guerin, B. (2010). Review of bystander approaches in support of preventing race-based discrimination. Carlton, Australia: VicHealth, p. 7.

⁵⁵ ABC News. (2009, 6 January). *Would you stop someone from making racist comments?* Retrieved July 23, 2014 from <http://abcnews.go.com/video/video?id=6591359>; Hyers, L.

(2007). Resisting prejudice every day: Exploring women's assertive responses to anti-Black racism, anti-Semitism, heterosexism, and sexism. *Sex Roles*, 56(1), 1-12; Aboud, F., & Joong, A. (2008). Intergroup name-calling and conditions for creating assertive bystanders. In S. Levy & M. Killen (Eds.). *Intergroup attitudes and relations in childhood through adulthood* (pp. 249-260). New York: Oxford University Press.

⁵⁶ Ashburn-Nardo, L., Morris, K., & Goodwin, S. (2008). The Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) Model: Applying CPR in organizations. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 7(3), 332-342.

discriminatory

- They decide it warrants action
- They take responsibility for acting
- They decide how best to intervene
- They act.

I've reproduced Nelson's list of factors that help and hinder bystander action about racism above⁵⁷.

Organisations can support bystander action by training staff on contributing to an inclusive work environment and how to intervene in discriminatory incidents, and building staff understandings of racism and discrimination; establishing a policy of no tolerance of racist or other discriminatory behaviour, including jokes; and rewarding action rather than inaction against racism and other systemic inequities⁵⁸. Nelson says that awareness-raising and training are essential for organisations that want their staff to act against discrimination. Training needs to include the best arguments, tone and tactics for varied kinds and contexts for racism, and the opportunity to practice them⁵⁹. Suggestions include⁶⁰ –

- 'Asking questions, rather than making

⁵⁷ Nelson et al., 2010, p. 18.

⁵⁸ Nelson et al., 2010.

⁵⁹ Also supported by Pedersen, A., Walker, I., & Wise, M. (2005). 'Talk does not cook rice': Beyond anti-racism rhetoric to strategies for social action. *Australian Psychologist*, 40(1), 20-30. DOI:10.1080/0005006051233131729

⁶⁰ Plous, S. (2000). Responding to overt displays of prejudice: A role-playing exercise. *Teaching of Psychology*, 27(3), 198-200, p. 199.

statements (eg. “Why do you say that?”)

- Appealing to the perpetrator’s belief in equality (eg, “I’m surprised to hear you say that, because I’ve always thought of you as someone who is very open-minded”).
- Describing how the comment or joke made you feel. (eg, “It makes me uncomfortable to hear that”).
- Being respectful, rather than self-righteous.

Nelson agreed that ‘calm and measured’ interventions work better than hostile ones, except for what he calls ‘visceral’ racism – extreme comments such as likening an ethnic group to filth⁶¹.

Nelson suggests that bystander anti-racism could be implemented in workplaces, education institutions, the daily life of shopping and public transport, and the internet. Bystander action could be positioned as contributing to a national goal of non-violence, which is the responsibility of everyone. Campaigns could encourage bystanders to rally to the support of the first person to speak out against a racist act, as a way of turning other witnesses into ‘a resource for action’ and to ensure the active bystander’s safety⁶². Nelson also suggested that White people be encouraged to take responsibility for racist White behaviour.

Guerin points out that the social context strongly influences whether people talk in racist ways, and that racist talk can be used to maintain status and social relationships. Attempts to stop such talk may lead to the challenger being ostracised. He suggests that alternative anti-racist stories and jokes need to be developed that perform the same function. He gives this example⁶³:

M2: Yeah, I have looked as I have put my

⁶¹ Nelson et al., 2010, p. 23.

⁶² Nelson et al., 2010, p. 39.

⁶³ Guerin, B. (2003). Combating prejudice and racism: New interventions from a functional analysis of racist language. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 13, 29-45, p. 40.



card in and if there were any Asian guy behind me sort of looking over my shoulder I would just beat the hell out of him, just in case.

F2: [interrupting before laughter] That’s strange; I hear everyone saying the same thing about you—they get worried when you’re standing behind them in the queue!

A national Australian campaign called Racism: It Stops with Me was implemented in 2012, but the only evaluation I could find listed the following achievements⁶⁴ –

- Over 900 individuals and 160 organisations had signed up after a year.
- 70 percent of organisations that responded to a survey had implemented anti-racism activities.
- The website had 85,000 unique visitors.
- At least 460 people showed their support by posting their photo on the website.

