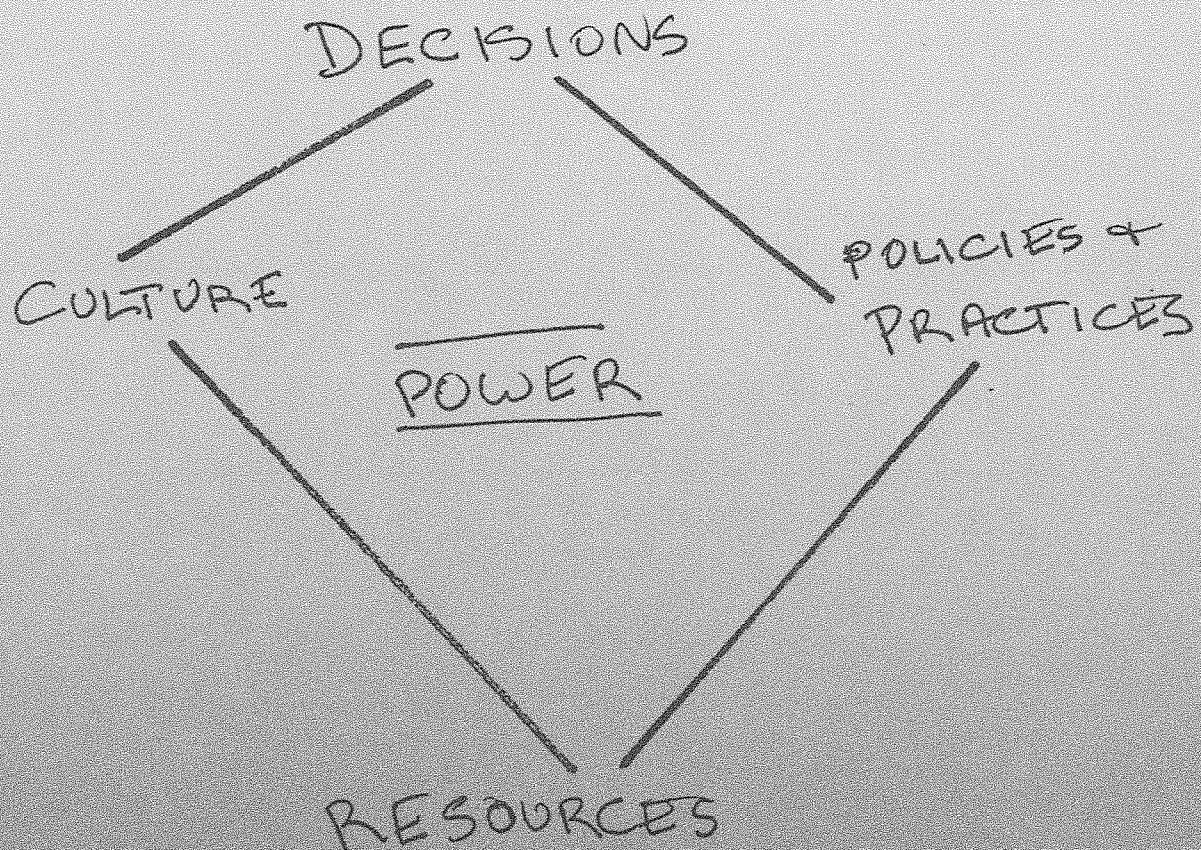


INSTITUTIONAL RACISM WORKSHOP WORKBOOK



INTRODUCTION

This workbook was developed by Mitzi Nairn of the CCANZ Programme on Racism, Te Akoranga Pakeha Treaty Workers and Auckland Treaty Team with the support of Te Akoranga Runanga and Te Rangatahi.

The workshop is designed to meet the requirement of the training programmes in Te Akoranga Part Three, APA Federation Certificate and PEEC.

INSTITUTIONS

Institutions are fairly stable social arrangements and practices through which collective actions are taken. (Examples are courts, police, churches, schools, government, business, unions). Any group that conforms to a set of rules, formal or informal, is an institution.

