

Benevolent Racism; Pākehā Attitudes and Māori Men's Experiences

By

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Abstract

Benevolent racism, racism that is expressed through seemingly positive beliefs and emotional responses, is shown to play an insidious role in upholding negative racial stereotypes and inequality. Although a considerable amount of research has been done on racism in Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ), very little has focused specifically on the prevalence and impacts of benevolent racism. This research comprises two studies to explore the role of benevolent racism in ANZ, focusing specifically on benevolent racism towards Māori men through expressions of their superior athletic and practical/manual skills. Study 1 ($N = 312$) was an experimental study which used multilevel modelling to predict the effects of benevolent racism on guidance given to a Māori male student. The results showed that as Pākehā endorsement of benevolent racism increased, Pākehā rated practical/manual activities to be increasingly important and school to be decreasingly important for a hypothetical Māori male student. In study 2 ($N = 10$), interviews explored the experiences of Māori men in ANZ and whether benevolent racism manifested in these experiences. A thematic analysis derived four main themes: Identity and Culture, Challenges, Whānau and Positive Experiences and the results highlighted that participants' encounters of racism were predominantly of the hostile, rather than benevolent, sort. These findings shed light on the continued role of racism in ANZ and how it is linked to other aspects of Māori men's experiences. These studies also highlight the need for a bottom-up exploration of the profile and functions of benevolent racism in ANZ.

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Benevolent Racism; Pākehā Attitudes and Māori Men's Experiences

The year 2020's defining events, global lockdowns due to the Covid-19 pandemic and global protests against George Floyd's murder within the Black Lives Matter movement, provided abundant examples of hostile racism and its detrimental effects. In New Zealand there are stories of Chinese children needing to be taken out of school due to Covid-19 related bullying (Biddle, 2020), whilst racially motivated violence towards African Americans in the United States spurred what is estimated to be the largest movement in US history (Buchanan et al., 2020). *Racism* is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as "prejudice, discrimination or antagonism towards someone of a different race based on the belief that your own race is superior". Not only is this describing racism that is often hostile and, more often than not, easily recognised, its negative consequences for individuals, groups and intergroup relations are clear.

However, racism can still be prevalent in subtle or even seemingly positive ways, oftentimes with the perpetrators having well-meaning intentions. This is benevolent racism: attitudes or evaluations of an ethnic group that are seemingly positive, but stem from the perception that another ethnic group is incompetent or helpless and often serves to maintain intergroup hierarchy (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007; Romani et al., 2019). Benevolent racism may be expressed in the form of positive stereotypes or beliefs about an ethnic group (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007) or depict them as vulnerable and in need of help (Romani et al., 2019). This often results in group members being restricted to specific areas of society where they are believed to have superior abilities, but do not threaten the desired hierarchy, or legitimises the imposition of a social order where they do not hold much power and subsequently are further disadvantaged or marginalised (Blair, 1999; Romani et al., 2019). Thus, although benevolent racism may sometimes coincide with a genuine desire

to do good, it is often damaging to both the ethnic group who is targeted by it and to intergroup equality more broadly.

The concept of benevolent racism comes from Katz and Hass's (1988) Racial Ambivalence Theory. This theory denotes that an individual can simultaneously hold both hostile and benevolent racial beliefs towards another group. That is, people can endorse negative stereotypes about another racial group resulting in antipathy and criticism, but at the same time feel sympathy as they acknowledge that the racial group is disadvantaged, albeit often seeing it as a result of the group's negative attributes (Katz & Hass, 1988). For example, someone may believe that members of another ethnic group are lazy and unintelligent, but also feel guilt or sympathy in relation to the fact they face discrimination. It is the combination of feeling antipathy and criticism but also sympathy and a duty to "help" another ethnic group, due to their incompetence or lack of sophistication, that results in racial ambivalence. Accordingly, hostile and benevolent racism are separate concepts but closely related, highlighting how important it is to have an understanding of benevolent racism.

The Effects of Benevolent Racism

Benevolent racism is understood to have negative consequences for ethnic groups that are systemically or structurally disadvantaged, particularly those which have suffered a history of discrimination or colonisation (Czopp et al., 2015; Esposito & Romano, 2014). For this reason it is important to understand some of the many interrelated effects of benevolent racism on people and society, as well as its colonialist roots. Despite the seemingly flattering nature of benevolent racism, previous research has shown that it can have negative psychological impacts on those targeted. For example, Asian Americans who were exposed to the stereotype "Asians are good at maths" felt more negative emotions than those who weren't, reporting feelings of anger, annoyance and offence due to the depersonalisation of being solely defined by their ethnic group membership (Siy & Cheryan, 2013).

Another common display of benevolent racism towards Asian Americans is the “model minority” label (Gupta et al., 2011). Among a sample of Asian American students, the majority reported feeling marginalised as a result of such labelling (Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997) and those who internalised this stereotype of their group reported more psychological distress and a more negative stance on seeking help (Gupta et al., 2011). This research further demonstrates how benevolent racism can exacerbate negative psychological consequences as it may deter certain individuals or ethnic groups from seeking help due to the burden of trying to live up to the characterisation of their group, and feelings of inadequacy if they don’t feel they have achieved this.

Benevolent racism can also be problematic for interpersonal and intergroup relations (Czopp, 2008). Studies from the United States have shown that African American participants evaluated a White American who expressed benevolent racism more negatively than one who didn’t (Czopp, 2008). This shows us that not only do targets of benevolent racism dislike it, they also do not view people favourably who express those beliefs. Additionally, African American participants perceived instances of benevolent racism as less constructive than White American participants did and less productive for improving race relations (Czopp, 2008). This demonstrates the mismatch in the way perpetrators and targets view benevolent racism, which can exacerbate issues for race relations, particularly in places where there is a majority-minority divide. When the majority group do not see benevolent racism as a problem, they are likely to continue to express it whilst increasing the frustration of minority groups in doing so. Despite the minority group’s antipathy towards benevolent racism, it is very difficult to confront or oppose it because the majority group see it as just that – benevolent.

Relatedly, the seemingly flattering nature of benevolent racism fosters its persistence (Czopp et al., 2015). Benevolent racism tends to not be recognised in the same way as overt

or hostile racism (Kay et al., 2013) as previous research found that people perceived someone who expressed benevolent racism as less prejudiced than someone who expressed hostile racism in the form of an overtly negative stereotype (Mae & Carlston, 2005). This illustrates that the prejudiced undertones of such statements are hard to detect, making it more pervasive. What's more, those who stand up to benevolent racism are rated more harshly than those who stand up to hostile racism, being deemed less likable, overreactors and complainers (Alt et al., 2019). Unsurprisingly, this dissuades people from confronting such statements in future (Czopp et al., 2015).

Benevolent racism can also play a role in perpetuating intergroup and systemic inequality (Czopp, 2010; Czopp et al., 2015; Esposito & Romano, 2014). Expressions of benevolent racism, particularly in the form of racial stereotypes, provide a socially acceptable way to channel members of specific ethnic groups into areas that society views as low status, or where the probability of success is unlikely or difficult (Czopp, 2010; Czopp et al., 2015).

In a study by Czopp (2010), a sample of White American students in the United States were asked to imagine they were a guidance counsellor for a hypothetical student. All participants were given a vignette describing a student who excelled in sports, struggled in school but maintained an interest in schoolwork. A photo to accompany the vignette was manipulated across two conditions; half of the participants were given a photo of an African American male student while the other half were given a photo of a White American male student.

The results revealed that those with high benevolent racism scores rated athletics as more important for the African American student's success and that the student should spend more hours per week on athletics at the expense of academics. Conversely, they rated academic study as most important for the White American student's success, rather than

athletics, and advised that the student should spend more hours per week on schoolwork than athletics (Czopp, 2010).

Although the participants were pretending to assume the role of a guidance counsellor, this demonstrates the potential harm of benevolent racism when endorsed by people in positions of influence. The belief that African Americans are superior athletes is a common expression of benevolent racism. However, recommending a student who struggles, but remains interested in schoolwork, to pursue a career as a professional athlete is not optimal for their success given that the chance of becoming a professional athlete in the United States is close to zero percent (Czopp, 2010; Czopp et al., 2015). In this way, inequality is perpetuated as members of minority ethnic groups are encouraged to pursue low-success career paths whilst White Americans who are 'the same on paper' are encouraged to pursue academics, leaving them more likely to be able to get a "white-collar" job (Czopp et al., 2015).

It is important to note that scores of negative prejudice towards African Americans did not predict the advice given to the hypothetical student, meaning the participants were not giving this advice from a place of maliciousness, illustrating the complexity of benevolent racism. Even with well-meaning intentions, benevolent racism can inform decisions that contribute to inequality (Czopp, 2010).

