

How colonialisation has shaped, and still shapes, the Maori identity through processes of racialisation.

Emily Fulcher

Introduction

The production of a hierarchy based on the construct of race is prevalent on a global scale. Despite debate as to whether 'race' even exists, the conflict that emerges from racism is very real and is at the heart of much analysis in social scientific disciplines. Racism manifests itself into society through a process of racialisation which can take representational, ideological, discursive, interactional, institutional, structural, and systemic forms (Cole, 2011). Racialisation ultimately refers to the instances whereby "social relations between people have been structured by the signification of human biological characteristics in such a way to define and construct differentiated social collectivities" (Miles, 1989). Colonialisation is a catalyst for racialisation and governs segregation and racial tensions. This imperialist drive to conquer and control land and goods was reflected in New Zealand in the 17th century which then established a racialised hierarchy and resulted in dynamic racial issues that are still apparent today (Law, 2010). The British colonialisation of New Zealand is an example that can inform our understanding of how racism works on a global scale as the issues are contemporary and also applicable to other countries.

Europeans were aware of Aotearoa's (or New Zealand's) existence since it was first 'discovered' in 1642 by the Dutch explorer Abel Janszoon Tasman. It was not until over a century later when Captain James Cook realised the potential of the land and the first British settlements were established in 1788 (Sinclair, 1980). The British colonists, or the Pakeha, entered New Zealand and attempted to assimilate the native Maori into a Western society by encouraging them to abandon their own culture and their own structures of authority (Mulgan, 1994). Eventually, the Maori community transformed into the racial minority with profound inequalities. The racial discourse that has evolved since the arrival of the Pakeha is evident in education, health, crime, class and employment and this continues to drive white hegemony in New Zealand. Mulgan (1994) suggests that the Maori identity was primarily created as a contrast with the 'alien Pakeha' and being over ruled by imperialist regimes put the Maori as second class citizens. On the other hand, Quince (2007) believes that Maori do not have an identity altogether, which is an idea that is conveyed in Maori literature such as work by Sheilagh Walker. Walker (1996) implies that Maori are perceived as being invisible, having no real identity of their own and as "the dying Other". This essay will explore the concept of 'Maori identity' and how prejudice perceptions about their identities have been superimposed onto society by colonialisation through a process of racialisation.

New Zealand, like other postmodern countries, would not consider itself to have imposing racial problems and neither is it the first racist country that would come to mind. In recent years, government and public service managers have resisted the notion that there is "any deliberate ethnic bias, or evidence of personal racism in the system" (Workman, 2011). However, there is compelling undercurrent of racism throughout many spheres of life which proves that it is still a problem in contemporary societies. There are four elements that will be

covered to determine the magnitude of racial discrimination in New Zealand: The Treaty of Waitangi dispute over Land Ownership and The Waitangi Tribunal, The Criminal Identity and Racial Profiling of Maoris, Maoris in the Media and Maori Discrimination in Employment Leading to Poverty. Using a combination of work by both Western and Maori academics, this essay proves that racism imbeds itself in postcolonial societies by creating identities and, until these identities are concrete and accurate, New Zealand cannot be considered free from racism.

The Treaty of Waitangi, dispute over Land Ownership and The Waitangi Tribunal

In 1840 representatives of the British Crown and Maori indigenous leaders signed the Treaty of Waitangi as a marker for the formation of the colonial state of New Zealand to guarantee protection of Maori resources and land rights (Rumble, 1999). Named after the place where it was signed, it was produced to create a harmony between the Maori and Pakeha but instead was arguably a facilitator for further discourse with the problems it caused still being felt by New Zealanders today. There were two versions of the treaty, one in English and the other in Maori, and neither version of the treaty was a translation of the other (Ross, 1997). The ambiguity of the treaty became a source of considerable conflict and it was practically ignored for a century (Donnithorne, 2012). "Under the English version, the crown assumed sovereignty over the territory of New Zealand" and the Maori version used the word *rangatiratanga* which translates as chieftainship or authority which resulted in wavering views over land rights and ownership (Ringold, 2005). Tensions triggered localised conflicts that intensified to form a Maori rebellion that led to confiscation of 6,200 square miles of land under the New Zealand Settlements Act in 1863 (Ross, 1997). The New Zealand Wars between the Maori and British armed troops continued from 1845 to 1872 and warped the Maori identity. Maoris were represented as savage, which was an elaborate social distinction of the Pakeha in order for them to justify and exercise control. (Walker, 1996: Law, 2010). This shows race to be a social and historical construct where imperialist dimensions have fabricated a negative paradigm of the Maori that has been carried through to today. This is a concept reflected in other cases such as the French in North Africa, the Germans in Southwest Africa and Soviet Russians in Central Asia and helps to enrich understanding of global racial issues derived from colonialism.

