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Racialisation in New Zealand
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Introduction

Racialisation can be seen as a process which occurs on a global scale and affects all racial groups in some way or another. In particular countries, certain groups may become victims of racialisation in the sense that they are treated differently due to the pure fact that they are the minority. Racialisation can therefore

‘refer to those instances where social relations between people have been structured by the signification of human biological characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social collectivities’ (Miles, 1989:75).

New Zealand can be seen as a country where racialisation exists on an obvious scale and can be directly linked to colonization during the 1860’s. This time period saw the Pakeha (white), slowly and gradually take over the country, leaving the original Maori inhabitants under their powerful control, and eventually transforming them into a racial minority. The Maoris can therefore be seen as a social group in New Zealand which has faced a great deal of racialisation for centuries, as ‘history tells us that Maori have suffered considerably as a result of Pakeha contact, and that racism has been pivotal to the way in which Pakeha have conducted themselves in our country’ (Nakata, 2001:131). However it is important to remember that many Maori people are still dealing with this type of racial prejudice currently in the modern day. This means that the colonization process has led to racial tension, as well as segregation, rather than creating a positive ethos by bringing two different ethnicities together in order to create a multicultural nationality for New Zealand. In fact, colonization can be seen as the reason as to why the Maori identity was primarily created, as it can be seen as ‘a result of perceiving the contrast of with the alien Pakeha and recognising how much all Maori had in common with each other in comparison’ (Mulgan, 1994:25). On top of this, many Maori nationalists have considered the invading colonisers to try and assimilate them into a western society and have tried to encourage ‘the indigenous people to abandon their own culture and their own structures of authority’ (Mulgan, 1994:8). This shows how the traditional Maori way of life has been over ruled by the Pakeha. This essay aims to examine to process of racialisation in New Zealand between the Pakeha and Maori, by focusing on four key elements some of which have contributed to the racial marginalisation of the Maori people, or can be seen as in important dimension when identifying the affects of the racial inequality that exists within the country. These consist of; The Treaty of Waitangi and recognition of land rights between the Maoris and Pakeha due to colonization, mobilisation of Maoris as a political movement to challenge the racialisation, lack of employment linking the Maoris to poverty and lastly the process of increasing criminalisation of the Maori people. All of this research will then be used in order to inform our understanding of how racism works on a global scale, and how it can be linked to racism in other areas of the world, which as a result will give a broader understanding of racialisation as a whole.

The Treaty of Waitangi and Recognition Of Land Rights Due To Colonization

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed by British colonizers and Maori tribes around the country in 1840, when the Pakeha first settled in New Zealand. ‘It promised, among other things, that Maori people would continue their own lands, forests and fisheries for as long as they wished’ (Brassil, 2003:81). On top of this it enabled the British to remain in New Zealand and expand their settlement; however the treaty was practically ignored for 100 years, highlighting how the Maori people were exploited and explaining how land that was rightfully theirs was taken off them. This may be primarily due to inaccurate translations that can be clearly seen between the English and Maori version of the treaty when talking about land rights, for example; ‘under the English version, the crown assumed sovereignty over the

territory of New Zealand. In the Maori version, the word rangatiratanga, often translated as chieftainship or authority, was used' (Ringold, 2005:9). This obviously gave the different races different views of who was in charge of certain parts of the land. As a result of this Pakeha settlers had also often demanded Maori land and 'when the tribes sought to resist they, they were defeated by force of arms' (Mulgan, 1994: 25) highlighting the Pakehas forceful and influential power over the countries original inhabitants. This also shows how determined the colonisers were to take over New Zealand, due to the fact these inaccurate translations were ignored for so many years, whilst the Pakeha continued to dominate the country. This has made land right recognition throughout the country extremely complex, leading to disputes between the government and the Maoris that have lasted up to this day. It can therefore also be said that colonization 'served the settler state as instruments of massive dispossession and subversion of Maori law and custom' (Russel, 2005:272). Russel (2005) makes the point that the within the second article of the treaty of Waitangi it talks about the crown having the right to purchase land from the Maori people, however 'this has never been enforceable in the New Zealand courts, and Maori land rights have been regulated not by judicial decisions on common law native title but by the legislation issuing from New Zealand's parliament and the Native (now Maori) Land Court it created' (Russel, 2005:272).

This highlights how the Treaty of Waitangi was not enforced properly, leaving the Maori people at a disadvantage.