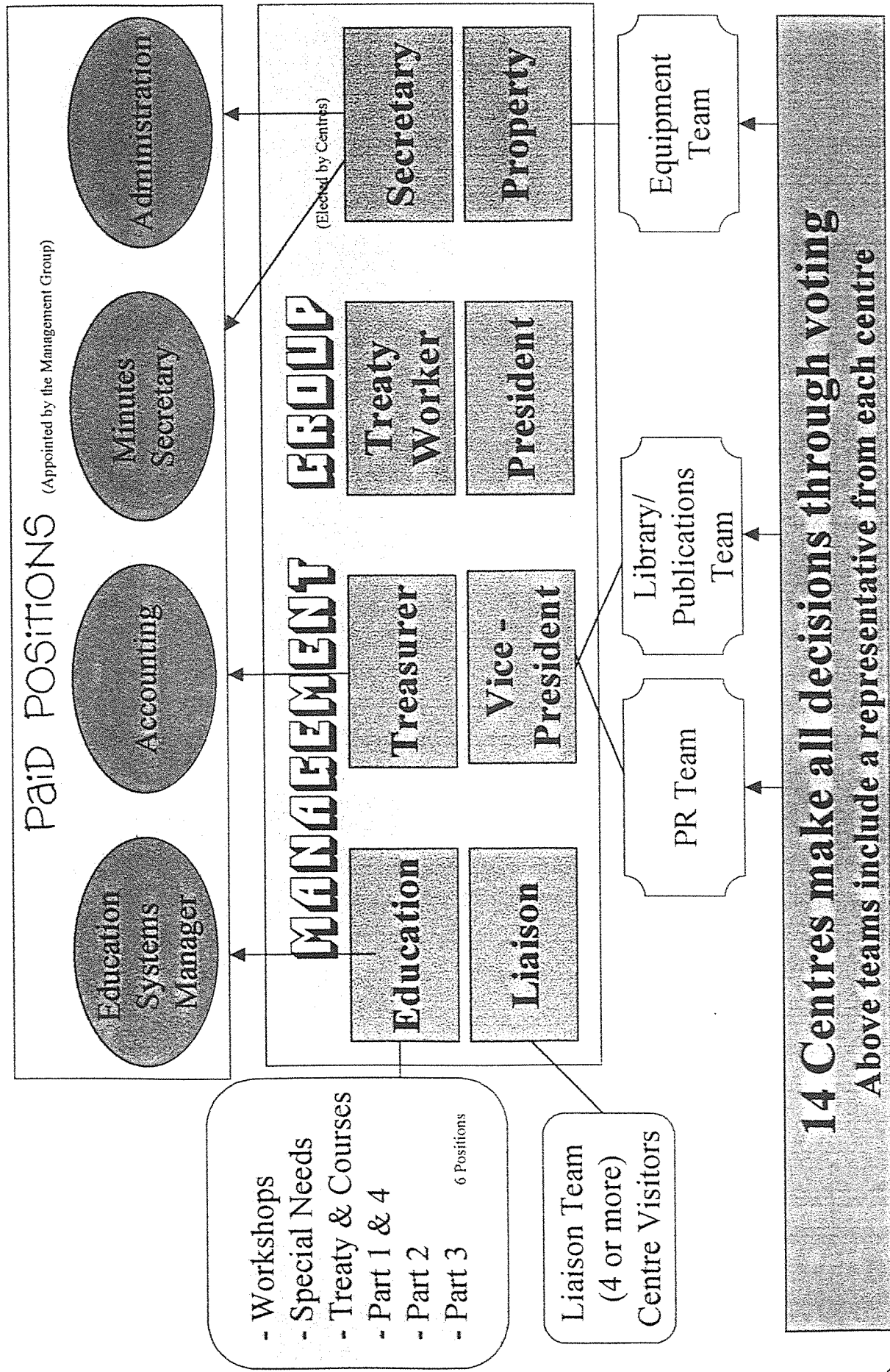
WHY WE IDENTIFY PLAYCENTRE AS AN INSTITUTION

Playcentre has:

- * constitution
- * rules
- * association charter
- * centres charter
- * minimum requirements from the Ministry (first aid, training)
- * job descriptions

NEW ASSOCIATION STRUCTURE

- DEVELOPED 1998



INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

Institutional racism is the perpetuation by organisations, institutions or agencies, of policies and practices which operate to the advantage of the powerful group and to the disadvantage of particular racial/cultural groups.

This means dominant settler (white Pakeha of British descent) control over the economic, educational and political agencies which affect all groups. It is revealed by the way the policies and practices perpetuated by those organisations operate to the disadvantage of other groups, especially Maori people.

Refer to Programme On Racism Newsletter Number 50, June 1998, for a discussion of varying usages of the work PAKEHA.

A RACIST SOCIETY

In Aotearoa New Zealand, white settler norms were established during colonisation, based on theories of racial superiority and inferiority. Dominant settler values and assumptions underlie all procedures and practices. Institutions follow settler models and ideas, and operate according to rules made by settlers. Members of the dominant group hold the power and receive a disproportionate share of the resources. This system has been self-perpetuating, and as long as it continues we are all participating in a racist society, regardless of personal attitudes.

Every baby born of white Pakeha parents automatically receives some "white skin privileges". These are undue benefits at the expense of other groups. For instance, a lifetime of being considered the "normal" New Zealanders; everything happening in your language. Racial minorities go through a lifetime of being looked upon as "different": their language, even when it is the indigenous local language and one of the two recognised official languages, is often described as "foreign". Dominant settlers, as a group, can be predicted to outlive Maori and other Polynesians, to earn higher incomes, receive more recognised education, and have better chances of staying out of prison.

CULTURAL RACISM When dominant settlers use power to perpetuate their cultural heritage and impose it upon others, while at the same time destroying the culture of indigenous people.