However, there was no evaluation of the organisational activities or the overall effect of the campaign on racist behaviour.

I could find no evaluation of this infographic

⁶⁴ Australian Human Rights Commission. (2013). *Racism: It stops with me and the National Anti-racism Strategy one year on*. Sydney, AHRC. Retrieved from www.itstopswithme.humanrights.gov.au/it-stops-with-me/resources

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Western Australia as featured on the university’s website in support of this national campaign.

about acting against racism on the bus by Australian anti-racist NGO Altogether Now.



from depression⁶⁶ found that 'high profile people can generate further interest and debate about depression'. However, the widespread assumption that a high-profile role model in a social marketing campaign will help change people's behaviour has not been tested.

The use of celebrities in advertising increased from 17 percent in the late 1970s to 25 percent in 2003⁶⁷. There are some similarities in the use of celebrities in social marketing and advertising. For example, celebrities need to be seen as credible and trustworthy; their expertise, charisma, neutrality and enthusiasm effects their impact as role models as well as product endorsers⁶⁸. Their behaviour needs to be seen as above reproach, as any actions that audiences disapprove of – such as infidelity, drunkenness, violence or abuse – may affect the issue or produce being endorsed more negatively than the celebrity.

This likelihood is now so common that most advertisers take out insurance against it⁶⁹. There is no research about whether this effect is different in social marketing compared with commercial campaigns. However, researchers believed that statements by professional soccer players associated with anti-racism campaigns in the UK had harmed the campaigns⁷⁰. These include one Black ex-player and former trustee of Kick it Out calling another Black player a nigger in a text, and a Black patron of Show Racism the Red Card calling another Black player a 'choc-ice' on Twitter, implying that he was white on the inside. They also note that athletes 'cannot always escape the masculine,

Use of celebrities

There is very little research into celebrities in social marketing; almost all research focuses on the effectiveness of celebrity endorsement of commercial products⁶⁵. A New Zealand review of public campaigns to raise awareness and recovery

⁶⁵ Keel, A., & Natarajan, R. (2012). Celebrity endorsements and beyond: New avenues for celebrity branding. *Psychology & Marketing*, 29(9), 690–703. DOI: 10.1002/mar.20555

⁶⁶ Nemeč, K. (2005). *Public health depression initiative: A review of depression campaigns - Lessons for New Zealand*. Wellington: Ministry of Health, p. 7.

⁶⁷ Keel & Natarajan, 2012.

⁶⁸ Brace-Govan, J. (2013). More diversity than celebrity: A typology of role model interaction. *Journal of Social Marketing* 3(2), 111-126. DOI: 10.1108/JSOCM-05-2012-0079

⁶⁹ Thwaites, D., Lowe, B., Monkhouse, L.L. & Barnes, B.R. (2012). The impact of negative publicity on celebrity ad endorsements. *Psychology & Marketing*, 29(9), 663–673. DOI: 10.1002/mar.20552

⁷⁰ Dixon, K., Lowes, J., & Gibbons, T. (2014). Show Racism The Red Card: potential barriers to the effective implementation of the anti-racist message. *Soccer & Society*. DOI: 10.1080/14660970.2014.919280

often sexist, aggressive, competitive sub-culture' of sport, which involves other inequalities besides ethnicity⁷¹.

Another cross-over between social marketing and advertising is the requirement that the image and personality of the celebrity matches the issue being promoted⁷². In celebrity advertising, the better the match between the celebrity and the product, the more damaging was any negative publicity about the celebrity.

If a social marketing campaign decides to use role models to engage with young people about racism, for example, the role models need to be carefully selected and to receive adequate training about what racism is and how to counteract it⁷³. If the campaign aims to change social norms, it would need to consider carefully the role models' communication about values with generation Y consumers. The research suggests that campaigns using role models need to be "clear, well-structured and committed to long term involvement"⁷⁴. Marketing firms⁷⁵ also suggest that campaigns build ongoing working relationships with role models.