1860 to 1870 saw what was known as the Maori rebellion or land wars, which led to confiscation of Maori lands. This initially occurred due to Maoris not wanting to sell their land, mainly due to the fact that 'land had vital sentimental and spiritual importance to the Maori. Furthermore they were quick to recognise its economic value and their increasingly numerical vulnerability' (Abel and Lewis, 1988: 323). The Crown therefore took control, and with the assistance of the military took 600 000 hectares of Maori land. 'This land sale triggered the Maori land wars which resulted in widespread land confiscations, particularly from owners deemed to be rebellious to the crown' (Kingi, 2006: 136).

The Treaty of Waitangi can be directly linked to Waitangi day, which takes place every year on the 6th February, yet was changed to New Zealand day in 1974. Although, Hazlehurst (1995) distinguishes between the different associations the Pakeha and Maori make with this day. She explains that for the Pakeha it is a day of establishing their domination in the country, whereas for the Maori saw it as a way for the Pakeha to exhibit their European ways of life. This led to tension between Pakeha and Maori due to Waitangi day being a day many Maoris reflect upon the treaty and its negative consequences to their race, such as removal of land and other cultural issues the treaty promised to protect. Since 1970's the Treaty of Waitangi has been asked to be changed due to its influence on a more modern New Zealand. This led to organised protests much linked to demand Maoris occupying land and challenged New Zealand government. As a result of this, Waitangi Tribunal used to make treaty issues separate to New Zealand day, and also to draw attention to how the treaty of Waitangi was not imposed properly.

The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 (NZ) set up the Waitangi Tribunal 'which considers claims about anything that has happened since 1840 that goes against the treaty' (Brassil, 2003:81). The Waitangi Tribunal website (2012) explains that they also aim to decide on issues that occurred due to language translation differences in order to enable Pakeha and Maori to come together as a collective nationality under New Zealand rule. Many Maoris today 'are less extensively urbanised, nearly a third living in rural areas compared with a fifth of the rest of the population' (Metge, 2004: 77). This can be seen as a result of migration after the impact of colonisation and the Treaty of Waitangi not being correctly imposed on the country. Maoris therefore moved away from the more urban and Pakeha dominated areas. This type of mass movement can be seen as a form of political

domination as Maoris became the minority in their own country, and had less rights and ownership of their own land, showing the major impact recognition of land rights has.

Mobilisation of Maoris as a Political Movement to Challenge Racialisation

There has been much Maori attempt in order to access political power in order to challenge the racism that they have faced since colonization occurred in New Zealand. 'Maori expressions of dissatisfaction with the peripheral position of the Maori population in New Zealand society increased from the late 1960s' (Walker 1984, Poata-Smith 1996, cited in Kolig and Mutler, 2002:51), as in 1970's they started to want more control within the country that was 'justified in terms of culture' (Kolig and Mutler, 2002:52). In other words, these political 'movements were interlaced with an emerging Maori activism that would stress Maori rights and malign the racism that Maori faced in society' (Harris, 2004:32).

It can be said that;

'much of the effort by Maori leaders in recent times has been directed and revitalising iwi organisations and resources as a means of restoring lost mana (authority) and cultural self esteem. This has paralleled a desire in government circles to divest itself of direct responsibility for Maori welfare' (Mulgan, 1994: 26).

This shows how important Maori pride and culture is seen to be in their tradition, and how much they want to restore it. This can therefore be seen as central to the problems related to European colonisation, as it destroyed the Maori customs which were so precious and valued by the Maori people, and many issues within the different sectors of New Zealand society can be seen as being directly linked to this, as this essay is yet to examine.

The Maori protest movement emerged more powerfully in New Zealand in the 1970's, and its main aim 'is to balance the ethnic inequality between Maori and Pakeha' (Kolig and Mutler, 2002:51). Initially this can be seen as being linked to treaty of Waitangi, previously discussed. In this essay, however Kolig and Mutler (2002) make the point that over time, other aspects of New Zealand Pakeha dominated society were seen as issues 'including education, health, the justice system and the employment sector' (Kolig and Mutler, 2002:51). Meaning that in general, they wanted 'the return of decision making power to Maori people in all sectors of society' (Kolig and Mutler, 2002:51) especially in politics which would alter the way policies were implemented in the country. As a result;

'the assumption in this argument was that Maori control of government policies and government institutions in all walks of life would take place on the basis of Maori cultural views and values, which, in turn, would ensure that Maori people be given a fair deal in new Zealand society' (Kolig and Mutler, 2002:51-52).

Similarly, the Department of Maori affairs from 1978 campaigned to revitalise maoritanga. This 'concept refers to all traditional customs regarded as characteristic of the Maori population' (Kolig and Mutler, 2002:52) in order to restore Maori culture and in turn the Maoris people pride and self esteem which colonisation seemed to abolish by takeover of western norms and values.