Race was exploited to achieve colonial expropriation and cultural marginalisation of the Maori and exploitation continued for a century. In the 1960s, protests stimulated Maoris to voice their dissatisfaction louder and, being better educated than previous generations, this meant that by the 1970s Maori successfully called for their identities to be less connected "with Victorian notions of blood-quantum" and more in line with traditional representations based on *whakapapa* (genealogy) (Wyeth et al, 2010). The Waitangi Tribunal was a negotiation process inquired under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and investigates claims by Maoris that relate to actions or omissions of the British Crown since the breach of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (Rumble, 1999). The tribunal aims to extinguish historic grievances through a process of fiscal settlements and reconstructing of the Maori and Pakeha relationship. The settlements deal with land *raupatu*, appropriation of resources, illegal land deals, denial of recognition of existing Maori power structures, quashing of language and culture and the tribunal also included an apology clause (Munslow, 1997). This caused the Maori (and the wider community) to "shift their focus away from grievances towards growth and development" thus alleviating Pakeha guilt which allows them to feel a sense of conclusion without having to take responsibility for racism in colonial practices (OTS, 1994: Rumble 1999). Rumble (1999) suggests that the tribunal is a neo-colonial tactic of denying recognition of indigenous sovereignty (*tino rangatiratanga*) in order to protect the Crown and this is how they have maintained white hegemony.

The tribunal was supposed to articulate a new identity for New Zealand that is free from former discourses. It can be said that the Maori identity that as depicted them as primitive or savage has been alleviated. However, despite the Treaty of Waitangi not being directly incorporated into New Zealand's law, it is still considered to be New Zealand's founding

document and currently over 35 statutes refer to the principles of the Treaty and even government bodies often “take them into account” (Tipene-Matua et al 2003). This means that the source of racial tensions is still prevalent in contemporary New Zealand society and “embedded social disparities persist despite numerous interventions over the past several decades” (Race Relations, 2010). The Maori identity still consists of negative attributes as the treaty galvanised organised protest and rebellion which generated a criminal identity that resulted in contemporary discriminatory behaviours.

The Criminal Identity and Racial Profiling of Maoris

Social theories of ethnic identities are reflected within the New Zealand case study. Fredrik Barth (1969) challenged race as being fixed physical and behavioural traits and instead depicted race as a social. This section will explore Maori as an ethnicity that is discriminated against because of defining traits produced by racialisation to show that prejudice actions towards them are still a problem in New Zealand despite race being a societal creation. A fixed behaviour that was produced by colonial processes shows Maori to be considered as the criminal ‘Other’. Some Maori feel they are seen as having a genetically criminal identity and there is much speculation that this representation of identity is used by police for racial profiling (Walker, 1996). Linking biological elements to crime dates back to the 1840s when Spanish physician Soler made reference to the concept of the born criminal (Reid, 1957). However, it is now accepted that deviance stems from environmental factors rather than biological. Overall, colonisation has directly shaped the socioeconomic position of Maori through racialisation 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).

There is a large disproportion in the crime rates between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand. In 2012, Maori’s made up 58% of the prison population despite accounting for just 15.4% of the total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). However, there is little research on the existence of racism within the criminal justice systems as the actions of courts, corrections and other agencies are largely concealed from the public (Workman, 2011). This means that members of the senior public can deny evidence of systematic racism and it is difficult to tell whether this disproportion is justified. However, police attitudes and behaviours can be explored to demonstrate that racial profiling in policing continues to leave Maori with an identity of the criminal Other. This type of western legal system is seen a quite dissimilar to how Maori previously dealt with legal affairs “at subtribe or tribal levels –hapu or iwi” Quince, (2007). Colonialisation generated the criminalisation by not addressing Maori culture and ethnic identity directly and by undermining Maori law by introducing the new types of Westernised regulations (Quince, 2007). Quince (2007) believes this is why we do not get to the root of these social issues for many offenders.