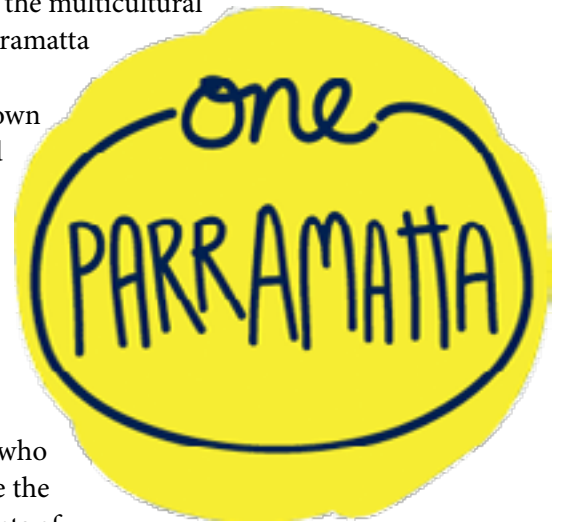
I could find no research about the ethnicity of role models in social marketing. One advertising study compared Japanese and White American non-celebrity endorsement of a printed advertisement for everyday products (an inkjet printer and sunscreen) and found that Singaporean participants were more positive about endorsement by two people of different ethnicities to those with two people of the same ethnicity. The authors concluded that participants inferred that the diversity of endorsement implied

a consensus⁷⁶. The implication of this for an anti-racism campaign seems to be that celebrity endorsers should be from a range of ethnicities.

Regional and local campaigns

Several researchers pointed to significant differences in the degree and type of racism in different geographical areas or parts of cities⁷⁷ I could find only two campaigns that used mass communication in a local area, one in the multicultural Sydney suburb of Parramatta and one in the rural Western Australian town of Bunbury. Both had significant successes.

'One Parramatta', a campaign by Australian anti-racism charity Altogether Now, aimed to reach 18-25-year-old men, who are mostly likely to be the perpetrators and targets of racism, and to reduce the number of racist incidents in the suburb by increasing the number of people who speak up if they witness racism⁷⁸. The project interviewed and filmed 250 young people on the streets of the suburb for small films about issues relating to racism. Interviewees were given postcards about why racism is important and pointing them to the website for ways to speak up against it. The films were uploaded to YouTube and the project website, promoted via Twitter, Facebook and a large email list, and screened over a year at local cinemas in the advertising segment before the screening of movies expected to appeal to a young male audience.



71 Dixon, Lowes & Gibbons, 2014, p. 6.

72 Thwaites, D., Lowe, B., Monkhouse, L.L. & Barnes, B.R. (2012). The impact of negative publicity on celebrity ad endorsements. *Psychology & Marketing*, 29(9), 663–673. DOI: 10.1002/mar.20552

73 Brace-Govan, J. (2013). More diversity than celebrity: A typology of role model interaction. *Journal of Social Marketing* 3(2), 111-126. DOI: 10.1108/JSOCM-05-2012-0079

74 Brace-Govan. (2013), p. 122.

75 Eg, Greene, N. (2012, Dec 27). *Celebrities and social marketing: Should you or shouldn't you?* from <http://socialmediastrategiessummit.com/blog/celebrities-and-social-marketing-should-you-or-shouldnt-you/>

76 Ryu, G., Park, J., & Feick, L. (2006). The role of product type and country-of-origin in decisions about choice of endorser ethnicity in advertising. *Psychology & Marketing*, 23(6), 487–513. DOI: 10.1002/mar.20131

77 Summarised by Donovan & Vlasis, 2006, p. 105-6.

78 Brice, P. (2013). *One Parramatta: Addressing racism in western Sydney*. Sydney: Altogether Now.



Peter Michael.
Peter is a plant operator with the Bunbury City Council. He has been with the Council for twelve years.



Arthur Slater.
Arthur has been the Officer in Charge of the Bunbury District Office of the Department of Community Services for five years.



Mervyn Hardie.
Mervyn is a fitter and turner at Geograph Enterprises. He completed his four year apprenticeship three months ago.

One of the newspaper advertisements from 'All anybody wants is a fair go'. One person has died and her family has asked that her image not be shown.

More than 45,000 residents saw the films at the cinema, and 5,500 visited the website. Of those surveyed afterwards in the cinema foyer, 79 percent said they understood racism better after watching one of the films, and 88 percent said that they were more likely to be welcoming of other cultures as a result. Qualitative feedback from focus groups supported these findings. However, there was no evidence that this understanding had any effect on racist behaviour. Evaluation interviews found that the project would have been more effective if it had been developed by a local rather than outside organisation.

'All Anybody Wants is a Fair Go' was a two-week advertising campaign around Aboriginal employment week in Bunbury, Western Australia in the early 1990s⁷⁹. It attempted to neutralise negative beliefs and reinforce positive ones about Aboriginal employment in the town. As part of a research project funded by the state Equal Opportunities Commission, it included substantial pre-campaign evaluation - three focus groups of non-Aboriginal residents; 12 individual interviews with non-Aboriginal community leaders; and group and individual interviews with 25 Aboriginal leaders and residents.