Despite this, the application of benevolent racist stereotypes predicts the likelihood of participants to also apply hostile racist stereotypes to that same ethnic group (Kay et al., 2013). A US study found that exposing people to the benevolent "Black as athletic" stereotype resulted in participants being more likely to also endorse the "Black as criminal" stereotype, even more than exposing them to the "Black as violent" stereotype, which is overtly negative and has much clearer links to criminality than athleticism does (Kay et al.,

2013). Accordingly, the more we promote messages of benevolent racism, the more likely people are to also endorse hostile racism towards the same group.

Benevolent racism also maintains intergroup hierarchy and inequality by other means, such that those who exhibit stereotype-consistent behaviours are rewarded or treated better than those who don't. Schimel et al. (1999) found that people consistently rated an African American male with stereotypical mannerisms and speech more favourably than an African American male who exhibited stereotype-inconsistent behaviours. This provides incentive for targets of benevolent racism to display the archetypal behaviour that society expects of them, which is often behaviour incorrectly assigned to their ethnic group.

Benevolent Racism in Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ)

Despite the limited breadth of research to date, it is understood that benevolent racism exists in Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ), specifically towards Māori men. ANZ has a colonial history and benevolent racism plays a key role in allowing colonisation to thrive (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007). Benevolent racism paints indigenous people as primitive and child-like, allowing the dominant group to assume the role of protectors and saviours. In order to elaborate on benevolent racism in ANZ today, it is first necessary to provide some historical context.

British settlers initiated colonisation of ANZ in the early 1800s, relying on the Doctrine of Discovery as the basis for their exploits (Mutu, 2019). The Doctrine of Discovery was a legal principle based on the myth that white Europeans and Christians were superior to all other races, cultures and religions, and granted European arrivals automatic land, commercial and political rights over the indigenous people in their chosen country (Miller et al., 2010). This doctrine was used by Europeans in multiple colonial contexts as justification for colonisation and their subsequent actions, as it asserted that the indigenous people were

inferior and incapable of any kind of self-determination (Miller et al., 2010), beliefs which form the foundation of benevolent racism (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007).

With no understanding or regard for *tikanga Māori* (Māori customs/protocols), British colonisers in ANZ employed the Doctrine of Discovery and disseminated falsehoods about the indigenous people of ANZ (Mutu, 2019). To name just some of the myths constructed to justify the oppression of Māori, Māori men, in particular, were depicted by colonialists as unenlightened, primitive, savage, inherently violent and as a “warrior race” (Hokowhitu, 2003; 2004). They were characterised as closer to apes than humans and colonial discourse even went as far as to say that Māori skulls were smaller than British skulls, concluding that Māori must have the minds of children (Hokowhitu, 2004).

To continue this narrative, Māori males were subsequently offered a very limited and specific form of education, only allowed to participate in areas that would not challenge the false European representation of them as unenlightened and primitive, and ensure they could not compete with their Pākehā counterparts (Hokowhitu, 2003; 2004). Any later attempts made to incorporate *tikanga Māori* into state education were selective to ensure the dominant representations of Māori as primitive and child-like could not be contradicted. For example, some aspects of *tikanga Māori* like song, crafts and dance were integrated but other core aspects, such as *te reo Māori* (Māori language), were not (Hokowhitu, 2003). Additionally, Māori men were permitted to serve in the British Army and play rugby, to uphold the narrative of Māori men as innately physical (Hokowhitu, 2003; 2004). Participating in these two realms not only perpetuated stereotypes of inherent Māori male violence and savagery, but was also used as evidence that British colonisation had found a way to tame and harness this savagery into something productive (Hokowhitu, 2003; 2004).

The power and relevance of this colonial discourse today is that people have come to believe that certain traits are a part of Māori culture, such as a “warrior-like” disposition,

without recognising that these are based on colonial myths (Ngata, 2018). However today, it is arguably less acceptable to refer to Māori men as unenlightened, primitive, savage or genetically violent. Instead, Māori men are often referred to as “practically-minded” or “natural sportsmen” with particular reference to rugby (Hokowhitu, 2004). Although these benevolent terms seem like a vast improvement from colonial representations of Māori men, it is argued that these stereotypes are contemporary derivatives of colonial racism (Wall, 1997) and intentionally or unintentionally, they reinforce and continue colonial discourse (Hokowhitu, 2004). To convey to Māori men, and the rest of society, that Māori men are “practically-minded” or “natural sportsmen” may perpetuate a narrative of what it means to be a Māori man and the role Māori men are expected to play in society, despite being expressed in seemingly benevolent terms.

Therefore, by understanding how benevolent racism is embedded in ANZ’s colonial history and how it has evolved over time, there are sufficient grounds to believe that it is still prevalent in ANZ towards Māori men today, particularly in the form of the aforementioned representations. Despite the flattering nature of the current representations of Māori men as “practically-minded” and “natural sportsmen”, they may originate from the myths that Māori men are intellectually inferior and innately physical, and portray that Māori men are better suited to manual and physical domains. For this reason, it is worth questioning people’s endorsement of benevolent racism towards Māori men and the role of benevolent racism in ANZ today.

The Aim of the Present Research

Given the extensive research in the United States showing the psychological, interpersonal and intergroup consequences of benevolent racism, it seems crucial to explore how it manifests in ANZ in depth. Despite ANZ's history, there is obvious discomfort in acknowledging that racism exists here. The New Zealand Human Rights Commission released their "Voice of Racism" campaign in 2020, where one of the aims was to get people to realise how subtle assumptions and stereotypes can have a negative cumulative effect over time. They also analysed the social media responses to this release and found that denial of racism was a major theme (Scoop Publishing Limited, 2020).

Although this campaign demonstrated many different examples of racism, there was a focus on comments, assumptions or stereotypes that people might consider to be trivial, which are more in line with benevolent racism and microaggressions (Human Rights Commission, 2020). The denial and negativity in response to this campaign might be an indication that when racism is not blatantly hostile or aggressive, people struggle to appreciate its impact and to recognise its part in the broader issue of racism and inequality. Therefore, this research aims to expand and shed light on the current role of racism in ANZ by exploring benevolent racism among Pākehā and if or how it impacts the lives of Māori men.

Two studies have been proposed to explore this concept in depth. Study 1 seeks to identify Pākehā endorsement of benevolent racism towards Māori men and its influence on their subsequent judgements, and study 2 will then explore the experiences of Māori men and the ways racism might impact these experiences. To gain an in depth understanding of the function and consequences of benevolent racism in ANZ, it is important and relevant to explore this concept from these two different perspectives: Māori and Pākehā.

Research Approach and Considerations

To expand on previous research on benevolent racism, I have chosen a mixed-methods approach. Study 1 is a quantitative, experimental study based closely on Czopp's (2010) United States guidance counsellor study, but in a new cultural context. With this, I can gain a snapshot of benevolent racism in ANZ among Pākehā and test potential causal relationships between benevolent racism and subsequent attitudes and behaviours towards Māori men.

In addition to this, it was very important to me to include a study which explored this topic from the perspectives of Māori men. If benevolent racism in ANZ is thought to impact the lives of Māori men, their experiences and point of view are paramount in understanding this concept and the story should not be told without their perspective. With that being said, by simply involving Māori participants, this does not guarantee that research is going to be culturally appropriate and honourable to Māori. Western research concerning Māori has often been exploitative and deficit-focused (Walker et al., 2006) and resulted in further invalidation of Māori worldview, culture and knowledge (Smith, 2013).

To combat this I drew on the Kaupapa Māori research movement as a guide for how I would implement and facilitate study 2. Kaupapa Māori is a movement, a philosophy and a methodology (Smith, 2013; Walker et al., 2006). It emerged as a response to western research on Māori "subjects" that was exploitative, dehumanising and used concepts and methodologies that did not hold relevance or validity within Māori culture (Smith, 2013; Walker et al., 2006). The simplest explanation of Kaupapa Māori research is that it is research by Māori, with Māori and for Māori (Walker et al., 2006).

Kaupapa Māori research assumes Māori self-determination, the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of *te ao Māori* (the Māori worldview) and *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge), and serves to empower and enhance the *mana* (prestige, authority, influence,

power) of the participants and the wider Māori community (Smith, 2013). Also of importance is that the research and its outcomes are beneficial and meaningful to Māori (Walker et al., 2006), and the practices, processes and facilitators of the research embody and reflect the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi: partnership, participation and protection (Hudson & Russell, 2009).