There are some academics who would argue that racial profiling is based on accurate facts about the racial distribution of particular offenses (Taylor & Whitney, 1999). The identity of the Maori will have had some factual basis within crime statistics. This is due to early-life social and environmental factors “resulting in Maori being at greater risk of ending up in patterns of adult criminal conduct” (Department of Corrections, 2007). One theory as to why there is a disproportion in crime committed by ethnic minorities and the ‘white Other’ is by sociologist Robert K. Merton. He used Emile Durkheim’s theory of anomie to refer to ethnic minorities feeling a state of “normlessness or lack of social regulation”. Merton (1957) suggests that in every society there are “culturally defined goals, purposes, and interests” and, if the goals cannot be reached, they turn to crime and deviance. In New Zealand, the Maori identity is “perceived as an alien and resented minority” which has meant they may often feel they should conform to the criminal stereotype as they feel like they cannot achieve any successes as defined by the Pakeha (The Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Other reasons for higher Maori crime rates are depicted in an exploratory report by the Department

of Corrections (2007): family structure (being born to young mothers, a lack of family stability, a violent family environment and exposure to harsh punishment); individual experiences of the developing child and adolescent; educational participation and achievement (school absence, failure to achieve qualifications and not extending to higher education); emergence of developmental disorders (childhood conduct disorder, early antisocial behaviour, and early use of alcohol and other substances).

Many experts have challenged the legitimacy of racial profiles and have argued that, “even if accurate, all race-based decision making is inappropriate” (Engel et al, 2006). Using New Zealand as a case study shows the extent to which racial profiling is wrong and demonstrates racial discrimination and prejudice. Workman (2011) summarises a research report conducted in conjunction with police and Maori perceptions. The Maori participants were all in general agreement that “the police institution is a racist institution that perpetuates strong anti-Māori attitudes” with participants relaying numerous examples including: being stopped and questioned without reason, verbal racist abuse and physical abuse during arrest (Whaiti et al, 1998). Furthermore, some respondents claimed that police would often provoke Maori into verbally or physically retaliating to justify arrests (Workman, 2011). This type of discrimination is not only formed by conceptions of Maori identity but also facilitates the notion of negative perceptions. Because of the disproportion in crime rates, this Maori identity will remain in public thought.

Researching into how police use their authority against minorities has been an important issue for social scientists and the usual way to approach this is to investigate the treatment of black citizens by nonblack police (Brown et al, 2006). This example uses case study evidence to determine that there is a prominent issue and that it is likely similar situations will be relayed in other countries. Research by Kiritapu Allan, a Wellington-based lawyer, underwent a 5 year research project to understand the impacts of the westernised criminal justice process and the implications for Maori people (The Wireless, 2014). One participant stated that when he holds items in a shop, police would look at him like he was stealing something. Another story from a single mum concerned her 2 children: “They were 14 and 11. She was talking about how many times these kids had been picked and charged as adults. Despite telling the police that they are children, they were being treated as adults. The police’s excuse was: ‘Well, they look big’”. Another stated that “Growing up, whenever I saw the cop car, I got scared. And I was scared because they felt like they were going to do something”. Furthermore, police officers are generally more likely to query vehicle registration when a Maori is seen driving a ‘flash’ car (Maxwell et al, 1998). An example of this was when “a successful Māori business woman aged around 40 years reported that she purchased a BMW car and was stopped seven times by the Police within the first two months” (Workman, 2013). Lastly, discriminatory racial profiling was demonstrated in the incursion into Tuhoe country by armed offenders squad on the pretext of looking for weapons supposedly held by Maori in 2007 (Rowen, 2007). This included the unjustified raiding of school buses where children were exposed guns and violence yet no such weapons were found. These are just a few of the many examples where police will randomly approach someone on the street, do random checks, pull over vehicles because they believe they have ‘reasonable grounds’ just because the people are of Maori identity.

The patterns of discrimination and crime rates have significant consequences and linkages with other aspects of social and economic conditions (Law, 2010). Being identified as the criminal Other has stemmed from colonial regimes, which are often shaped and exaggerated by the media, have deemed them second class citizens which have also affected them in terms of employment, poverty and health. The interactions between being racially discriminated in crime directly link with discrimination in other spheres of life which means that Maoris typically have low paid jobs or are unemployed.