Aboriginal people helped develop campaign materials, which featured 12 local Aboriginal people who had been in continuous employment for at least two years with an emphasis on skilled or semi-skilled jobs. The campaign featured three 30-second television advertisements run a total of 51 times; three print advertisements run full-

⁷⁹ Donovan, R. J., & Leivers, S. (1993). Using paid advertising to modify racial stereotype beliefs. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 57, 205-218.

page in two local papers (a total of six); and three radio advertisements run a total of 30 times. Advertisements featured pictures or sound of different groups of four people, who were named, with their occupation, employer and years in the job.

Pre- and post-campaign telephone surveys asked about the proportion of employed Aboriginal people, how long they would last in a job, and what kind of job they would work in. The response rate was 46 percent. TV ads were the most recognised (88%), followed by newspaper (49%) and radio (30%). The perceived percentage of Aboriginal people in paid work increased after the campaign, as did the likelihood of them being in skilled and clerical work, and the proportion remaining in a job for more than a year increased significantly.

Campaigns need to be long-term

All the research agrees that anti-racism social marketing and mass media campaigns need to be long-term with sustained funding, as awareness indicators and effectiveness reduces when campaigns are not running⁸⁰. The New Zealand breast screening campaign has found that different phases of a campaign aiming for behaviour change need different approaches. Early adopters may need very little information to act, while late adopters may need more information before they are convinced⁸¹. Single campaigns are unlikely to be effective on their own; multiple campaigns are likely to have a cumulative effect⁸².

However, when only a small budget is available, it is important to focus on limited audiences and small, achievable goals⁸³.

⁸⁰ Nemeč, K. (2005). *Public health depression initiative: A review of depression campaigns - Lessons for New Zealand*. Wellington: Ministry of Health.

⁸¹ Hughes, S. (2004). *Measuring outcomes: Social marketing for breast screening*. Unpublished paper. Auckland: National Screening Unit, Ministry of Health.

⁸² Donovan & Vlasis, 2006.

⁸³ Health Sponsorship Council, cited in Nemeč, 2005.

Formative and impact evaluation

Many researchers stressed the critical nature of formative evaluation and pre-testing of any mass media anti-racism campaign⁸⁴. Messages may affect men and women, older and younger people, or those with higher or lower prejudice scores differently and these differences need to be pre-tested⁸⁵. Basing campaign planning on high-quality research makes them more likely to be effective. Altogether Now is one example of a small NGO which draws on anti-racism research to shape its campaigns, and has expert researchers on its board.

The lack of impact evaluations of anti-racist campaigns makes it very difficult to know which campaigns have been effective, and hard to learn from previous mistakes. While it is very difficult to evaluate behaviour change from any social marketing or mass media campaign, it is sometimes easier in public health. In Australia, awareness of the *beyondblue* campaign about depression was twice as high in states that provided funding. People in those states reported more change in beliefs about some treatments, particularly counselling and anti-depressive drugs, and about the general benefits of getting help⁸⁶.

Evaluation should assess the effectiveness of anti-racism campaigns in changing prejudice levels in the target groups, as well as their contribution to policy change, to actively anti-racist organisations and other

⁸⁴ Nelson, J., Dunn, K., Paradies, Y., Pedersen, A., Sharpe, S., Hynes, M., & Guerin, B. (2010). *Review of bystander approaches in support of preventing race-based discrimination*. Carlton, Australia: VicHealth; Nemeck, K. (2005). *Public health depression initiative: A review of depression campaigns - Lessons for New Zealand*. Wellington: Ministry of Health.

⁸⁵ Pedersen, A., Walker, I., Rapley, M., & Wise, M. (2003). *Anti-racism – What works? An evaluation of the effectiveness of anti-racism strategies*. Perth, Australia: Centre for Social Change & Social Equity, Murdoch University.

⁸⁶ Jorm, A.F., Christensen, H., Griffiths, M. (2005). The impact of beyondblue: The national depression initiative on the Australian public's recognition of depression and beliefs about treatments. *Australia & NZ Journal of Psychiatry*, 39, 248-254.

macro measures⁸⁷.

Commercial campaigns

Few campaigns sponsored by or involving profit-making companies have been evaluated. A Nike television advertisement, *Stand up, speak up*, was screened in Europe and the UK for three months in 2005. It used famous soccer players asking viewers to speak up against racism in soccer. It was accompanied by a website and the sale of black and white plastic wristbands carrying the slogan and the Nike swoosh. The wristbands were very popular, but a survey of fans found that the campaign had no effect on racist behaviour or discussion of the issue in clubs or by players⁸⁸.