There is much discussion as to whether a non-Māori researcher can do Kaupapa Māori research, with no clear conclusion. My personal conclusion is that I cannot claim to do Kaupapa Māori research as a Pākehā person but there are many things I can do to align the research as closely as possible to the values and principles that epitomise Kaupapa Māori. With these considerations, I felt that an exploratory, qualitative aspect to this research was very important so that I could take the place of facilitator and create a space where Māori experiences and knowledge on this topic could be shared. A more in-depth discussion of the practical integration of Kaupapa Māori values and principles in this research, as well as reflexivity, is found in the method section for study 2.

Study 1

The aim of study 1 was to identify whether benevolent racism towards Māori men, specifically the beliefs that they are natural sportsmen and practically-minded, was prevalent among New Zealand Europeans/Pākehā in ANZ. This study aimed to measure whether benevolent racism was associated with the advice given to a Māori male student about how important sport, school, and practical/manual activities were for his future success. Furthermore, this study investigated whether the advice about the importance of the aforementioned domains differed for a Māori and Pākehā male student.

Hypotheses and Predictions

General Hypothesis

If benevolent racism towards Māori men was related to the future advice given to a Māori male, I expected that the perceived importance of the three target domains (sport, school and practical/manual) would differ, and the advice given to a Māori and Pākehā male student would differ.

Hypothesis 1

If benevolent racism was related to the perceived importance of sport, school and practical/manual activities for a Māori male, the ratings of importance between these domains would differ within the Māori condition (i.e. participants asked to advise a Māori male student).

Hypothesis 1a. If participants endorsed benevolent racism towards Māori men, then those in the Māori condition would rate the sport and practical/manual activities as more important areas of focus relative to school.

Hypothesis 1b. If endorsing benevolent racism towards Māori men was associated with this difference in domain importance ratings, then the difference between these domains would become larger as benevolent racism increased.

Hypothesis 2

If benevolent racism towards Māori men exists in this sample, I expected that the perceived importance of each domain would differ between the Māori and Pākehā conditions.

Hypothesis 2a. Within the practical/manual and sport domains, I expected they would be rated as more important areas of focus for a Māori male than a Pākehā male.

Hypothesis 2b. Within the school domain, I expected this would be rated a less important area of focus for a Māori male than a Pākehā male.

Hypothesis 2c. If endorsing benevolent racism towards Māori men predicted differing advice given to a Māori and Pākehā male student, this difference between the conditions would increase as benevolent racism towards Māori men increased.

These hypotheses have been preregistered with the Open Science Framework (OSF) and can be found on the study's OSF project page

(https://osf.io/jkpzf/?view_only=3b7e7d3c4b604055aa179bbd7844594b). The wording has changed slightly as the preregistered hypotheses implied I was going to do a median split of benevolent racism, whereas the comparisons of focus are the categorical domains and experimental conditions (Māori vs Pākehā).

Method

Participants

The final sample consisted of 312 participants. 145 participants were a community sample recruited through advertisements on the researcher's Facebook and Instagram accounts. Of this subsample, 99 participants identified as female and 45 as male, and 63% of the participants were aged 18-29. 167 participants were first year psychology students at Victoria University of Wellington and were recruited through IPRP (Introduction to Psychology Research Program). Of this subsample, 143 participants identified as female and 23 as male, and 99% of the participants were aged 18-29. A table with the gender and age breakdown of each subsample can be found in Appendix A. At the end of the survey, community sample participants were given the option to enter the draw to win a \$50 supermarket voucher. Participants in the IPRP sample were not allowed to enter the draw for the voucher, but all were remunerated with course credit for their participation, in line with IPRP protocols.

Materials

Vignette. All participants were given a vignette detailing a fictional high school student who struggles academically but maintains an interest in schoolwork, tries hard, and excels in rugby (see Appendix B). Participants were randomly and evenly assigned to one of two experimental conditions: Māori vs Pākehā. The difference between the two conditions is that in the Māori condition, the vignette described a student with a traditionally Māori name (Rawiri) and in the Pākehā condition the vignette described a student with a traditionally Pākehā name (Alistair). The condition that participants were assigned to represented the ethnicity of the student they were asked to advise further on in the experiment, i.e. Rawiri (Māori condition) or Alistair (Pākehā condition).

Domain Rating Task. Participants were given a list of 15 different tasks/activities which fell under four different domains: sport, school, practical/manual and neutral. An example from each domain is “preparing for rugby games”, “completing homework and assignments”, “exploring work in trades” and “basic hygiene” respectively. The neutral items were included to form a baseline comparison variable. The full list of activities can be found in Appendix C. Participants were asked to imagine they were a guidance counsellor for the student in the vignette and rate on a 7-point Likert scale how important they thought each activity was for the student’s future success (1 = *Not important at all*, 7 = *Very important*). This was based on Czopp’s (2010) study.

Benevolent Racism towards Māori men (BR). An adapted version of Czopp and Monteith’s (2006) Multidimensional Racial Attitudes (CSNP) Scale was used to measure benevolent racism towards Māori men. As the original scale was designed to measure complimentary stereotypes and negative prejudice towards African Americans, I needed to adapt the scale to fit an ANZ context and to be specifically about Māori men.

I adapted the 15 items designed to measure complimentary stereotypes towards African Americans to measure benevolent racism towards Māori men. The original scale had items to measure athletic ability, musical ability, and sexual and social competence among African American people. I adapted all the items to measure benevolent racism, particularly endorsement of two stereotypes that I was focusing on in this research: superior athletic ability/physicality and practical/manual skills among Māori men. I changed words but kept the structure of the items as similar to the original items as possible. I consulted with two research groups that I am a part of in the School of Psychology: the Mind in Context Lab and the Whānau Lab, both made up of postgraduate students specialising in indigenous, cultural and cross-cultural psychology.

The final scale had five items measuring benevolent racism relating to athletic ability/physicality and six items relating to practical/manual skills. The measure uses a 7-point response option ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). An example item from the adapted scale is “There are so many Māori men in professional rugby because of their innate ability”. The full adapted benevolent racism scale can be seen in Appendix D. The scale showed good internal reliability with a Cronbach’s alpha of .85.

Hostile Racism (HR). The 10-item Modern Racism toward Māori Scale (Satherley & Sibley, 2018) was used as a measure of hostile racism towards Māori. An example item is “Māori have too much political power and influence in decisions affecting NZ”. For the first eight items, the measure uses a 7-point response option ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). For the last two items, the participants are asked to rate their feelings of warmth and their feelings of anger towards Māori from 1-7 (1 = *Feel least warmth / Feel least anger*, 7 = *Feel most warmth / Feel most anger*). The scale showed good internal reliability with a Cronbach’s alpha of .83.

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). The SDO(7) short-form scale (Ho et al., 2015) was used to measure social dominance orientation. An example item is “some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups”. The scale consists of eight items and uses a 7-point response option ranging from 1 (*strongly oppose*) to 7 (*strongly favour*). In this study, SDO was a covariate as it is concerned with maintaining intergroup hierarchy, thus, it is likely that SDO is associated with benevolent racism. The scale showed good internal reliability with a Cronbach’s alpha of .78.

Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA). RWA was measured using the 18-item Authoritarianism-Conservatism-Traditionalism (ACT) short-form scale (Duckitt, 2010). An example item from the scale is “our country will be great if we show respect for authority and obey our leaders”. The measure uses a 9-point response option ranging from 1 (*strongly*

disagree) to 9 (*strongly agree*). As RWA is characterised by obedience to authority and intolerance towards those who do not adhere, it is likely that this is associated with benevolent racism as these concepts are both concerned with imposing limitations to maintain the status quo. For this reason, RWA was also a covariate in this study. The scale showed good internal reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of .89.