Maoris in the Media

The media is a medium in which identities embed themselves in societal thought in the modern day. The way in which Maoris are represented in the media is what influences people's perceptions and that places them at a disadvantage when it comes to employment opportunities and racial hate crime. The media latches on to Maori identity and helps to shape racism using symbolic annihilation, a term mutually exclusive with negative representations, coined by George Gerbner (1972). Some of the main topics covered by media include: crime with special attention to racialised crime (mugging, drugs, violence); cultural differences (that are often exaggerated and negatively interpreted to relate to other social problems); and ethnic relations (inter-ethnic tension, violence and discrimination) (van Dijk, 1993). Racism is undoubtedly a profitable industry; consumers enjoy Maori controversy which generates revenue. Not only does it allow for justification of Maori's perennial position as second class citizens, it alleviates guilt of Europeans for the colonial regimes by suggesting that Maoris are "unemployed bludgers who smoke and drink too much" anyway (North Harbour News, 2010). The media further embeds views of Maori identity into society by controlling which stories are newsworthy, the amount of airtime Maoris get, and the language and imagery that accompany the Maori stories. It is the "invisibility of the media in everyday life" and the "taken-for-granted authority" that the media possess, that enables the pervasiveness of racial perceptions (Georgiou, 2012). In social sciences, the fascination with racism within the media, particularly factual programmes and new stories, means that the representation is a key and controversial issue of recurring debate today (Law, 2010). It is a global issue and understanding how Maoris are represented and how it influences their subordinate position, will help to enrich understanding of other post-colonial countries and how an ethnic minority can be seen as the 'Other'.

The paucity of Maori stories in English language news bulletins makes it easier for viewers to be encouraged to think negatively about Maoris as it removes them from 'normal' stories which diminishes their relevance in society, and when are they mentioned, it is often within a criminalised framework (Nairn et al, 2012). One way in which the media deem Maori to be the 'Other' is by creating this criminal framework that instils a fear toward Maoris. A study by Rankine et al (2004) shows that crime and deviance is the second highest category of Maori stories gathered from newspapers. In particular, the news stories make it difficult to understand and remedy the context of the offences which could have arisen from past trauma or other factors and instead, stigmatising the 'maoriness' of the crime. In 2007 to 2008 Nairn et al (2012) completed a study on Maori news stories on English television, sampling 3 times a week for 6 months. Predominantly, the stories related Maori to child abuse as 57% of news bulletins acknowledged the abuse and violence against children. With such little variance in the type of broadcasting of Maori, they have effectively been lumped into a single category. This concept is similar to Ohye and Daniel's (1999) study on how Native Americans have been "Othered" by using symbolic annihilation that generates a pervasive and powerful identity. The use of symbolic annihilation is generated by the use of inherently racist language such as 'primitive', 'tribal', 'savage' and 'uncivilised' accompanied with terms such as 'gang', 'domestic violence', 'home invasion' and 'terrorism' (Nairn et al, 2012).

The media acts as a ubiquitous social, political and cultural agent that facilitates the process of racialisation. Our increasing dependence on "knowing about the world through media representations reaffirms and reproduces media's symbolic power" and allows them to convey certain stereotypes to control viewer perceptions (Georgiou, 2012). The media articulates other stereotypes for Maoris that identifies them as being the 'Other'. Melanie Wall (1997) depicts these other identities that Maoris are stereotyped as including the 'Comic Other' and the 'Primitive Other'. Both of these identities consist of negative attributes that generate stigma which makes them unattractive to employers and therefore can place them into a cycle of poverty. The Comic Other displayed in mainly fictional media, depicts Maori as having a child-like simplicity, portraying them as dumb or illiterate. An example of this is the comedian Billy T who depicts banal Maori characters and exaggerating buffoonish personalities (Wall, 1997). It is this identity that prompts the problem of Pakeha adopting a

paternalistic duty to speak and write for Maori who are presumed to not be “ready for the dynamics of print literacy” (Walker, 1996). This idea derives from Foucauldian theory of the “indignity to speak for someone else” and generates further discourse and reinforces the racial hierarchy by providing room for Pakeha to exert imperialist control. The other stereotype discussed by Wall (1997) is the Primitive Other. This conveys a socially acceptable savagery and has placed the term ‘warrior’ in Aotearoa vernacular in relation to Maori sport (Wall, 1997). The primitive terms portray them as a product of mythological culture; therefore they are represented as being less human and thus more dangerous. These identities are a direct result of colonialisation, demonstrating that racialisation is a modern globalised issue despite having historical roots.