'Give Racism the Finger', a three-week Australian campaign by Altogether Now, used Body Shop staff to engage customers aged around 18 to 45 in conversations about racism, and provided them with material to help them do this. It was aimed at ambivalent adults, the 40 percent of the population who are happy with cultural diversity in the abstract, but prefer assimilation over multiculturalism⁸⁹. Customers were asked to 'demonstrate their willingness to speak up about racism by dipping their finger in ink, and placing their



⁸⁷ The Challenging Racism project. (2014). *Anti-racism initiatives*. University of Western Sydney. Retrieved 3 September 2014 from www.uws.edu.au/ssap/ssap/research/challenging_racism/initiatives

⁸⁸ Muller, F., van Zoonen, L., & de Roode, L. (2011). Anti-racist communication in soccer: A spoilt vocabulary? In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 73-94). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

⁸⁹ Brice-Weller, P. (2011). *Project evaluation: Give Racism the Finger campaign*. Sydney: Altogether Now.



Show Racism the **Red Card**

The UK's Anti-Racism Educational Charity
www.theredcard.org



Arsenal Ladies FC 2011/12



inked finger on a canvas letter in the store'. The campaign was promoted on Facebook, where Altogether Now posted provocative daily questions, polls and posts, and several footballers promoted the campaign on Twitter. Thirty-nine percent of Body Shop stores returned staff surveys, which showed a 23 percent increase in staff knowledge and enthusiasm for the issue as a result of the campaign. The campaign collected more than 50,000 fingerprints and gave away more than 50,000 campaign postcards, engaging with an average of one in three customers, an estimated total of 300,000.

Photos of some customers were posted on the Altogether Now Facebook page, and the campaign increased the page's likes from 200 to 1,300. 'By using Facebook we have been able to facilitate conversations on a national scale long after the in-store campaign in a way that any other method cannot currently do.'⁹⁰ More than 190 people changed their profile picture to a PicBadge of them with the campaign logo. However, the evaluation was not able to show whether the campaign resulted in any change in customer behaviour.

⁹⁰ Brice-Weller, P. (2011). Project evaluation: Give Racism the Finger campaign. Sydney: Altogether Now, p. 7.

Anti-racism in sport

Anti-racism in UK sport was supported by three factors: changes in 2000 to the Race Relations Act which required public authorities to promote racial equality; Labour government support for sports policy that promoted social inclusion; and alliances between the Commission for Racial Equality and key sports strategic bodies⁹¹. There is mixed evidence about the effectiveness of anti-racism campaigns in sport, some of which, like Kick it Out, have been going for more than 20 years. A survey of 1,000 soccer fans found that 79 percent believed that Kick It Out's attempts to tackle racism had been only partly effective⁹². Another researcher argued that the Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE) campaign, which began in 1999 'was motivated as much by 'mass symbolism' – the desire to demonstrate that European football organisations

⁹¹ Burdsey, D. (2011). British Asians and the cultural politics of anti-racist campaigning in English football. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 187-211). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

⁹² Cleland, J., & Cashmore, E. (2013). Fans, racism and British football in the twenty-first century: The existence of a colour-blind ideology. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*. DOI: 10.1080/1369183x.2013.777524.

involved were not racist – as by a desire to persuade fans to an anti-racist stance⁹³. Another researcher believed that anti-racist campaigns reinforce social norms against racism and can respond to more overt forms of fan racism, but that they are less effective with more subtle forms and with systemic and institutional racism⁹⁴.

One of the largest groups against racism in soccer is the UK charity Show Racism the Red Card (SRtRC) established in 1996. It has four offices and involves hundreds of top players and managers in England, Wales and Scotland. It organises direct anti-racism education with 50,000 young people a year, sometimes including a fitness/football session with former professional players. It also organises teacher and workplace anti-racism training; an annual national schools competition; an annual Fortnight of Action in Scotland and Wales in October; high profile anti-racism events with professional sporting clubs; anti-racist comedy nights; and Writers against Racism. In Scotland it also combats racism within soccer, including players.

An evaluation of its school competition, which encourages school students to produce anti-racism resources, found that 91 percent of teacher respondents led classroom discussions on racism before the competition, and all respondents surveyed agreed that the competition ‘contributed significantly towards combating racism in schools’⁹⁵.