POWER PLUS ETHNOCENTRISM = CULTURAL RACISM

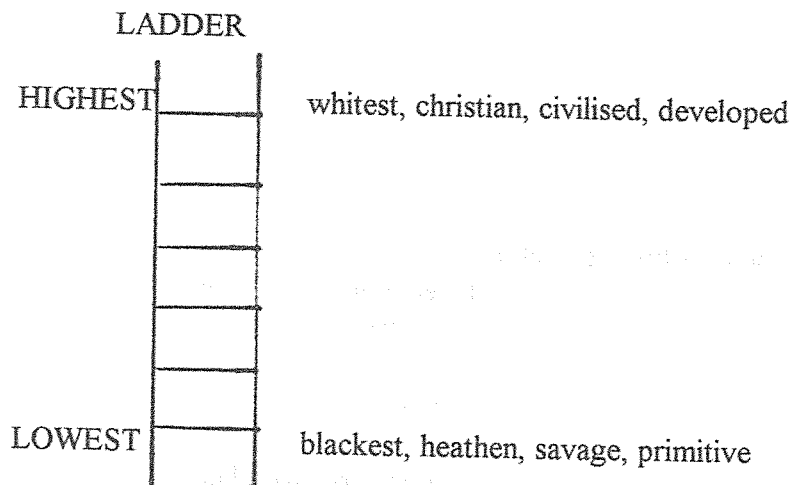
Refer to pages 25-26 for "Racism" from Mental Health News
27-29 for "The Faces of Racism" from Puao-Te-Ata-Tu

COLONISATION

In colonisation control passes

[illegible]

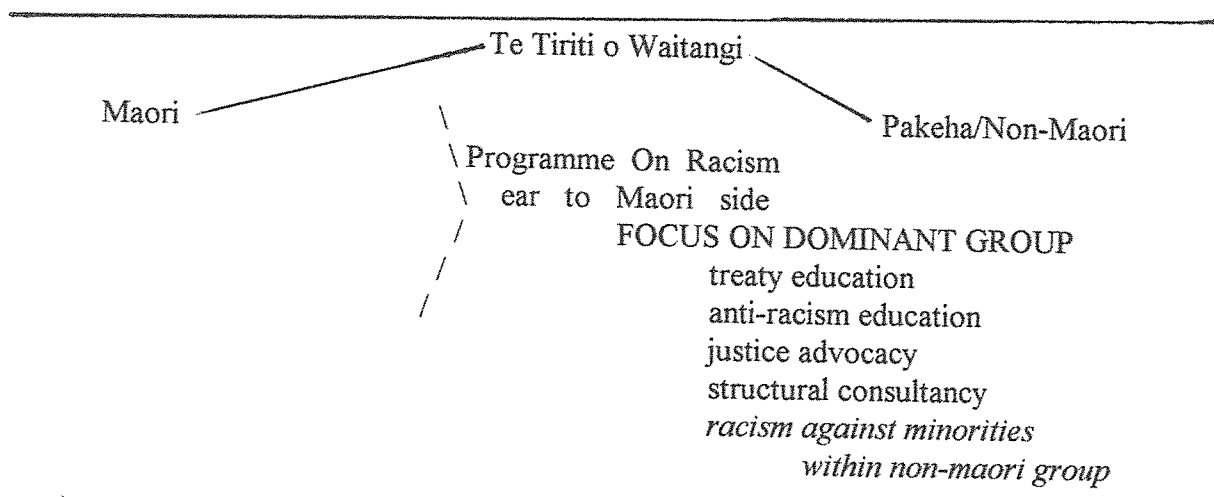
Because of the assumptions made by European colonisers, and the theories which they developed to justify taking over the rest of the world, disregarding the people who already lived in those countries, the process of colonisation was racist.



Justification theories and arguments such as 'Fatal Impact Theory' are described in Part 1 of the Purple Pocket. New Zealand settlers in the late nineteenth century also drew on the theory of 'Social Darwinism', which argued that the people at the top of the ladder were most evolved and those at the bottom least evolved.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Racism

In this country, Maori people have identified the honouring and implementing of te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi) as the best and preferred remedy for the racism which they have experienced and continue to experience. This diagram of how the CCANZ Programme on Racism works may help.



1

And

from

nily

range

ural

ix

MTN

TREATY VIOLATIONS ACROSS HISTORY

This paper is based on "Legislation Betrays the Treaty of Waitangi" which drew heavily on "What Does the Treaty of Waitangi Mean to You?" from the Waitangi Action Kitset Tuatahi, supplemented by information from a number of other sources.

- 1840 66,400,000 acres of land in Maori control.
- 1841 Land Claims Ordinance stated that lands not actually occupied or used by the Maori belonged to the Crown.
- 1844 Governor Grey abolished the Protectorate Department, which had the responsibility of protecting Maori rights, and gave the New Zealand Company the exclusive right of pre-emption.
- 1852 34,000,000 acres of land in Maori control - almost half alienated in 12 years.
- The Constitution Act saw the establishment of Provincial Government. Those entitled to vote were males over 21 who had individual title to property over a certain value. Very few Maori were able to vote as their land was owned communally.
- 1856 Native Reserves Act put all lands reserved for Maori under control; of settler commissioners.
- 1858 Many Maori began to dig their toes in against land sales. The Maori King Movement was formed and based in the Waikato.
- 1859 Teira of Te Ati Awa sold to the Governor land at Waitara without the agreement of the other rangatira with an interest, especially Wiremu Kingi.
- 1860 Maori owned land reduced to 21,400,000 acres.
- 1862 Native Lands Act designed to break down Maori communal ownership. Land Court set up to individualise title.
- 1863 Governor Grey invaded the Waikato region.
- Suppression of Rebellion Act based word for word on the Act used in Ireland in 1799. No right of trial before imprisonment. Military Courts to punish "rebels" who had defended themselves when invaded.
- New Zealand Settlement Act empowered confiscation to punish 'rebels', to pay for the war and to give the settlers the land they wanted.
- 1864 Public Works Land Act gave power to take Maori land with co compensation payable only to 'loyal' Maori.