Comparing Maori media representations to Pakeha is a method of whitecentrism which, in this case, demonstrates the rendering of Pakeha crime in the media. One article by the Social Development Minister, Paula Bennett (2011), states that “Pakeha kill just as many children as Maori do, despite Maori being the “face of abuse” in the media”. Between 2000 and 2008 around 9,000 children were killed and, according to research at Massey University, about half of the children were killed by Pakehas (Chapman et al, 2011). The only recurring patterns relate the deaths to poverty, inter-generational abuse, drugs and alcohol and poor parenting and not race. This is an invisible form of racism, which provides the public (both Maori and non-Maori) with unfair and unreliable information that warps perceptions of Maori identity as being the child abusers simply because of media decisions. Therefore, the media needs to be understood not just as reflections of reality, but as constructors of reality (Couldry, 2000).

Maori Discrimination in Employment Leading to Poverty

The stereotypes that are shown within the media facilitate the ideological Pakeha sovereignty over the Maori which leaves them trapped in a cycle under capitalist regimes (Wall, 1997). The Maori identity endures much discrimination in employment opportunities that can lead to poverty and unstable family units. This results in difficult childhoods and lack of education which then can lead to crime and unemployment. Through a Marxist lens, this is the Pakeha exercising control using capitalist and colonialist regimes such as the legal system and ideology. Maori have developed a “false consciousness” through a process of racialisation and their beliefs of their needs and interests are distorted and therefore Pakeha are able to exert control over them as a ruling class (Mulgan, 1994). This means that Maori remain somewhat stuck in the lower classes and they become trapped within the secondary labour markets where they experience “poor pay, poor working conditions, poor career prospects, job insecurity, and frequent unemployment” (Easton, 1994). Furthermore, there is also evidence that Maori face discrimination within the labour market itself: “in getting a job, in the type of job obtained, and the wages paid for a particular type of work” simply because of their “maoriness” and stereotypes portrayed by the media (Robson et al 2010: Easton, 1994). Being seen at the bottom of the social hierarchy places stigma on Maori people and generates perceptions that they are innately poor and therefore the ‘impoverished Other’.

Chapple (2000) compares the employment rates between Maori and non Maori to come to the conclusion that there is no disadvantage to being a Maori when it comes to employment. However, non-Maori also includes other ethnic minorities such as Asian and Pacific. When making a direct comparison between Maori and Pakeha, the results are far more disproportioned. Maori are 10 times more likely to experience discrimination and have significantly lower earnings than the Europeans (Dyer, 2012). In 2011, 20% of Maori were on income benefits compared to 6.7% of Pakeha. In education participation and tertiary participation all Maori rates were significantly lower than Pakeha in 2011 despite all increasing from 2001. This has strong correlations with Maori poverty as in 2011 only 68% of households have internet connection and 11% experience overcrowding in their house (at least one more bedroom is needed). Maoris are over represented in the poverty statistics

and, due to unemployment, have become increasingly dependent on welfare. However, the changes to social security in the 1980s resulted in falling benefit levels and affected “those receiving old age pensions and in those families with dependent children who were receiving benefits” (O’ Brien, 2008). This further increased poverty among the Maori population and into the cycle of unemployment and crime, assisted by an undercurrent of institutional discrimination.

The British colonisers altered Maori life whose main economic activities involved agriculture and fishing. The Pakeha attempted to assimilate Maoris into their way of life by providing boys with manual labour training and training girls as domestic workers and housewives through the Native schooling system (Quince, 2007). Therefore, the following generations of Maori remained in the unstable and unskilled labour which meant that during economic recession their jobs would be under the most threat. This leaves Maoris vulnerable to poverty which can be demonstrated by statistics on household crowding, income and internet access. Maori are three times less likely to enrol in university, meaning their job opportunities are limited to those that do not require university education and therefore are more likely to get lower paid jobs (Durie, 2003). However, institutions can not always claim it is lack of education that determines their decisions to deny jobs opportunities.