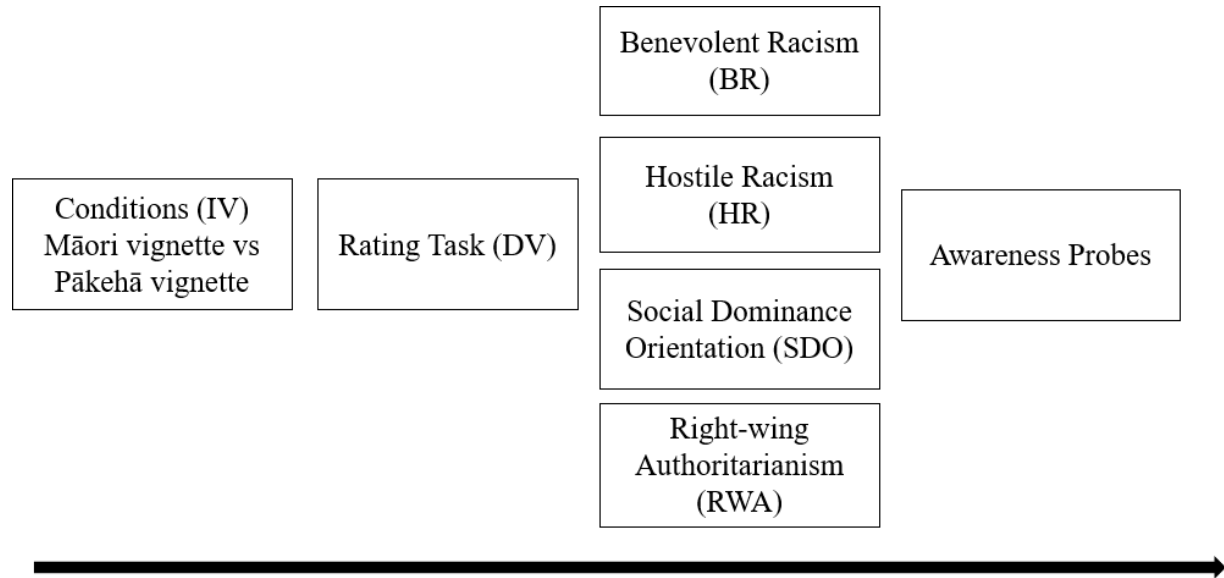
Demographics. Participants were asked to report their age, gender, ethnicity and city/region that they live in most of the time.

Awareness probes. Three open-text questions at the end were designed to identify how much participants knew about the true purpose of the experiment, and how much they remembered about the vignette they were given.

Procedure

Figure 1

Diagram of the Experimental Procedure



Ethics approval was obtained by the Victoria University Human Ethics Committee (HEC) in November 2019. An online survey was created using Qualtrics software. First, participants were presented with an Information Sheet about the study and asked to give consent. The Information Sheet included the necessary criteria for participants to take part (i.e. 18 years old or over and identify as New Zealand European or Pākehā). Consenting participants were then asked demographic information to filter out anyone who had continued with the survey who might not meet the criteria. In this instance, the survey would automatically end and the participant was thanked for their time but notified that they could not continue with the survey.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: the Māori condition or the Pākehā condition, representing the ethnicity of the student in the vignette who they would later be asked to advise. Participants in both conditions were given a vignette about a hypothetical male student with either a traditionally Māori name (Rawiri) or a traditionally

Pākehā name (Alistair). All participants were then asked to imagine they were a school guidance counsellor for the student in the vignette and complete a domain rating task. They were given a list of 15 activities in a randomised order and asked to rate on a scale from 1-7 how important they thought each activity was for their given student's future success. The activities fell under four categories of domains: there were four sport-related, four school-related, four practical/manual and three neutral activities. As mentioned in the materials section, the full list of activities can be found in Appendix C.

Following this, participants were asked to complete the various individual difference measures (BR, HR, SDO and RWA). There were three questions designed to probe suspicion and awareness, and then participants were debriefed about the true purpose of the study.

Results

A principal components analysis (PCA) was run to check the validity and reduce the data in the benevolent racism scale to use it as a composite scale score. Multilevel modelling was then used to predict participants' perceived importance of four domains (sport, school, practical/manual and neutral). The variables put into the model to predict this outcome were condition (Māori vs Pākehā), benevolent racism and domain. HR, SDO and RWA were entered as covariates. All analyses were performed in R.

Principal Component Analysis of Benevolent Racism scale

Based on prevailing theory, I expected a single component of benevolent racism, so I first ran a PCA to extract the first component. I found that items 1 (Māori men do not have a natural "instinct" for sport), 3 (the success of Māori male athletes has nothing to do with their natural ability), 8 (a Pākehā rugby team would be much more successful than a Māori rugby team) and 12 (Māori men usually aren't good with their hands) did not load substantially on the component ($> .40$). Therefore, I decided to remove these four items and re-ran the

analysis. After the removal of these items all remaining items loaded substantially and positively, supporting the uni-dimensional conceptualisation of this measure.

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

Table 1 below presents the means, standard deviations and zero-order correlations for the study variables. The results show that BR was positively correlated with HR ($r = .42, p < .001$), SDO ($r = .34, p < .001$) and RWA ($r = .30, p < .001$). HR was positively correlated with SDO ($r = .56, p < .001$) and RWA ($r = .56, p < .001$), and SDO was positively correlated with RWA ($r = .55, p < .001$). This shows that the four study variables are moderately, positively correlated and that the mean scores of benevolent and hostile racism among the sample were low, ($M = 2.85$) and ($M = 2.26$) respectively.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Study Variables

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Benevolent Racism (BR)	2.85	0.90	—	.42***	.34***	.30***
2. Hostile Racism (HR)	2.26	0.89	.42***	—	.56***	.56***
3. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)	2.10	0.95	.34***	.56***	—	.55***
4. Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)	3.58	1.20	.30***	.56***	.55***	—

Note. *** $p < .001$

Multilevel Modelling

I ran a moderated multilevel regression analysis to test the interaction effects of condition (Māori vs Pākehā), domain (sport, school, practical/manual, neutral) and benevolent racism. The dependent variable was the difference in participants' ratings of importance of the four domains (sport, school, practical/manual and neutral) for a hypothetical student. For all multilevel modelling analyses, benevolent racism was mean-centered.

The multilevel model with the Māori condition as the reference condition and sport as the reference domain can be seen in table 2 below. The results show that HR, RWA, SDO, gender and age were not significant predictors of participants' ratings of importance of the domains. There were some significant interaction effects of BR depending on the domains of comparison. To test hypotheses 1 and 2, I needed to re-run the model changing around the reference condition and reference domain. The results in relation to hypotheses 1 and 2 are described in the sections below.

In addition to testing the hypotheses, as an exploratory analysis, I also ran an ANOVA and multilevel model to test the effects of hostile racism on participants' rating of importance of the four domains. I entered condition (Māori vs Pākehā), domain (sport, school, practical/manual, neutral) and hostile racism into the model and the three-way interaction was not significant ($F = 1.45, p = .23$). The full multilevel model showing the interaction effects of hostile racism on the difference in participants' ratings of the domains can be found in Appendix E.

Table 2

Multilevel model showing the interaction effects of condition (Māori vs Pākehā), domain and benevolent racism on the difference in participants' ratings of importance of sport compared to the neutral, practical/manual and school domains

Variable	Estimate	95% CI
(Intercept: Condition (Māori) * Domain (Sport))	5.36***	[4.92, 5.80]
Condition (Māori (M) - Pākehā (P))	-0.01	[-0.17, 0.16]
Benevolent Racism (BR)	-0.03	[-0.17, 0.11]
Domain (Sport - Neutral)	0.72***	[0.59, 0.85]
Domain (Sport - Practical)	-1.31***	[-1.43, -1.18]
Domain (Sport - School)	0.05	[-0.08, 0.17]
Hostile Racism (HR)	-0.01	[-0.11, 0.10]
Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)	0.07	[-0.01, 0.14]
Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)	-0.07	[-0.17, 0.02]
Gender	0.02	[-0.14, 0.18]
Age	0.07	[0.00, 0.14]
Condition (M - P) * Benevolent Racism	0.00	[-0.19, 0.19]
Condition (M - P) * Domain (Sport - Neutral)	-0.12	[-0.31, 0.07]
Condition (M - P) * Domain (Sport - Practical)	0.25**	[0.07, 0.42]
Condition (M - P) * Domain (Sport - School)	-0.29**	[-0.46, -0.12]
BR * Domain (Sport - Neutral)	0.11	[-0.04, 0.26]
BR * Domain (Sport - Practical)	0.22**	[0.08, 0.36]
BR * Domain (Sport - School)	-0.08	[-0.22, 0.05]
Condition (M - P) * BR * Domain (Sport - Neutral)	-0.30**	[-0.51, -0.09]
Condition (M - P) * BR * Domain (Sport - Practical)	-0.22*	[-0.41, -0.02]
Condition (M - P) * BR * Domain (Sport - School)	-0.03	[-0.23, 0.16]

Note. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Hypothesis 1. Hypothesis 1 stated that if benevolent racism predicted the perceived importance of different domains for a Māori male, the importance ratings of sport, school and practical/manual activities would differ within the Māori condition. Specifically, participants would rate the sport and practical/manual activities as more important areas of focus relative to school (H1a), and this difference would increase as benevolent racism increased (H1b).

An ANOVA testing the three-way interaction between condition, domain and benevolent racism on participants' domain importance ratings gave initial support to Hypothesis 1. I found that the domain importance ratings significantly differed within the Māori condition based upon the participant's benevolent racism score ($F = 3.82, p = .01$). I therefore proceeded to interpret the results of this interaction using simple slopes to look at the difference between the domains within the Māori condition (West et al., 1996).