An evaluation of anti-racism education events where several schools met in football clubs found that they awakened a ‘sense of empowerment’ in students, who felt that ‘they can do something about racism’

including feeling confident about directly confronting their peers if they were doing something racist⁹⁶. These events increased the number of students who believed racism was a problem, that its effects were serious, that it is a form of bullying, and that they can do something about it. More than 90 percent felt they knew more about racism after these events, and fewer trivialised racism as ‘just name-calling’⁹⁷. However, evaluations stressed that SRtRC urgently needed ‘to be able to demonstrate (and prove) a measurable set of impacts and outcomes’⁹⁸.

Researchers question the positive evaluations by students, arguing that they may be temporary because of the entrenched beliefs that students live with at home. For example, when students were asked if they thought their relatives had listened to them about the workshop, almost all said no⁹⁹. Researchers say that if the campaign was as effective as the student evaluations imply, racist incidents in schools should have decreased significantly, but there were 87,000 incidents reported from 2007 and 2011.¹⁰⁰

In 2013, Black players subjected to abuse at one UK soccer club were unwilling to report or discuss it, indicating an unsupportive environment and an indifference to racism

A slogan of Kick it Out, a UK group campaigning against racism in soccer.



93 Alleyne, M.D. (2011). Anti-racism as identity politics: A constructivist approach to the FARE and Ad Council campaigns. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 213-237). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

94 Donovan, R.J., & Vlasis, R. (2006). *A review of communication components of anti-racism and pro-diversity social marketing/ public education campaigns* (Paper 1). Melbourne: VicHealth.

95 Wright, S., & Lister, J. (2009). *Evaluation of EIS and Show Racism the Red Card schools' competition 2003 to 2008*. Glasgow: Fair Play Ltd, p. 5

96 AfR. (2011). *External evaluation of Show Racism the Red Card educational events at football clubs*. (No. AfR938). Tyne & Wear, UK: Ask for Research & Show Racism the Red Card, p. 18.

97 AfR, 2011, p. 41.

98 Wright & Lister, 2009, p. 36.

99 AfR, 2011

100 Dixon, K., Lowes, J., & Gibbons, T. (2014) Show Racism the Red Card: Potential barriers to the effective implementation of the anti-racist message. *Soccer & Society*. DOI: 10.1080/14660970.2014.919280

in this club that were part of the original reasons for founding SRtRC¹⁰¹. Some clubs may also condone the racist actions of star players to protect their investment, which maintains institutional racism in the game¹⁰². Researchers agree that organisations like Kick It Out and SRtRC have run prominent media campaigns. Combined with the numbers of international players in the top UK league, this contributes to ‘colour-blind complacency’, which could limit future funding. Some critics believe that moralist campaigns pitting ‘bad “racists” [against] good “anti-racists” will do little to challenge the wider problems of soccer’ or structural racism¹⁰³.

One researcher critiqued UK club Aston Villa’s reality TV programme, *Villawannabee*, about young local players battling for a trial with the club¹⁰⁴: ‘Any strategy that revolves around novelties and popular cultural fads rather than challenging football’s power structure and the procedures, behaviours and attitudes that discriminate against, and exclude, minority ethnic groups from the professional game is going to be inexorably unstable, transient, and ineffective’. He was concerned that some anti-racist organisations have unintentionally repeated stereotypical representations of British Asian identities. He argued that anti-racist strategies need to acknowledge the diversity within British Asian populations, to include

young Asian people in their development, and to challenge institutional racism.

He lists three incorrect but dominant assumptions in UK soccer clubs and hierarchies – that player selection processes are neutral about ethnicity; ‘that the footballing experiences of all minority ethnic groups are identical’; and that ‘inclusion and exclusion are absolutes’, with Afro-Caribbean players universally assumed to be ‘included’¹⁰⁵.



The eight-year Dutch TV and billboards campaign *Als racisme wint, verliest de sport* (*If racism wins, sports loses*) began in 1993 with black and white close up photographs of local soccer players looking directly at the viewer, above the campaign slogan. These images ‘literally present anti-racism as a black-and-white matter in which the viewer is given a clear-cut choice between two differently valued alternatives’ – good anti-racists and victims of racism, and bad racists¹⁰⁶. The campaign later changed its imagery, avoiding this binary approach, and ended in 2001. It was well recognised by Amsterdam residents, but had less impact on soccer clubs, which were reluctant to acknowledge racism in their systems¹⁰⁷.

A later independent study of campaign designers and fans found that White Dutch fans denied that the campaign had encouraged them or their clubs to discuss racism or change racist behaviour. They believed the target group was a small group of racists and that

¹⁰¹ Collomosse, T. (2013, Feb 12). Players fearful of reporting racist abuse, says chairman. *Evening Standard*. Retrieved from www.standard.co.uk/sport/football/players-fearful-of-reporting-racist-abuse-says-chairman-8491693.html

¹⁰² Dixon, Lowes & Gibbons, 2014.