Later on, in 1984, the Maori Protest Movement was helped by the Waitangi Tribunal which meant that past issues since the treaty of Waitangi had been published, such as those regarding land and other Maori cultural protection, 're-acquired political value' (Kolig and Mutler, 2002:53), rather than being looked at as issues from the past.

In more recent years the Maori Party which started in 2004 mainly aims to gain Maori rights by ensuring the government maintain what is written on the treaty of Waitangi, showing how key this treaty is when aiming to achieve equality for the Maori people. It can therefore be seen as a

'long tradition started by earlier Maori leaders of seeking formal recognition and ratification of the treaty of Waitangi and the investigation and redress of certain

matters that were found to have violated either the letter or the spirit of the treaty or both' (Spickard, 2005:229).

In terms of overcoming racism, integrating the Maori culture, for example by teaching it in schools, is key for the Maori party to ensure the country's history remains connected to their Maori roots, rather than purely with British colonisers. Also, 'for Maori people, for example, the revitalisation of the Maori language is the major issue' (Davis, 1999:13), and this is especially important as during the 1980's 'they have received only little financial assistance from government departments' (Davis, 1999:13) which shows how important it is for Maori people to access political power to ensure this change occurs, as the Maori Party are currently doing.

Altogether it can be said that there have been a number of attempts by Maori people to access political power showing how racism in New Zealand has affected the group as a whole. A western style of governing the country can be seen as greatly differing to traditional native ways of Maori social control over New Zealand's inhabitants. Therefore, Pakeha political power should be equally spread equally between the two races in order for society to benefit to the full and minimise the inequalities that currently exist.

Lack Of Employment Linking Maoris To Poverty

Originally, the Maoris 'main economic activities were agriculture, together with hunting and fishing' (Mulgan, 1994: 24) and their family units consisted of extended family who lived and worked together in order to support one another. This shows their independent and self sufficient lifestyle which was unexpectedly altered when the British colonisers took over New Zealand. Mulgan (1994) explains that the dominant western way of life that transformed their country can be seen as the main reason for Maori under achievement. Primarily this is due to the fact Maori people kept themselves distant from this new form of living, and limited themselves to unskilled occupations. On the other hand, it can also be said that in a certain way, the Maoris were forced into this kind of labour as:

'the native schooling system that operated for a century after its establishment in 1867, aimed to assist Maori to assimilate into the Pakeha world, by providing boys with training for the rural agricultural sector, and training girls as domestic workers and housewives' (Quince, 2007:10-11).

However, 'these occupations were to prove particularly vulnerable to contraction as the domestic manufacturing sector was exposed to greater competition from imports' (Mulgan, 1994: 27), showing that it was not an economically stable profession to be involved in. Quince (2007) also explains that as a result of this there were generations of Maoris in the unskilled labour market, meaning that 'any recession or downturn in the economy usually hit the sectors in which Maori were largely employed' (Quince, 2007:11). Ember and Ember (2004) also explains that New Zealand's move towards free market policies in 1984 disadvantaged Maori employment levels as 'the early reforms that privatized the state industries such as forestry created massive Maori unemployment and a high degree of community stress' (De La Cadena and Starn, 2007:341). However, 'Maori unemployment shows regional and demographic variations, with the rates being highest in the rural areas of Northland and the Bay of Plenty/ Gisborne and amongst the young' (Kim et al, 2001:103). This may be due to the fact that more rural areas are more limited with employment choices, and that the young are at a disadvantage due to poorer backgrounds and lack of schooling qualifications to help get them out of the unemployment and poverty cycles that run within their families.

Mulgan (1994) also talks about two theories of structural dominance in a New Zealand context. Firstly, the anti colonial analysis sees the invading people determined to bring the Maoris under dominations and subordinate them. As a result, 'Maori people have become

victims of institutionalised racism in the sense that most or all major institutions, both in the private and public sector, are systematically biased in favour of the dominant culture and against Maori' (Mulgan, 1994: 27). This therefore puts the Maori people at a disadvantage in society and especially in the workplace, and implies that the Pakeha would be favoured in most sectors of society. Next, Mulgan (1994) talks about the Marxist analysis. This sees the takeover of Maori land and therefore the migration of Maori people into inner city areas, and is 'caused by the imperatives of capitalist accumulation' (Mulgan, 1994:27). There was a high demand for manual workers after the war, so the Maoris created the supply for this kind of workforce. However, racial prejudice means that they were also faced with lower wages than the Pakeha, and although this analysis can be applied to non European workers as well, it can also be said that; 'the Maori can also be seen as victims of the same process, as being treated as migrants in their own country' (Mulgan, 1994:28).