As can be seen in table 3 below, Hypothesis 1a was not supported. The results show that within the Māori condition, at the mean level of benevolent racism the difference in the perceived importance of sport and school was not significant ($B = 0.05, p = .46$). The difference in the perceived importance between the practical/manual domain and school was significant, but in the opposite direction than had I expected. Participants rated practical/manual items as less important for a Māori student's success relative to school ($B = -1.35, p < .001$). A table including the difference scores between the domains within the Pākehā condition at the mean level of benevolent racism can be found in Appendix F.

Table 3

The difference between the perceived importance of the four domains within the Māori condition at the mean score of benevolent racism

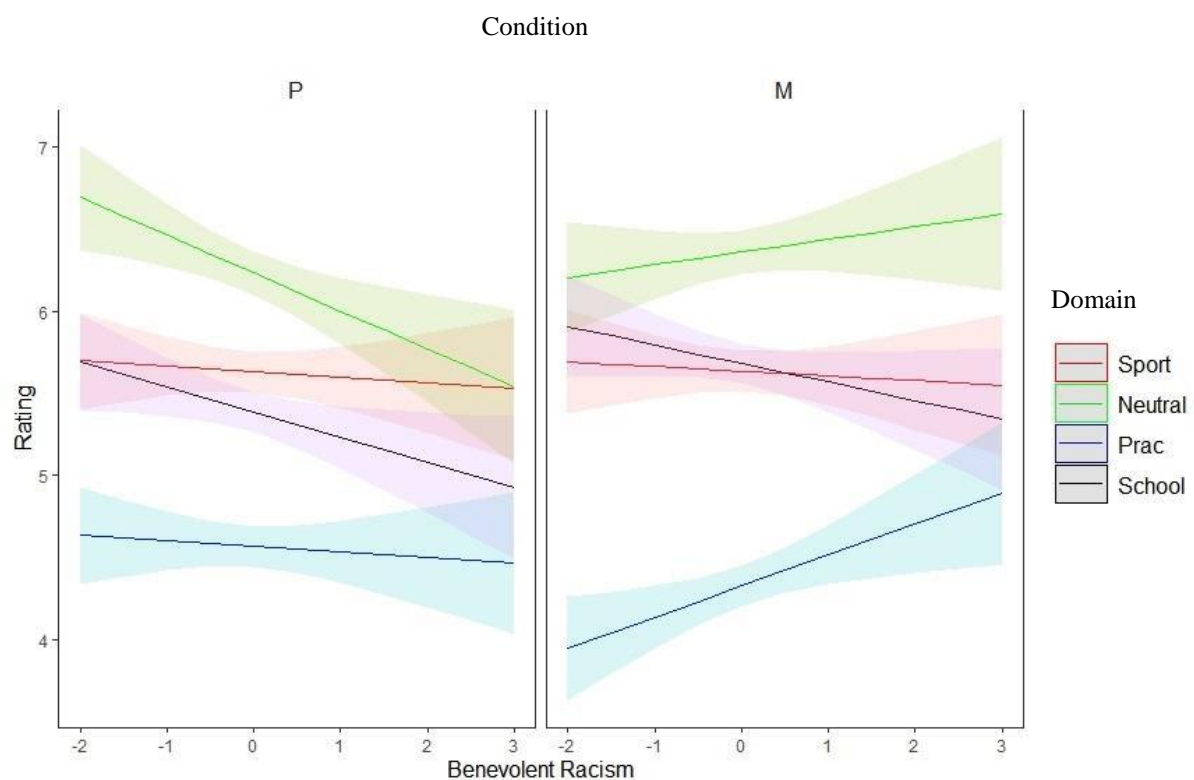
Condition: Māori		
Reference Domain	Estimate	95% CI
Sport		
Neutral	0.72***	[0.59, 0.85]
Practical/manual	-1.31***	[-1.43, -1.18]
School	0.05	[-0.08, 0.17]
School		
Neutral	0.68***	[0.54, 0.81]
Practical/manual	-1.35***	[-1.47, -1.23]
Sport	-0.05	[-0.17, 0.08]
Practical/manual		
Neutral	2.03***	[1.90, 2.16]
School	1.35***	[1.23, 1.47]
Sport	1.31***	[1.18, 1.43]
Neutral		
Sport	-0.72***	[-0.85, -0.59]
School	-0.68***	[-0.81, -0.54]
Practical/manual	-2.03***	[-2.16, -1.90]

Note. *** $p < .001$

The simple slopes analysis gave partial support to Hypothesis 1b (see figure 2 below). As benevolent racism towards Māori men increased, the perceived importance of practical/manual activities for a Māori male student increased while the perceived importance of school decreased. However, the perceived importance of sport remained stable in the Māori condition even as benevolent racism increased.

Figure 2

The three-way interaction effects of condition (Pākehā vs Māori), domain and benevolent racism on the difference in the perceived importance of sport, school, practical/manual and neutral domains within the Māori and Pākehā conditions



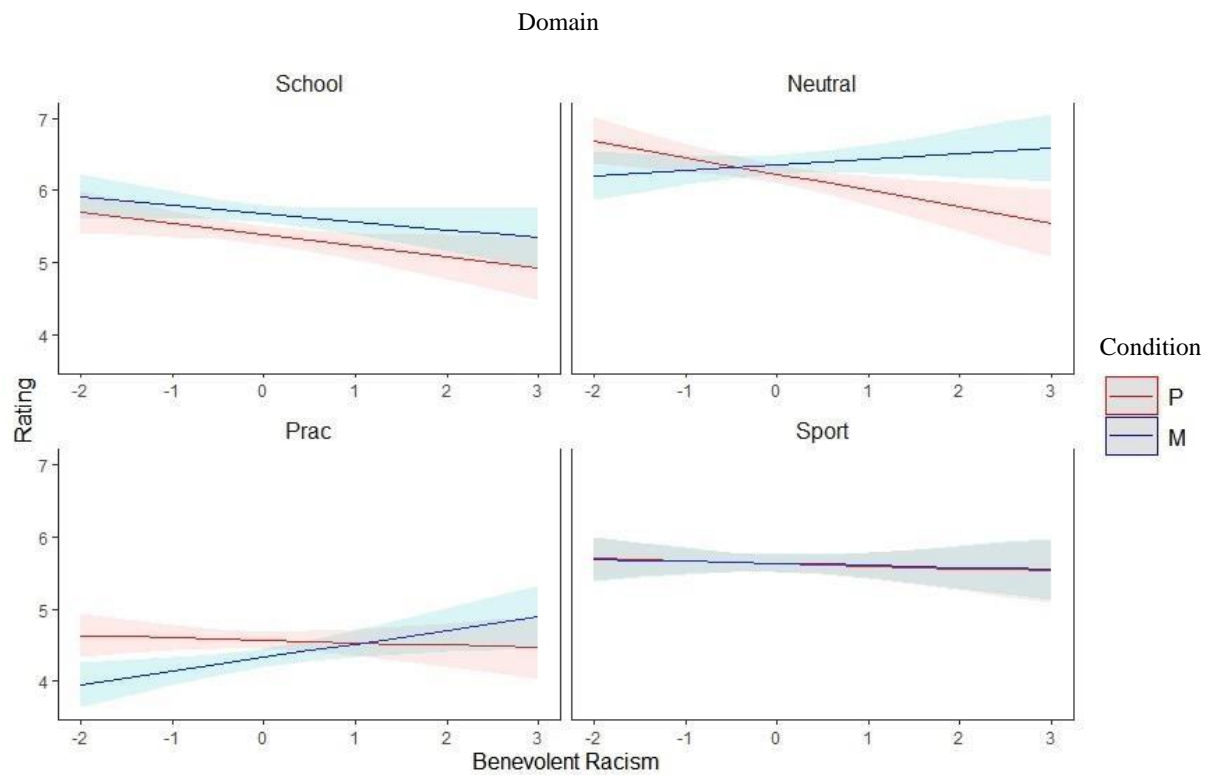
Note. P = Pākehā condition, M = Māori condition; Rating = rating of perceived importance of domain; “Prac” = practical/manual domain

Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 predicted that if benevolent racism towards Māori men existed in this sample, there would be a difference in the advice given to a Māori and Pākehā male student about the important areas to focus on for their future success. An ANOVA testing the three-way interaction between condition, domain and benevolent racism on participants' domain importance ratings gave initial support to Hypothesis 2. I found that the domain importance ratings significantly differed between the Māori and Pākehā conditions based upon the participant's benevolent racism score ($F = 3.82, p = .01$). I therefore proceeded to interpret the results of this interaction using simple slopes to look at the difference between the two conditions within each of the four domains (West et al., 1996).