- 1865 Native Land Court was designed to determine ownership. Maori owners had to spend months in town waiting for their cases to be heard. If they did not show up they lost the right to the land. Many built up huge debts and had to sell a lot of land to pay them. Maori owners were liable for compulsory surveying costs, often 25% of the value of the land.
- 1866 Oyster Fisheries Act prevented Maori from fishing commercially. Maori commercial fishing enterprises consequently went broke and they had to sell land to pay their debts.
- 1867 Maori Representation Act established four Maori seats in Parliament. It was a response to Pakeha fears that Maori, who since Land Court individualisation of title had property qualifications to vote, would be a majority in a number of electorates, and might gain a majority in Parliament.
- 1871 Government decision that instruction in Native Schools had to be in English.
- 1873 A new Native Lands Act increases the individualising of Maori land titles.
- 1877 The Treaty was declared a nullity by Judge Prendergast in the case of the Bishop of Wellington v Wi Parata.
- Legislation was introduced to allow direct purchase of Maori land. Another breach of Article 2, favouring the big landholders.
- 1879 Native Lands Act amended to speed up investigations of title and change laws about trusteeship and giving evidence to the Land Court. Land alienation increased threefold, specially to small farmers.
- The Government sabotaged the Commission set up to investigate land confiscation in Taranaki.
- Peace Preservation Bill proposes one year's hard labour for Maori people who refused to leave their abodes.
- Maori Prisoners' Trials Act provided for Taranaki protestors to be held without trial.
- 1880 Maori Prisoners Act provided for indefinite further holding of protestors without trial.
- West Coast Settlement (North Island) Act rushed through so that any Maori in Taranaki could be arrested without a warrant and jailed for 2 years with hard labour if he built anything or in any way hindered the surveying of property.

- 1881 2500 troops invaded and sacked Parihaka Peace Settlement.
- Native Reserves Act puts control of Maori reserves into the hands of the Public Trustee.
- 1886 Native Lands Administration Act rejected the traditional right of communal ownership. Maori land was given over to small groups of trustees with the right to sell the land.
- Parihaka leader, Te Whiti, re-arrested (under the West Coast Preservation Act of 1881) without warrant, charge or trial, and jailed for three months.
- 1887 Native Land Act provides for large scale direct purchase of Maori land. Selling of reserves speeded up.
- Bastion Point appropriated for defence purposes.
- 1890 Big squatter governments defeated by Liberals, who lasted 22 years.
- 1891 Maori land stood at 11,078,486 acres.
- 1892 Native Department abolished.
- 1893 Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act reintroduced sole Crown purchase, but any area of Maori Land can be declared "suitable for settlement".
- Kotahitanga (Unity) Movement begins.
- 1894 Advances to Settlers Act provides low interest loans to white settlers to buy land from the government and settle it. (Maori specifically excluded - Maori landowners didn't gain access to government development finance till the 1930s.)
- Native Land Court Act provided for names on certificates of title to be deemed beneficial owners unless legal proof could be brought that they were trustees.
- Validation of Invalid Land Sales Act legitimised any Pakeha misdealings concerning Maori land.
- Maori Land Settlement Act put Maori land under the control of Land Councils.
- 1897 92 Maori in Taranaki arrested for ploughing land in protest at Public Trustee control of their lands.
- 1903 Legislation affirms Judge Prendergast's 1877 ruling that the Treaty is a nullity.

- 1904 Maori Land Settlement Act compulsorily places Maori land under Land Councils with no Maori representation if it "was not required or not suitable for occupation by the Maori owners".
- 1905 Abolition of Native Councils (had slowed down Government land purchases).
- 1905-8 Amendments to Native Land Act which forced further sales of Maori land.
- 1908 Tohunga Suppression Act imposed penalties on Tohunga who practised Maori medicine or spirituality.
- 1909 Maori could no longer use the whangai system for adopting children.
Maori women discouraged from breastfeeding.
Native Lands Act allowed Maori land to be taken for roads and railways without compensation.
- 1911 Maori-owned land stands at **7,137,205** acres
Liberals replaced by Massey's Reform Party, who won the election on a platform of transferring Maori land to European ownership.
- 1912 Land Laws Amendment Act freed up remaining restrictions.
- 1920 Maori land down to **4,787,686** acres.
- 1923 Wiremu Tahupotiki Ratana snubbed when he took Treaty grievances to King George.
- 1925 Ratana Movement officially forged links with the Labour Party under Micky Savage.
- 1932 Ratana MPs present a petition to Parliament with 30,000 signatures calling for the ratification of the Treaty. Ignored.
Maori receive half the unemployment benefit given to Pakeha. A single Maori received 7s 6d; a Pakeha got 15s.
- 1939 Maori land now **4,028,903** acres.
- 1953 Maori Affairs Act of National government which replaced Labour set up Maori Affairs Department to act as the Maori Land Purchase agency. Maori land deemed 'uneconomic' could be compulsorily bought at state valuation. The Maori Trustee, a European, was empowered to buy in land worth less than £50, without the consent of owners. Local rating bodies could now force land to be used or leased.