¹⁰³ Dixon, Lowes & Gibbons, 2014, p. 88-89.

¹⁰⁴ Burdsey, D. (2011). British Asians and the cultural politics of anti-racist campaigning in English football. In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 187-211). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers, p. 188.

¹⁰⁵ Burdsey, 2011, p. 194-5.

¹⁰⁶ Muller, F., van Zoonen, L., & de Roode, L. (2011). Anti-racist communication in soccer: A spoilt vocabulary? In M.D. Alleyne, (Ed.). *Anti-racism and multiculturalism: Studies in international communication* (pp. 73-94). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers, p. 79.

¹⁰⁷ EFUS. (2000). *Safety and democracy, SecuCities Football Network & Euro 2000 Cities Against Racism*. Paris, European Forum for Urban Safety.

they were part of an innocent non-racist majority. The campaign's binary language did not encourage them to examine their own jokes about ethnicity or the 'intolerant anti-multicultural soccer club culture,' leaving them as 'innocent bystanders with no responsibility or part in the fight against racism'¹⁰⁸.



Images from a campaign by the Union of European Football Associations.

¹⁰⁸ Muller et al., 2011, p. 86.

Recommendations for anti-racism campaigns in Aotearoa

Preparing for a campaign

The advisory group for an anti-racism campaign needs to involve people with a range of skills and knowledge - behavioural researchers familiar with complicated campaigns; public relations and advertising practitioners; experts in measuring attitudes and evaluating complex impacts. It should also collaborate with related agencies and involve Māori and a range of ethnic communities.

Donovan and Vlasis suggest that four areas need to be considered carefully before an anti-racism campaign is developed – mapping the environment, developing the philosophy, setting the goals, and conducting formative research. This would require a large section of the campaign budget. They suggest that the environmental map for a campaign needs to include –

- How media represent different ethnic groups¹
- The influence of the national political context on norms about racism and diversity
- Patterns of racist and pro-diversity behaviour and beliefs (including biological and ‘modern’ racism)²

¹ For example, Moewaka Barnes, A., Borell, B., Taiapa, K., Rankine, J., Nairn, R., & McCreanor, T. (2012). Anti-Māori themes in New Zealand journalism—toward alternative practice. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 18(1), 195-216; Kupu Taea. (2014). *Alternatives to anti-Maori themes in the news media*. Treaty Resource Centre. Retrieved September 29, 2014 from www.trc.org.nz/alternatives-anti-maori-themes-news-media; Loto, R., Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Nikora, L.W., Karapu, R., & Barnett, A. (2006). Pasifika in the news: The portrayal of Pacific peoples in the New Zealand press. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 16, 100–118. DOI: 10.1002/casp.848.

² Lyons, A.C., Madden, H., Chamberlain, K., & Carr, S.

- How these patterns differ about particular ethnic groups, in different demographic groups, different geographic areas, and among groups with different degrees of contact with other ethnicities.
- What contributes to these patterns at the level of individuals, interpersonal interactions, language and ideas, and institutions and systems.

Available research from Aotearoa about these topics has been included in the footnotes, but much of this environmental map would require new research. This information will help select the targets for an anti-racism campaign.

Donovan and Vlasis suggest that the campaign philosophy needs to include ‘what racism is about, why it occurs, what a society with significantly reduced racism would look like, and how broadly to get there’³, and be clear that one anti-racism campaign is only a small part of this effort. This philosophy is needed to ensure that the campaign does more good than harm, and to help select the campaign audiences. In the third step, specific attitudinal, behavioural and language goals need to be developed for each audience (for example, a goal may be for a bigger proportion of people to use the term racism rather than race relations). For a first campaign, they recommend that these should be modest. The fourth step involves detailed formative research to develop and test potential messages and strategies. Messages should avoid binaries between good anti-racists and bad racists. All messages and images need to be checked with target audiences and those affected by

(2011). ‘It’s not really us discriminating against immigrants, it’s more telling people how to fit in’: Constructing the nation in immigration talk in New Zealand. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 21, 14–27. DOI: 10.1002/casp.1051

³ Donovan & Vlasis, 2006, p. 107.

racism, to see if target audiences feel that it applies to them or only to racist others; if target groups understand it clearly; whether the message will intensify scrutiny of Māori and other marginalised groups; and whether it will help or hinder in-group consideration of their own culture.