In more recent years Mulhan (1994) explains that Maoris are still more likely to be unemployed or in lower paid employment than the Pakeha. 'For instance, in mid 2003 the unemployment rate for Maori at 10 percent was more than twice that for the total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2003)' (Mulgan, 1994: 27). On top of this, there are 'higher Maori levels of employment in relatively low wage manufacturing and elementary occupations, and fewer Maori in high income occupations' (Durie, 2003: 292). This can be linked to the fact that Maoris are less likely to leave school with any formal qualification, and that, as Durie (2003) explains, Maori are three times less likely to enrol in university, meaning they are limited to jobs which do not require a graduate degree, and are therefore likely to be less well paid.

O' Brien (2008) explains that Maoris are over represented in the poverty statistics in New Zealand, and due to the lack of employment within the racial group this has led to them becoming increasingly welfare dependent. However, changes to social security from the 1980's meant that benefit levels fell and affected 'those receiving old age pensions and in those families with dependent children who were receiving benefits' (O' Brien, 2008:17). As a result, this meant Maori people faced even greater levels of poverty than in previous years. This has also led to the younger generation often carrying on into their adult lives whilst continuing to be welfare dependant as 'by the mid 1980's children who had been the product of a welfare upbringing from birth were reaching young adult, some with no learned work ethic' (Mitchell, 2009:17).

On top of this, 'domestic tension and conflict can develop in homes where men are unemployed, and subsequent break ups' (Mitchell, 2009:17). This meant that an increase in lone single parents, putting more strain on the welfare system and leading these types of family structures to add to the growing number of Maoris in poverty. This is evident by the fact that 'in 2005, half of all male single parents on welfare were Maori' (Mitchell, 2009:18), which can be seen as disproportionate to the New Zealand population as a whole.

Process Of Increasing Criminalisation Of Maoris

There is a clear distinction between the numbers of Pakeha involved in crime compared to the number of Maoris and it can be confidently said that Maoris 'represent the most common stereotype of an offender in New Zealand.' (Quince, 2007:1). This can be clearly reflected by the prison statistics, as the 'Maori comprise about half the prison population (53 percent in 2001)' (Department of Corrections 2003 cited in Mulgan, 1994:27). This is not even just a representation of Maori males, as 'women represent 60% of the prison population' (Department of Corrections, 2007:6), showing how Maoris in general are overrepresented in the jail population.

When considering the racialised reasons behind this, Jackson (1988)'s theory of Maori crime can be used in which 'the kernel of this theory is that the higher rates of offending among Maori are due to factors that are unique to Maori and place Maori at greater risk of both offending and being classified as offenders' (Hawkins, 2003:141). Department of Corrections (2007) explain these factors can be seen in the form of family structure (e.g. single mothers and violence in the home), individual experiences during childhood affecting their physiological behaviour, lack of educational achievement and developmental disorders (e.g. use of alcohol and antisocial behaviour). Therefore, lifestyle differences between the Maori and non Maori children show 'ethnic differences in social, economic and family factors that may have contributed to later patterns of interpersonal violence in young adulthood' (Hawkins, 2003:142). This shows that early life disadvantages due to Maori ways of living lead to a difficulty in being able to fully conform to the colonizers western society in New Zealand, and 'the alien nature of the system within which Maori must operate today' (Quince, 2007: 4). Alcohol abuse may also have also been used on a larger scale by the Maori population due to it being a form of comfort for those who were not happy in a new and foreign society that the colonisers created. The increasing levels of Maori criminality can also be linked to high unemployment rates previously discussed in this essay, and 'low Maori participation in certain functions of society, such as the economy, education, and lawmaking reinforces marginalisation, and maintains barriers in terms of access to justice' (Quince, 2007: 11).

Initially, this type of western legal system that was bought into New Zealand by colonisers can also be seen as greatly differing from the how the Maoris had previously dealt with their legal affairs; 'at subtribe or tribal levels –hapu or iwi' (Quince, 2007:4). Colonisation therefore undermined this kind of law by introducing the new types of regulation in Western form. However, all of these factors that influence Maori crime are often ignored by 'government departments, social agencies, judges, police and other actors' (Quince, 2007:3) meaning that as a result;

'by not addressing Maori cultural and ethnic identity directly we do not get to the root of these social issues for many offenders, which is the intergenerational effect of the trauma of surviving colonisation' (Quince, 2007: 3).