Town & Country Planning Act prevented Maori from building on their land, and forced many Maori into cities for housing.

- 1960 The Hunn Report recommended a stepping up of the assimilation process.
- 1967 Maori Affairs Amendment Act gave Maori Trustee power to ask individuals to sell their interests to the government. Land owned by fewer than 4 people had to be put under one title. Non-land owners allowed on Incorporation Trust Boards.
- Rating Act changed how Maori Land was rated, and provided for local bodies to alienate land for rates arrears.
- 1975 Maori-owned land 3,000,000 acres
- Waitangi Tribunal set up in Treaty of Waitangi Act.
- 1983 Government begins to privatise public property via the State Owned Enterprises Act, and divest itself of resources which might be used for Treaty settlements.
- 1985 Waitangi Tribunal can hear grievances against the Crown since 1840.
- 1986 The Crown created a property right with the introduction of a fisheries quota system. (Breaches Article 2)
- 1990 Maori Fisheries Act redefines part of Article 2. "...full, exclusive and undisturbed possession" of fisheries becomes 10%.

POPULATION

	MAORI	PAKEHA	
1840	150,000 - 200,00	Approx 2000	Treaty signed
1858	56,049	59,413	equalised
1878	45,542	412,465	M. pop = 1/10
1896	42,113	701,101	M. pop at lowest
1966	201,159	2,475,760	M. pop back to Treas

CASEWORK

The next six pages are for six topics to be developed.

Three are historical and three are case studies of the modern situation.

You will work in groups. This week each of you will work on one of the historical topics and then your group will make a presentation to the whole group. There is space to make your presentation notes, and take notes from the other presentations.

There will be 20 minutes presentation time on each topic.

You will be providing information and analysis for the rest of the group.

Next time we will spend time working in the same way on the modern case studies.

Use the frameworks in the section on colonisation and the video.

When you are doing one of the three historical ones, you need to give
some information about what happened
analysis of the shift of control
some consequences for Maori people.

When you are doing one of the modern situation, you need to give
a description of the current situation
what is being or might be done to turn this around
some indication of counter-pressures which may be working against
improvement

The facilitator has copies of the resources for you, and will record who is doing what.

MAORI LANGUAGE

References: Purple Pocket "Maori Language and the Pakeha Education System"
Purple Pocket Part II A pages 5-8

LAND

Resources: pages 7-11
Waitangi Tribunal Reports (Orakei Summary)
A Show of Justice, Alan Ward
The LandPack, POR
Te Ao Marama

PARIHAKA

Resources: Ask That Mountain by Dick Scott
Waitangi Tribunal Report on Taranaki (extracts)
page 8 of this workbook

HEALTH

Resources: "The Figures Tell the Story", pale lemon section
Purple Pocket "A Brief Chronology of Health Among Maori & Pakeha"
"Caution, Racism Can Kill"
from "Closing the Gaps Report", Te Puni Kookiri

POVERTY

Resources: Summary Statistics for Hikoi Demands, ecustics
from "Closing the Gaps Report", Te Puni Kookiri
"The Figures Tell the Story", blue section

EDUCATION

Resources: from "Closing The Gaps Report", Te Puni Kōkiri
"The Figures Tell the Story", white section
Case Study of Auckland University, Editorial, POR Newsletter No. 51

BECOMING ANTIRACIST/RACISTS ?

As whites in a racist society we have only two behaviours to choose from vis-a-vis the issue of racism. We can choose to be racist/racists - those who recognise the benefits accrued through being white and either consciously or unconsciously support institutional and cultural practices that perpetuate racism. Or we can choose to be antiracist/racists - those who recognise the illegitimate privileges obtained by whiteness, but strive to remove these institutionally and culturally racist benefits, even while still receiving them. Passively doing nothing allows racism to continue.

As whites we frequently find it difficult to recognise when we are behaving in racist ways. When we discriminate against somebody who is not Pakeha, whether consciously or unconsciously, we are racist. When we profit, knowingly or unknowingly, from the past or present racism of other whites, we are racist. When we belong to a group that enhances ethnocentric values (a professional body or service club), live in a neighbourhood where only people like ourselves live, or work for a business which exploits or discriminates, we are being racist. When we avoid contacts or friendship because of race, when we use racist language, when we tell or laugh at jokes based on racial stereotypes, we are being racist.

When we consciously do none of these things; when we are careful not to discriminate; when we behave in ways to minimise the risk of racist associations; when we refuse to profit directly from the racism practised and institutionalised by others; when we leave any organisation, neighbourhood or firm that exploits and discriminates; when we open up our social life - do we then become antiracist/racists? A racist/racist takes positive actions (consciously or unconsciously) that encourage, support and perpetuate white racism. An antiracist/racist must take positive actions against white racism.

When we contribute money, time and work to organisations that combat racism in housing, employment, recreation, organisations, civil rights and schools, we are antiracist/racists. When we help to educate other whites on what white racism is and does, we are antiracist/racists. When we support transference of resources and self-determination for black groups, we are antiracist/racists. When we work to eliminate those political, economic, cultural and educational conditions that encourage or perpetuate racism, we are antiracist/racists. When we actively seek out opportunities for social contact with Maori and other Pacific Islands people and encourage others to do so, we are antiracist/racists. And every time we point out to other whites their use of verbal racial stereotypes, we help in a small way to combat racism.