As shown in figure 3, the simple slopes analysis gave partial support to hypothesis 2c. As benevolent racism towards Māori men increased, the perceived importance of practical/manual activities increased for those advising a Māori student and decreased for those advising a Pākehā student. However, the difference in the perceived importance of sport for a Māori and Pākehā male student did not appear to change as benevolent racism increased, and the perceived importance of school remained higher for a Māori male student than a Pākehā male student as benevolent racism increased.

Figure 3

The three-way interaction effects of condition (Māori vs Pākehā), domain and benevolent racism on the difference in the perceived importance of school, neutral, practical/manual and sport domains between the Māori and Pākehā conditions



Note. P = Pākehā condition, M = Māori condition; Rating = rating of perceived importance of each domain; “Prac” = practical/manual domain

Hypotheses 2a and 2b were not supported. Hypothesis 2a predicted that the sport and practical/manual domains would be rated more important areas of focus for a Māori male than a Pākehā male. Table 4 below shows that at the mean level of benevolent racism, the difference in the perceived importance of sport between participants in the Māori and Pākehā conditions was not significant ($B = -0.01, p = .94$). Within the practical/manual domain, the difference in perceived importance between the Māori and Pākehā conditions was significant but not in the way I expected. Participants advising the Māori student rated practical/manual activities as less important for success than participants advising the Pākehā student ($B = 0.24, p = .01$). Hypothesis 2b predicted that school would be rated a less important area of focus for a Māori male than a Pākehā male. The findings were the opposite, such that participants advising a Māori student rated school as more important for success than participants advising a Pākehā student ($B = -0.30, p < .001$).

Table 4

The difference in the perceived importance of each domain between experimental conditions at the mean score of benevolent racism.

Reference Condition: Māori		
Reference Domain	Estimate	95% CI
Sport	-0.01	[-0.18, 0.16]
School	-0.30***	[-0.47, -0.13]
Practical/manual	0.24**	[0.07, 0.41]
Neutral	-0.13	[-0.31, 0.06]

Note. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$

Although I formed no hypotheses or predictions about the difference between the conditions within the neutral domain, the findings are worth mentioning. For neutral activities, the difference in perceived importance does not significantly differ between the two experimental conditions at the mean level of benevolent racism ($B = -0.13, p = .17$) (see table 4 above). However, as seen in figures 2 and 3 on pages 31 and 33, the perceived importance of neutral activities not only increases for a Māori student as benevolent racism increases, but they eventually become more important for a Māori student than a Pākehā student. This is an unexpected finding as neutral activities should theoretically be considered equally as important for any given person.

Discussion

Study 1 used multilevel modelling to predict the advice participants would give to a hypothetical male student with either a traditionally Māori name (Rawiri) or a traditionally Pākehā name (Alistair). Based on existing literature, I expected that if participants endorsed benevolent racism about Māori men, they would advise a Māori male student that sport and practical/manual activities were more important areas to focus on for success rather than school. Additionally, I expected that sport and practical/manual activities would be considered more important areas of focus for a Māori male compared to a Pākehā male, and school would be considered less important for a Māori male compared to a Pākehā male.

Despite being presented with identical information about a student's competencies, participants provided different advice to a student with a traditionally Māori name (Rawiri) compared to a student with a traditionally Pākehā name (Alistair). Furthermore, this advice was moderated by participants' endorsement of benevolent racism towards Māori men. Study 1 presented two main findings. Firstly, as benevolent racism towards Māori men increased, Pākehā participants rated the practical/manual domain to be increasingly important and school to be decreasingly important for a Māori male student. Secondly, as benevolent racism increased, practical/manual activities became more important for a Māori male student than a Pākehā male student.

Similar to Czopp's (2010) findings, the advice did not appear to be related to participants' hostile racism attitudes. Therefore, it is unlikely that this guidance was the result of Pākehā participants' dislike of Māori men or any harmful intent. It is more likely that they were genuinely wanting to maximise the student's chance for success, but may have been swayed by their seemingly benevolent, but stereotypical, beliefs about Māori men; that they are made for physical, "hands-on" roles such as labour or trades, and are intellectually inferior or not likely to do well in traditional academic subjects. Consequently, as these

beliefs increased, the tendency to perceive practical/manual activities as important areas of focus for a Māori male student also increased and meant that a Māori male student was encouraged differently to a Pākehā male student in this stereotype-consistent domain.

In this case the advice itself was not necessarily bad advice, but the encouragement to focus on practical/manual tasks was only emphasised for a Māori male student, but not a Pākehā male student, as benevolent racism beliefs increased. This finding indicates that historical representations of Māori men might still be influential today as they have led people to believe that these qualities are an innate part of Māori culture or Māori masculinity (Hokowhitu, 2004). Although these beliefs are not outwardly offensive or negative, they may result in Māori men being put in a box or given less opportunities to explore other pathways if they want to. Therefore, it is important to constantly reflect on one's own assumptions, even positive ones, and understand their origins and potential inaccuracies.

A supplementary finding that was not hypothesised was the perception that a Māori student should give more focus to the neutral activities compared to a Pākehā student. As benevolent racism beliefs increased, participants rated neutral activities to be increasingly important for a Māori male and more so than for a Pākehā male. The neutral activities were “eating well”, “getting enough rest” and “maintaining basic hygiene” and were thought to be activities that would be equally important for any person in any given context. Benevolent racism is embodied by the beliefs that another group is incompetent and uncivilised, so it is possible that people who hold these beliefs may think it is more necessary to reinforce social norms to Māori but not Pākehā.

There were also a number of hypotheses that were not supported. There was no difference in the perceived importance of sport for a Māori and Pākehā male, even as benevolent racism increased, and participants rated school to be more important for a Māori male student than a Pākehā male student for future success. Sport, in particular, was a domain

that I expected would be perceived as more important for a Māori male than a Pākehā male as a function of benevolent racism. In Czopp's (2010) study, it is likely that participants advised an African American male based on their stereotypic beliefs about African Americans' superior athletic ability compared to White Americans. Therefore, they advised an African American male to pursue athletics more than a White American male. Conversely, in this context, benevolent racism may have motivated participants to give advice based on their stereotypic beliefs about a Māori male's inferior academic ability compared to a Pākehā male. Consequently, by focusing on inferior rather than superior ability, a Māori student was encouraged to focus more on school than a Pākehā student, but there was no difference in the encouragement of sport. This suggests that benevolent racism may manifest differently in ANZ than in the United States and elicit different outcomes in different cultural contexts.

This study has provided a snapshot of benevolent racism among Pākehā and its effect on their behaviour towards Māori men, but highlights the need for a more bottom-up, exploratory approach to benevolent racism in ANZ. This study has used a measure of benevolent racism that was adapted from a US scale and the content was based on Hokowhitu's (2004) literature about the modern representations of Māori men that have stemmed from racist historical portrayals. It is possible that the adapted scale has not wholly or accurately captured what benevolent racism looks like in ANZ today, that the profile of benevolent racism has evolved or changed, or that the impacts of benevolent racism in ANZ are not fully uncovered through the outcome of giving guidance. Therefore, it is necessary to approach benevolent racism through a more exploratory lens and from a Māori male perspective, by having a more nuanced discussion of Māori men's lived experiences and if or how benevolent racism manifests in these experiences.

Study 2

As an expansion on study 1, study 2 was designed to be an exploratory, qualitative study to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of Māori men in ANZ. The aim of this study was to see if or how benevolent racism impacted Māori men through a more general discussion of their lived experiences, but also to not limit them to the topic of benevolent racism if were not an intrinsic part of their journey. Research about a concept that is said to impact the lives of Māori men should include the perspectives of Māori men. However, as a Pākehā woman, I was an outsider to this research in multiple ways and had to carefully consider how best to facilitate this study and how my position might affect the research process.

As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, I had come to the personal conclusion that this research could not claim to be Kaupapa Māori research. Rather, the research could incorporate the values and be guided by the principles of Kaupapa Māori and indigenous research to best ensure the concept, process and outcomes would be carried out in a culturally safe way and be a positive experience for the participants involved. Cultural safety requires a specific focus on the transfer of power and reflective practices on the part of the researcher (Curtis et al., 2019).