It is also important to consider that the traditional Maori belief principles, which have always existed within the race, do not support such criminal activities that the Maori are often involved in. Therefore other factors affecting their behaviour must be brought to attention when analysing the reasons behind this.

A bias criminal justice system can be seen as currently contributing to the disproportionate number of Maoris in prison in New Zealand. Department of Corrections (2007) explain that Maoris will face more severe consequences for their crimes than non Maoris, and on top of this will also advance more into the criminal justice system, showing that institutional racism clearly exists in this sector of society.

Quince (2007) adopts the theory that

'colonisation has, in fact, directly shaped the socioeconomic position of Maori to such an extent that offending produced by poverty and other related demographics, and the sentences that such offending attracts, are connected to ethnic identity' (Quince, 2007:3).

This would suggest obvious racism within the criminal justice system towards the Maori race, placing them as second class citizens of New Zealand, leading to harsher and stricter law enforcement on their crimes, which they may commit due to their subordinate position within society. On top of this Quince (2007) explains that there is a poor relationship between the police and Maori, and a disproportionate number of Maori people being present on juries also puts them at a disadvantage in the legal system, as lack of involvement can be seen as indirect racism in itself, as the Maoris 'lack any input into the norms and processes of the system' (Quince, 2007:13). Also, Quince (2007) explains that due to them being more prone

to poverty they have more contact with the state and government, which in turn may lead to over policing, whereas other social groups may not be monitored in this way.

The lack of Maori identity present in New Zealand can therefore be seen as a key issue which may add to the increasing criminalisation of the race. The more modern kind of identity that the Maoris have today can be seen as a result of 'loss of land, language and tinkanga' (Quince, 2007:12), or in other words as a result of colonisation. Quince (2007) also explains that many Maori scholars consider access to a solid Maori identity would help to remove them from the cycle of poverty, which can be seen on a global scale as being linked to crime. However, in the Maori case, the term poverty 'may also encompass poverty of the mind, heart spirit and soul' (Quince, 2007:3). In order to create this identity in a positive way for Maori people, it must also be valued by wider society, or in other words, New Zealand as a whole, and more specifically, by the Pakeha. These values can then be applied to the legal system, which in turn would help to minimise Maori involvement in criminal activity.

In conclusion it can be said that the implications of racism that exists in New Zealand, originating from the colonizers towards the native Maoris, has led to this social group becoming second class citizens in their own country. Land right issues has meant that the Maoris have had their own territory taken away from them and used for things that are mainly provided and suited to a Pakeha way of living. This is due to a focus on western culture rather than traditional Maori society. Maori politics have therefore aimed so reinforce the Maori culture back into the New Zealand country, and have their norms and values incorporated into government policies in order for them to be more relevant to Maori people. On the other hand, western dominated politics has made this hard. Lack of employment can be clearly seen to exist within the Maori population. Although after the war their unskilled or semi skilled occupations were at a benefit to the Pakeha in helping to transform New Zealand's new infrastructure, in general they have been mistreated in the work place, for example by being paid lower wages, leading to them being more prone to poverty. Lack of educational achievement may also contribute to the fact Maoris are less likely to be in higher paid jobs. Lastly, due to a bias criminal justice system and other social factors that put Maoris at a disadvantage, they can be seen to make up a significantly disproportionate percentage of the prison population due to the fact they face harsher penalties for their crimes. This can be linked back to the institutional racism that exists in New Zealand that the anti colonial analysis explains which seeks to subordinate the Maori race and put them at a disadvantage in practically all sectors of society, highlighting active state racism. It can also be confidently said that the main ways racism is enforced in New Zealand is via the practical abolishment of the Maori culture, which has left the Maori people with a lack of identity. This type of racism can also be used to explain racism on a global scale, as it highlights the way many native traditions are ignored, and the colonizers culture becomes the dominant way of living for that particular country. This can be seen as similar to the closely located Aborigines in Australia, who were also colonized by the British during this time period. Other implications of racism in New Zealand can also be linked to other parts of the world, such as with land rights with the Aborigines in Canada, where the bases for land rights are on practices, customs and traditions or exclusive occupation. Maori protests regarding land and other issues that the Treaty of Waitangi failed to give Maori people equal power over can also be linked to Black Power in America and other indigenous group struggles elsewhere around the world. As a result, it can be said that Goldberg's (2009) theory that racism is connected worldwide and ideas in one country relates to ideas in another, can be seen especially in New Zealand. On top of this, Goldberg's (2006) idea about racism being a product of Western modernity is relevant to the Maori and Pakeha racialisation debate that exists in New Zealand, and this is justified due to the events that have occurred as a result of British colonialism.

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