It's not hard to be racist/racists, especially when we have been born and raised in a society that fostered white racism and concealed it, and condones and supports it. It is very hard to be antiracist/racists - whites who work directly and actively against racism in all its forms. But if we as whites are serious, there is no alternative.

COMPLIANT OR DEFIANT?

As people of colour in a racist society we have only two behaviours to choose from vis-a-vis the issue of racism. We can choose to be compliant - those who consciously or unconsciously support institutional and cultural practices that perpetuate racism, accepting "the rightness of whiteness". Or we can choose to be resistant to racism, recognising and challenging racism. This means raising our awareness, sharpening our consciousness, seeking and giving support for the challenges we make, preferably as part of a group. This can be a hard and painful path to walk, but if we want something better for our children, what alternative is there?

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

DECISIONS WHICH AFFECT THE MAORI GROUP

- a) Who makes the decisions?
- b) How are they made?
- c) Are the people who implement the decisions part of the decision-making?
- d) Who gets to hear about it, and how?
- e) Are the people affected by the decisions part of the decision-making?
- f) What factors affect our involvement?

RESOURCES FOR ANALYSIS AND ACTION

Don't get trapped in looking only at your personal behaviour, although we are all influenced by living in a racist society.

Don't just venture into cultural questions, although that is an important area for working with your children.

DO venture into questions of structural/institutional racism.

Collecting cases and stories can be important for oppressed people, because breaking the silence and sharing stories is an empowerment. But the experience without the analysis isn't liberating. Saying "Ain't it awful" doesn't make much change.

Collecting knowledge and doing brilliant analysis isn't the whole story either: figuring out the points for change and how to learn and practice new behaviours is better.

STRATEGIES FOR CHANGE

Because anti-racism research, analysis and pressures for change have been going on for over 20 years, many organisations have some strategies for change in place already.

Therefore it is important to ask what has been done and what is currently done.

- 1) What is the strategy?
Who is involved?
Is it official or unofficial?
Is it institutionalised? How?
If all the people currently involved left, would it continue as binding on new people in the organisation?
- 2) Is it written into policy? e.g. the Mission Statement
Is it in job descriptions?
- 3) How is it evaluated?
Who evaluates?
What are the criteria?

Some of the most consistent efforts at change have focused on Te Tiriti o Waitangi..

SOME QUESTIONS TO USE IN ANALYSIS

A number of organisations are trying to develop biculturally, or claim to have bicultural goals.

Here is a rough checklist.

Check numbers and roles of Maori and Pakeha.

Compare staff conditions and salaries with previous levels.

Is Maori expertise being paid at a comparable level to Pakeha "professionalism"?

At what levels of management are Maori involved?

Are Maori staff numbers rising, falling or staying level?

Are Maori staff being promoted? If so, are they being replaced by Maori in their previous jobs?

Are units with high Maori involvement being threatened with closure?

Is Maori control/management on a development path, or is it being "contained"?

Do they have more temporary staff than other units?

Do they have to report more often or in more detail than most other units?

Is Maori identity central, or is it being marginalised?

Are Maori systems of organisation, training and accountability being supported or undermined by managers and decision makers?

Are Pakeha setting up divide and rule by playing groups off against each other?

PERSONAL ANTI-RACISM ACTION PLAN

What am I going to do?

What result do I want?

Who will I tell I'm gonna do it?

Who will I tell when it's done?

How will I do my project - get specific here!
What steps will I take?

Who else will be involved?

When will I do it by?

Ticks for stages accomplished.

How will I celebrate completing my action?

Are there any follow-up steps I want to take?

PERSONAL ANTI-RACISM ACTION PLAN

What I am going to do

Tackle Dad about his anti-Maori comments.

What result do I want?

Him to stop, specially in front of the children

Who I will tell I'm gonna do it

Mum Val. at the centre.
Alan

Who I will tell when it's done

Val.

How I will do my project - get specific here!

What steps will I take?

Pick the right time eg. dinner dishes on Sunday. Stay cool.
Plan what I want to say & how to start.

Who else will be involved?

Mum and Alan I guess.

Ticks for stages accomplished

Plan. Tell Val. Tell Mum
Tackle Dad.

How I will celebrate completing my action

Have a Baileys when we get home.

Are there any follow-up steps I want to take?

I may have to talk to Mum and maybe Dad again.

RACISM

Mitzi Nairn is the Director of the Programme On Racism of the Conference of Churches in Aotearoa New Zealand. She is a Pakeha woman of English descent.

Racism exists when one racial group because of its numerical, economic, social or political advantage, assumes that its lifestyle, its economic, political, social and spiritual aspirations are superior to, or more important than others; and because they hold power, and maintain the institutions, they are able to force others to conform with them.



WS.97

One thing which is fairly confusing is the substitution of the word 'Pakeha' for 'white' in 'white racism'. Pakeha is a word with several usages or meanings. In the Treaty of Waitangi, it means 'non-Maori', thus including all immigrants. It can also be used to mean the dominant (MONO-cultural) group, or non-Maori New Zealanders who identify with this place, and do not belong anywhere else. This latter usage is common among those of British descent, but there is no reason for this to remain exclusively so.