As a start, it was important that a qualitative study was incorporated into this project. There is a lack of qualitative research on benevolent racism in general and qualitative methods allow for richer, participant-driven data that is offered by participants from their perspective and in their own words. But importantly, a qualitative study better aligned with Kaupapa Māori principles, particularly *whakawhanaungatanga* (forming and maintaining relationships) and *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination, autonomy, governance, sovereignty) in this context, as it fostered more collaborative, reciprocal relationships

between myself and the participants, gave participants more self-determination over the data they provided, and ensured I was accountable as the researcher.

I reached out individually to a personal contact of mine and an advisor for Māori research at the University to discuss with each of them their thoughts on whether the concept of benevolent racism would hold relevance to Māori men and, if so, how best to gather participants and data. A philosophy of Kaupapa Māori, and my personal belief in this situation, is that the participants are the experts and the researcher is there to learn (Smith, 2013). With this in mind, the plan was to facilitate focus groups with Māori men so that they could have control over the conversation and discuss their experiences among themselves with me as the researcher there to facilitate and listen. Unfortunately due to Covid-19 and multiple alert level changes throughout 2020, the method had to change to one-on-one interviews as I was wary of social distancing and limitations on gathering numbers, as well as the need to regard people's differing levels of comfort surrounding the pandemic.

I was hesitant about one-on-one interviews creating more of a researcher-participant divide and sought further advice on how to best to counter this. Focusing on *whakawhanaungatanga*, I reached out to potential participants and was able to spend time getting to know some of them outside of a research setting before any data collection began, to break down the researcher-participant barriers. I did not do this with all the participants as some preferred to go straight to an interview, and there were continuous Covid-19-related difficulties.

A *Kaiāwhina* (academic mentor) at the University gave me further advice about best practice for the interviews, such as the use of *pepeha* (Māori introduction), and I consulted with my personal contact and my supervisor on the interview questions. In accordance with their input, the interview questions were kept broad so as not to not impose my own views or the findings from the previous study onto the participants. This was a very important part of

both Kaupapa Māori research and my own reflexivity; considering the data from within the context it emerged and trying to set aside my own preconceived opinions on this topic. In true Kaupapa Māori research, the research topic is developed from inside the Māori community to ensure it is a topic that is relevant and important to Māori (Walker et al., 2006). In this case, the interview questions were kept as open-ended and exploratory as possible so that participants were not constrained to the research topic of benevolent racism and did not feel pressure to put forward any dialogue that was not relevant or authentic to their lived experiences.

Tino rangatiratanga was particularly important after the interviews had taken place and data analysis began. I wanted participants to have control over their narratives and to ensure they could be as involved as they wanted to be throughout the data analysis process, which also helped to minimise the potential biases that my own personal background and experiences may project onto the results. All participants were sent their interview transcripts and were contacted at the different stages of data analysis for their input and critique, and were also all asked about a possible informal *hui* (meeting) at the conclusion of the research.

With this being said, the other side of *tino rangatiratanga* is that participants have the right and autonomy to choose how much they want to be involved in research and I see their contributions as a privilege rather than an expectation. Therefore, I did not have any expectations surrounding the participants' level of involvement after the interviews but I wanted to make sure there were as many opportunities as possible for their collaboration and input. Above all, at any level of involvement, I hoped this could be a beneficial and empowering experience in some way and to honour the thoughts, opinions and experiences that the participants had shared with me.

Method

Participants

Semi-structured one-on-one interviews were conducted with 10 participants who self-identified as both Māori and male and were at least 18 years old. Participants' ages ranged from 18-64 years old (nine of the 10 participants were between 18 and 35 years old). They were recruited through snowball and convenience sampling; through my own personal contacts and through contacts of members of the research groups I am a part of at Victoria University. I reached out to potential participants via email explaining the purpose of the research in more detail, what their participation would involve, and an Information Sheet. Participants were asked to respond to confirm if they wanted to take part. The interviews were concluded at 10 participants as data saturation had been reached.

Measures

Interview questions were developed to explore the broader experiences of Māori men in society and to allow for discourse of benevolent racism to arise organically without deliberately asking about it. The questions were finalised after discussions with my supervisor, an indigenous research lab at Victoria University and a personal contact of mine who was giving me Māori cultural guidance. The questions asked about participants' feelings about their identity, their experiences in society and school, and how they felt their experiences compared to those of Pākehā men. The full list of interview questions can be found in Appendix G.

Procedure

Ethics approval was obtained by the Victoria University Human Ethics Committee (HEC) in November 2019. An amendment was approved for changes to the methodology in April 2020, due to Covid-19, to change from focus groups to interviews and obtain

permission to conduct interviews online (via Zoom video calling) if the need arose or at the request of participants.

Interviews took place over a period of four months with three occurring at the Te Awe Library, four at Victoria University's Kelburn campus, one at Victoria University Architecture Library and two over Zoom. I provided *kai* (food) for every in-person interview and they all started with casual introductions between myself and the participant and where appropriate, I would recite my *pepeha*. Participants were then presented with the Information Sheet which we discussed together, and then a consent form for them to sign before any recording devices were turned on and the interview formally began.

The participants were asked the questions in order with minimal input from myself to ensure their responses were not guided in any particular direction. Occasionally I would use prompts or follow up questions such as "can you think of any examples?" or "what do you mean by that?" Although the questions were pre-prepared, I made it clear to each participant that they could bring up anything they wanted to say at any time and always asked at the end if there was anything else they wanted to talk about that they felt was relevant, or that the questions had not allowed for.

At the conclusion of the interview, participants were presented with a debrief sheet, and given a \$20 supermarket voucher as *koha* (gift) to thank them for their time and participation. For the two Zoom interviews, the participants were emailed the debrief sheet and the voucher was sent via post.

Materials

Two recording devices were used for each interview. The in-person interviews were recorded on a Canon Legria HF R806 video camera and a Sony ICD-PX470 audio recorder. The two interviews that took place over Zoom were video recorded through the Zoom application and a Sony ICD-PX470 audio recorder.

Analysis

The interviews were analysed using a thematic analysis, where I sought to identify themes that emerged naturally from the dataset in relation to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2013). I used Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase process of thematic analysis as a guideline whilst inserting my own steps along the way to work more collaboratively with participants, as discussed in the introduction to study 2. I began with transcribing the audio recordings of each interview and familiarising myself with the data. Following this, each participant was sent their transcript so that they could look over it and add, remove or change it as they wanted. This meant that participants had more control and self-determination over the data they had provided and was a way to make sure I had understood everything in the way they had intended. Only one participant opted to make minor changes to their transcript.

Phase two was generating initial codes, i.e. the most basic and initial features of what was in the data (Braun and Clark, 2006). I had to reflect and separate my own views constantly during this phase to ensure I was coding items based on the context in which sentences were said, rather than my personal interpretation based on my thoughts on this topic. 501 codes were generated across the 10 interview transcripts. Once all the data had been coded I began phase three, which was searching for themes across all the different codes by sorting and collating the coded material into potential groups. Phase four involved reviewing the codes within each group and determining which groups could potentially be subthemes and consolidated within a broader overarching theme. This was also where I needed to examine whether the themes as a whole were an accurate representation of the dataset. After this stage, when I had a draft idea of the themes and subthemes, I sent this information back to the participants for their feedback.

Phase five was then defining and naming the themes, and phase six was finalising the analysis, after which I went back to participants to explain the changes I had made since the draft, seek their input and check if they agreed. 38 codes of the total 501 were discarded.

Results

Four key themes were derived from the 10 interview transcripts: Identity and Culture, Challenges, *Whānau* (family) and Positive Experiences. The themes and subthemes are explained in more detail below along with a table showing the percentage of data that made up each theme and a thematic map showing the links between them (see table 5 and figure 4 below).