The percentage of Maori attending higher education has increased over the last decade from 4% to 9.1% (Dyer, 2012) . However, there are examples where even educated Maori have been discriminated against simply because of their misconceived identity and not due to lack of education – after all, who wants to hire the criminal, comic and primitive Other? A Maori/English student studying at university sent out applications for several jobs for some part time work during her studies in 2009. Julia Eru used her original name on application forms and received several racist and discriminatory comments including: “sorry we don’t hire blacks, no offence meant” (Willis, 2009). This shows a case of extreme racism in the form of denying access to societal opportunities as seen on Marger’s (2000) spectrum of discrimination. Another example is from aspiring Air Hostess, Claire Nathan. She was turned away from an interview for having the ta moko (an originally indigenous tattoo that represents Maori culture and heritage). As the tattoo could not be completely covered by the uniform, the interviewer immediately said that the interview could not progress despite a heavily tattooed man appearing in the Air New Zealand adverts (Tait, 2013). Maori Affairs Minister Pita Sharples called the airline's policy a "contradiction" and this also goes against The Human Rights Commission which states "a person of Maori descent may not be denied employment, entry to premises, or declined service because they wear moko visibly" (Tait, 2013). In both examples, the compatibility between racial exclusionary practices and institutional behaviours may be the key link to explaining the persistence in the warped attitudes of Maori identities (Law, 2010).

It is process of colonisation that has determined Maoris to be second class citizens. They 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” (Mulgan, 1994). This is because of colonial regimes and the media driving them to become identified as uneducated and untrustworthy. Maori scholars believe that having a solid identity that is not distorted by the media, would help to remove them from the cycle of poverty that links them to crime (Donnithorne, 2012). In order to create this identity, Aotearoa must value Maori society and diminish the colonised regimes that are applied to the legal system and the media that generate discrimination in all spheres of life.

Conclusion

The Maori identity is both distorted and difficult to pin point. Their ethnicity is associated with an array of negative attributes that have progressed with racialisation and stem from the colonisation of New Zealand in the 18th century. The stigmatisation represents systematic racism and has generated modern issues which are recognisable on a global scale. These

key societal issues are: crime and deviance, unemployment and poverty. The process of racialisation has made these issues identifiable with race and ethnicity through social relations including: the Treaty of Waitangi and the media.

From this study, the identities I have discovered are: the criminal Other, the primitive Other, the comic Other, the impoverished Other and an overall 'Other' being. It is these identities that place them as second class citizens below the white hegemonic society. The identities are the result of colonialisation and therefore racism as a whole can be said to be a product of western modernity (Goldberg, 1993). The Treaty of Waitangi represents the historical and pinnacle point of racialisation by giving power to the British Crown and dividing two ethnicities to form the social construct of race, thus a racial hierarchy. An identity was forced upon the Maori people through a process of settler colonial discourse which included denial of native people's land rights and seeing the extermination of primitive people as a natural part of progression to modernity (Jones, 2006). This widened the gap between the Pakeha and the Maori to strengthen the Maoris position of subordination and their identity as the 'Other'. This is an example of the stripping away of prior tribal kinship and identities to exaggerate racial distinctions in order to exercise colonial power and, as a result, create new identities (Law, 2010). After the racial discourse that led to the New Zealand wars, a criminal identity was determined for the Maori which stemmed from their rivalry against the British Crown. Their criminal contexts developed alongside modernisation of New Zealand and their modern identity as the criminal Other now relates to drug and alcohol abuse, violence and theft. This directly relates to Maori being the primitive Other as they are distanced from the norm that is the white hegemony and placed in a separate category to justify colonial practices. The comic Other also derives from primitive Other as it portrays Maori to be less significant in society and also a barrier to the progression to modernity. Imperialist rules have, over the past two centuries, imbedded these identities into public thought and drive much discrimination.

In post-colonial New Zealand a large number of statues have been put in place in the interest of Maori to promote equal opportunities and recognise cultural differences (Barrett et al, 1998). The decline in imperialist forces has alleviated direct systematic racism in a sense yet, new forces are in play that ensure the pervasiveness of Maori discrimination. The media provides most people with their understanding by "framing meanings of the self, the Other, the society we live in" and is a medium to control identities of race (Georgiou, 2012). Therefore, the colonial identities have remained prominent which has led to discrimination in modern day life. This includes prejudice in employment opportunities which has been a big factor in the levels of poverty within Maori communities. Ultimately, this labels them with another identity of being the impoverished Other. This innately traps Maori into cycle which interlinks the identities and overall labels them as 'the Other'. This lack of concrete identity for the Maori is what is preventing New Zealand from being an equitable country and this is a concept that can be seen in other post-colonial countries.

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