The term racism came to be used in this country in the late 1960s. The word was picked up from the report of the Kerner Commission. This was a presidential report on rioting in the black ghettos of the United States of America. The report described a nexus of institutionalised behaviours, attitudes and practices, which it summarised as 'white racism'.

People concerned with the discrepancies between Maori and Pakeha, as described in the Hunn Report published in 1960, and who had spent a frustrating decade trying to change the patterns, welcomed the idea that the situation came from structures rather than merely attitudes and prejudices.

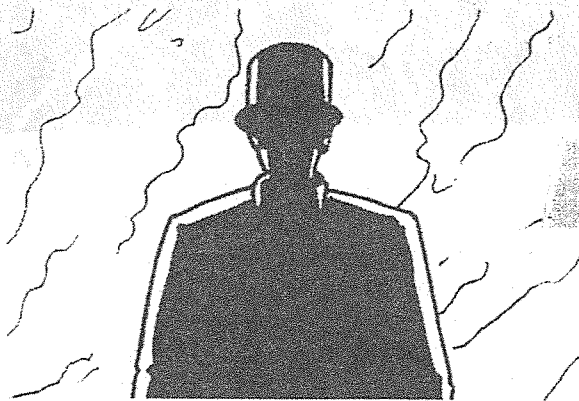
Ironically, 'race' as a concept has no scientific basis. Scientists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries devoted hours of research to the attempt to prove theories of human evolution and development. Despite the search for biological racial differences, the human race or species proved to be one.

Of course populations which spent centuries isolated in different parts of the world developed some different and recognisable physical differences in common, such as height, body type, colouring and facial features. They also developed their own means of communication, especially language; ethnicity and culture. But more importantly they

had developed a preference for others who were familiar in appearance, culture and language. Some, such as Jewish people, consciously maintained religious difference. Great efforts were made to establish Jews as an 'inferior' race. The main usage of the term 'racism', earlier in this century, was in reference to anti-Semitism. The usage by the Kerner Commission was an expansion of its application.

I think it was the dreadful enterprise of colonisation by Europeans of what they called the 'new world' which motivated theories of superiority and inferiority. A hierarchy of 'races' justified the ones at the top dispossessing and dominating the ones they defined as the ones at the bottom.

The Victorian English who came to this land brought with them an ethos of empire which placed the Englishman at the tippy top, one Englishman being equal to 200 - 200,000 of anybody else. This is sometimes described as 'ethnocentrism'. However, it is an extreme form. When combined with military resources, it left us with a heritage of white supremacy which is often quite hard to identify and deal with today.



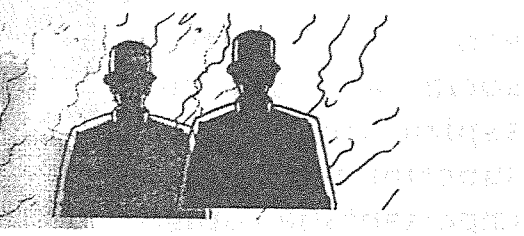
Although Maori were guaranteed their independence, lands, resources and customs under the Treaty of Waitangi, the flood of settlers swept it all aside and rationalised their actions by notions of inevitability and of their own superiority. They set up monocultural institutions to suit themselves.

James Belich's book, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* gives great insights into the mental gymnastics of the colonists. Alan Ward's *A Show of Justice: racial 'amalgamation' in nineteenth century New Zealand* shows our earlier governments and administrators in action, putting in place the institutions which carried the policies and practices of racism. These disadvantaged Maori people and undermined their identity and were often uncongenial to other people who did not share the dominant culture.

Of course the indigenous Maori people bore, and bear, the brunt of white racism in this their country. But a case study of early Chinese immigrants from the goldrush days is horrific too. Some of the most blatantly discriminatory legislation was directed at them.

New Zealand had a de facto 'white New Zealand' policy for a very long time. Permanent migration quotas for people from the Pacific Islands were tiny. In the late 1960s/early 1970s when a booming economy required unskilled labour, workers were recruited on visitors permits and encouraged to overstay. Immigration authorities turned a blind eye until the economy took a downward turn. Then 'overstayers' were the scapegoats.

Another way of keeping immigration white was the points system which stacked things in favour of those who spoke English; had skills 'we' needed; had kinfolk already here; who could 'fit in' and 'make a contribution'. More recently, it has been changes in the points system which has begun to break the whiteness down. Points awarded to cash, property, business skills and the like has resulted in a noticeable number of people from Asia meeting eligibility criteria.



However, it is a symptom of entrenched racism which makes them look like 'a flood', just as the Pacific 'overstayers' of the 1970s were of high visibility. Then as now, the vast majority of immigrants (and overstayers) were white, and spoke English.

Puao-Te-Ata-Tu, a 1986 publication from the Department of Social Welfare, identifies three 'faces' of racism: personal racism, cultural racism and institutional racism.

When New Zealand became a signatory to various United Nations Conventions on Human Rights, the elimination of all forms of racism, and so forth, it became obliged to legislate and to set up bodies like the Race Relations Office and the Human Rights Commission so that it could comply with its undertakings.

The Programme on Racism of which I am currently director, was set up by the churches working ecumenically in Aotearoa New Zealand, in 1982. Part of its brief is to run workshops about racism, primarily for members of the dominant group.