Campaign recommendations

Donovan and Vlasis make many recommendations for anti-racism campaigns. I have modified them in the light of the research review. The in-group in this list refers to the group whose racist actions are being targeted, and the out-group to those who experience this racism.

1. Campaigns against racism should be well and sustainably funded, and part of a long-term, multi-level strategy. Previous under-funded anti-racism campaigns which relied on free work by advertising agencies and did not pre-test their strategies and messages have had damaging results (eg, the CRE 'Racism: Condemn or condone' campaign). This has also been the case with other sensitive issues such as domestic violence⁴. When only a small budget is available, a campaign should focus on limited audiences - for example only one region or one social area - and small, achievable goals.
2. Campaigns should focus on the specific economic and social contexts in which racism is expressed, such as employment, sport, housing or public spaces. This would be decided by the environmental map.
3. Campaigns should focus on changing racist behaviour rather than on beliefs or attitudes.
4. As prejudices differ about specific ethnicities, an anti-racism campaign should focus on racism against one ethnicity at a time. A sequence of campaigns could be created to focus

on racism against different ethnicities, one after the other. Campaigns should represent many members of the ethnic group rather than one or a few individuals.

5. The campaign should promote anti-racism as a norm for the whole society, as well as organisations and individuals in the specific fields on which the campaign focuses.
6. Anti-racism campaigns need to counter in-group negative beliefs and talk about other ethnicities. If they are based on false information (eg, Māori 'privilege'), then supplying accurate information (eg, the dollar value of Treaty settlements compared to corporate bailouts) may be helpful. Simply asking an in-group to accept other ethnicities will not affect behaviour.
7. The balance of emphasis on differences and similarities between in-groups and out-groups needs to be decided based on the political context at the time of the campaign and the environmental map. Ideally, campaigns should emphasise the diversity of cultural groups, including the dominant culture, under an overarching theme that unites them, and aim to increase in-group perceptions that the other ethnicity is similar in ways that the in-group value positively. Campaigns should avoid superficial features of other cultures that may seem alien to the in-group, and should not evoke stereotypes, appeal to nationalism or Kiwi values. If the political environment at the time of the campaign emphasises the differences of out-groups, then the campaign may need to focus more on their similarities to the in-group.
8. News editors, TV and radio producers and journalists should be major campaign audiences, as news and entertainment media consistently reinforce negative attitudes towards minority ethnicities.

Campaigns against racism should be well and sustainably funded, and part of a long-term, multi-level strategy

⁴ Donovan & Vlasis, 2006, p. 64.

For example, a campaign could aim to get sub-editors and news producers to move away from the stigmatising word 'race' in headlines and teasers, in favour of 'culture'. The campaign could also encourage civic journalism projects with some media outlets.

9. Campaigns should have specific goals about changes that will reduce institutional and societal racism, and include strong advocacy for these changes. This could include changes in institutional standards, practices, structures, rules, policies, regulations, laws and norms. These changes could be measured using existing data or quality systems, and reported annually.
10. Anti-racism campaigns need to get the support of key politicians and public figures during the preparation phase; campaign messages 'must not be contradicted by statements and actions of political and other persons in power positions'⁵. If this

Anti-racism campaigns should include evaluation research at all stages

is unavoidable, campaign goals need to be limited and modest.

11. The campaign should include community-based anti-racism and pro-diversity activities that enable target audiences to discuss the issue with their peers, as well as interact with members of ethnic groups who experience racism. This could be done in an opportunistic way at sporting and arts events, in workplaces and schools.
12. The campaign should upskill people in how to intervene in racist and discriminatory incidents, using a variety of experiential, written and audio-visual methods. These skills include knowing clearly what racism is; being aware of how damaging it is; accepting a responsibility to intervene; knowing how to intervene in different situations; and feeling supported to do so by their organisational and social environment.

13. The campaign should bring together a group of committed leaders from a range of cultures and backgrounds, such as public life, academic and sporting fields. They would need to be carefully and discreetly vetted for prior and current attitudes about racism, and well trained about what racism is and how to argue against it. Campaign leaders would need to negotiate the terms of their involvement, and get a guarantee of irreproachable behaviour about racism as long as they are associated with the campaign. Their involvement should be treated as a long-term relationship.
14. The campaign should include evaluation research at all stages, from strategy development, pre-testing of visual and text messages and their communication channels, the implementation process, and a range of outcome measures. Early impact evaluation is important to check for unintended damaging effects.

⁵ Donovan & Vlasis, 2006, p. 116.

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