APPENDIX III

PUAO-TE-ATA -TU

1986

THE FACES OF RACISM

Racism has many faces. Some of them may be veiled others frankly overt—unmasked.

These faces may be grouped into three main forms—personal racism, cultural racism and institutional racism.

Personal racism affects individuals or groups. It occurs when people of one group are seen as inferior to another because of skin colour or ethnic origin. It belongs to those situations in which an individual is directly diminished or discriminated against on grounds of race.

In our country as in others, it may be manifested in jokes, disparaging comment and prejudiced attitudes. It may occur in rental housing, unequal distribution of opportunity and in our classrooms. Personal racism is the form that cuts most keenly at individual people. It is the variety that diminishes a person in their own eyes. It attacks the fount of personal identity and destroys a sense of self worth, as well as denying the indigeneous person access to resources and opportunities in the larger society.

Cultural racism is less obvious than the more open areas of prejudice between individuals. It is entrenched philosophy and beliefs. Its most obvious form in New Zealand is in the assumption that Pakeha culture, lifestyle and values are superior to those of other New Zealand cultures, notably those of Maori and Polynesian people.

It is rooted in the 19th century heritage of unshakeable belief in the cultural superiority of Europeans. It is a direct inheritance of colonialism and imperialism, and embodied in the ethos of the dominant group and thence the mind of the individual within the group. Without challenge and change this is transmitted to successive generations in the pre-school stage of development and becomes a recurrent theme in subsequent socialisation.

Despite the fact that tenets of Pakeha culture become fractured, eroded or obsolete (for example the nature of family, the role of marriage and the position of women) the assumptions of cultural superiority persist.

One of the most pervasive forms of cultural racism is the assumption that Pakeha values, beliefs and systems are "normal". This places Maori values, beliefs and systems in the category of "exotic". Provision for Maori cultural preference thus become an "extra". That which sees provision for Maoritanga as anything other than a normal ingredient of our national culture is essentially culturally racist.

However, the most damaging aspect of cultural racism is the underlying notion of superiority. It is seldom overtly stated in modern New Zealand, but it is constantly implied in advertising, in education and in the marketplace.

One of the ways in which this parcel of attitudes impacts on Maori culture is that the power culture, because it has the authority of "superiority", takes to itself the right to select those aspects of Maoritanga it wants to use or include in general New Zealand culture.

These selections range from the tail motif on our national airline to the inclusion of Maori words in the Dictionary of New Zealand English.

It must be stressed that it is not the inclusion of Maori symbols and elements in the national culture that marks cultural racism. It is the arrogantly assumed "right" to select those elements and to use them in ways which hollow them and diminish their cultural importance.

Whilst personal and cultural racism may be described in their own right, institutional racism is observed from its effects. It is a bias in our social and administrative institutions that automatically benefits the dominant race or culture, while penalising minority and subordinate groups.

The effects of institutional racism are graphically illustrated in our social statistics. For virtually every negative statistic in education, crime, child abuse, infant mortality, health and employment, the Maori figures are overwhelmingly dominant. In virtually every positive statistic in these areas, Maori are in miniscule proportion, if not entirely absent.

It is plain that the institutions, by which New Zealand society governs itself, distributes its resources and produces wealth, do not serve Maori people but they do clearly serve the great bulk of Pakeha people.

The persistent myth advanced to explain the cause of Maori disadvantage is that the Maori have not "adapted" or have "failed" to grasp the opportunity that society offers. This is the notion that poverty is the fault of the poor.

The fact is, though, that New Zealand institutions manifest a monocultural bias and the culture which shapes and directs that bias is Pakehatanga. The bias can be observed operating in law, government, the professions, health care, land ownership, welfare practices, education, town planning, the police, finance, business and spoken language. It permeates the media and our national economic life. If one is outside, one sees it as "the system". If one is cocooned within it, one sees it as the normal condition of existence.

Institutional racism is the basic weapon that has driven the Maori into the role of outsiders and strangers in their own land. The more recent identification of institutional racism as the basic evil constraining Maori participation in New Zealand life, has caused something of a furore. The assumption of those under attack has been that their involvement in our monocultural institutions means that they personally are therefore accused of being 'racist'. The resultant resentment has been bitter and a barrier to change. It has polarised attitudes and clouded the capacity for dealing with the issue of monoculturalism.

If a person works within an institution that practises institutional racism, that person need not necessarily be racist. However, if those in positions of influence within institutions do not work to reduce and eliminate the monocultural bias that disadvantages Maori and minorities, they can be accused of collaborating with the system, and therefore of being racist themselves. In a system of monocultural/racist policies and practices, individual behaviour when operating these policies and practices, becomes translated into personal reflections of racism.

Institutional racism can be combatted only by a conscious effort to make our institutions more culturally inclusive in their character, more accommodating of cultural difference. This does not begin and end at "the

counter". The change must penetrate to the recruitment and qualifications which shape the authority structures themselves. We are not talking of mere redecoration of the waiting room so that clients feel more comfortable.

Affirmative action programmes aimed at reducing the monocultural bias in our institutions are an essential ingredient of change.

The first stage of change to a more culturally inclusive New Zealand is the recognition of biculturalism. This involves both the place and the status of Maoritanga in our institutional arrangements.