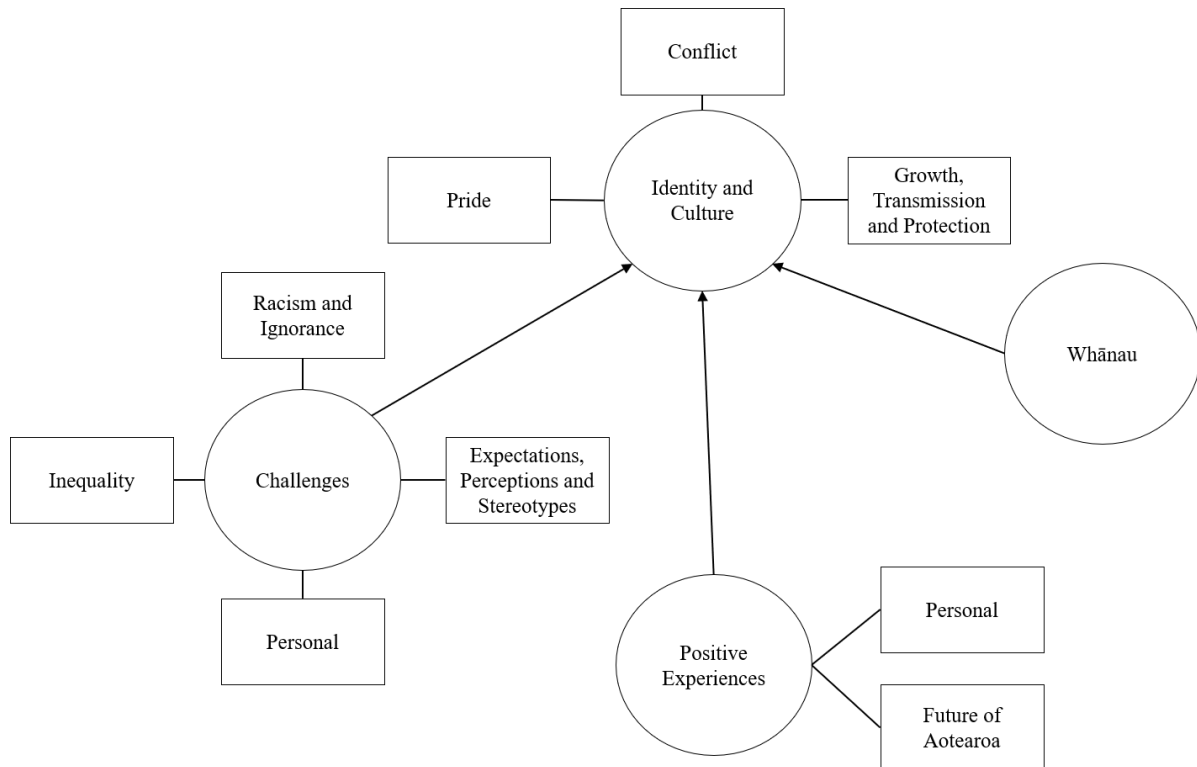
Table 5

Themes and Subthemes from a Thematic Analysis of Participant Interviews

Theme	%	Number of Codes
1. Identity and Culture	39.9	157
Pride		49
Conflict		35
Growth, Transmission and Protection		73
2. Challenges	48.6	225
Personal		42
Expectations, Perceptions and Stereotypes		65
Racism and Ignorance		81
Inequality		37
3. Whānau	6.7	31
4. Positive Experiences	10.8	50
Personal		29
Future of Aotearoa		21
Total	100	463

Figure 4

A thematic map representing the themes, subthemes and links between them from 10 participant interviews



Note. The circles represent the main themes and the rectangles represent the subthemes; arrows represent themes that are linked

Theme 1: Identity and Culture

All participants referred to their Māori identity and culture as pivotal in their experiences as Māori men. This theme made up 39.9% of the data and comprised three major subthemes.

Subtheme 1: Pride. Almost all participants talked about being proud of their Māori identity and culture and the pride they felt when participating in Māori cultural events. This subtheme was also reflected in the way many participants spoke about how they wanted to be more involved in Māori culture and community and how Māori cultural practices, such as spending time at the *marae* (sacred meeting ground) or *Kapa Haka* (Māori performing group), were some of their most positive experiences and memories. When participants were asked what it meant to them to be a Māori man, one participant said “I think it means being proud and standing proud in our culture and our heritage and not being ashamed about it, and being unapologetic about it.” Another said “...it’s really cool I think, when you grow up with family and the culture, you feel kind of special in a way, that it’s something different to everyone else’s culture.”

Subtheme 2: Conflict. Conflict came up frequently in discussions about identity and culture. Participants mentioned conflict for two reasons. The first was that many participants were made up of different cultures and ethnicities, so they weren’t always sure how to portray themselves or how involved they could or should be within the Māori community, as well as their other cultural communities. Furthermore, others who grew up in a predominantly Pākehā society did not think they would fit in or be accepted within the Māori community.

“...I always felt in the middle growing up. Because, like I said, I grew up in a western culture so I wasn’t really in touch with my culture so I didn’t feel like I fit in with all the Māori kids, but on the other hand with the white kids, I didn’t fit in with them either.”

“...once I got to University I felt really left out because I’m part of the Māori association... and everyone can speak Te Reo really well... and I’m just sitting there like what are they saying?”

The second reason participants felt conflict in relation to their Māori identity and culture was because there was a disconnect between what they know Māoridom to be and what ANZ society often tells them it is. Participants felt proud to be Māori and wanted to live out Māori values, but felt that Māori people and culture were often portrayed negatively in society, leading to identity conflict. One participant explained “I think it’s challenging for us to really be ourselves sometimes because people just assume that ourselves is like Mongrel Mob, drinking and violence and whatnot when it really isn’t like that.” When talking about the negative statistics about Māori men, another participant said “...we’ve gotta own up to some stuff ourselves, but when it keeps getting pushed down your throat you start thinking, shit, am I the only bad fella out here? Are we the only bad people around here?”

Subtheme 3: Growth, Transmission and Protection. Growth, Transmission and Protection was the largest subtheme that fell under Identity and Culture. This subtheme refers to the way that almost all participants spoke of how their Māori identity has changed positively over time. Some participants said they had not always been proud to be Māori but this had changed as they had gotten older. “I used to say “I’m not that Māori” but now I just wanna own it.” Another participant explained, “I’ve become more confident with it, because when I was younger I used to be maybe a little insecure about it, like I wouldn’t openly tell everyone I was Māori...”

A few participants said that learning about New Zealand history and colonisation helped their identity to change more positively because they came to understand why some Māori men face negative outcomes today.

“...delving into historic intergenerational trauma... and learning more about colonisation and how that’s affected us as marginalised people... I’ve finally gotten the opportunity to learn more about *Māoritanga* (Māori culture, way of life) and what it was actually like for *tane Māori* (Māori men) pre-colonisation. And we lead all these negative statistics now but as hard as it is to believe, and I didn’t believe it for the majority of my life, we weren’t that way prior to that time.”

Lastly, many participants spoke about wanting to protect Māori culture and learn more about their culture and heritage to be able to pass it on to future generations. They want Māori culture to thrive and feel that they have a role to play to ensure that happens by learning about and embracing their Māori culture.

Theme 2: Challenges

Challenges was the largest theme that emerged from the data (48.6%). Participants mentioned both internal and external challenges as well as personal, individual challenges and those that they felt affected the wider Māori population. As can be seen on the thematic map on page 46, Challenges was closely linked to Identity and Culture as the personal and interpersonal challenges that participants faced all contributed to their feelings about themselves and influenced what they thought it meant to be a Māori man.

Subtheme 1: Personal. A wide range of personal challenges came up in the interviews. Some participants explained that one of the biggest challenges was the cycle of growing up in poor environments, such as those with gangs, drugs, violence and suicide, and trying to break that cycle and steer one’s own children and grandchildren down the right path.

“I think most *tane Māori*, or the majority of them... don’t come from a great environment. All those negative realities are the majority of *tane Māori*’s lived realities growing up. When you’re born into these environments you just think that you’re gonna be a gangster, you’re gonna be a drug dealer... that’s your reality, that’s

life. And I feel like there's a lot of pressure on Māori men to live that way because it's their parents' only way of living and that trauma is passed down from one generation to another.”

Furthermore, the cycle of trauma has a flow on effect into other areas of life, such as education. For example, one participant explained how the priority of schooling and education significantly drops compared to navigating the challenges outside of school. “...our realities catch up to us, it's like we're no longer innocent... What's more important, ABCs or staying alive? ABCs or having a roof over your head? It drops, the priority [of school] just drops.”

A few participants stated that they felt mental health was one of the biggest challenges for Māori men in New Zealand, as well as a lack of education about mental health. This came about for several reasons, including the aforementioned cycle of trauma, but also because of shame associated with the negative statistics about Māori men and a lack of context or conversations about why those statistics have come to be. Mental health challenges also came from a perceived expectation that Māori men had to be strong and be a rock for their families and therefore could not be vulnerable and express themselves. Some participants thought that Māori men may feel they have failed if they can't live up to that ideal and that they have to push themselves to put on a front rather than being open about how they feel.

Subtheme 2: Expectations, Perceptions and Stereotypes of Māori men. Most participants said that they felt Pākehā society had negative expectations and perceptions of Māori men, which was challenging and problematic. Participants felt that as Māori men, they were expected to go one of two ways – to be strong and successful, which would be seen as the minority, or to go down the path of gangs, drugs and prison. Some also spoke about how negative perceptions were pushing Māori down and made it much more difficult to make the choice to be better when it was clear society expected the worst. Two participants explained:

“...I think a lot of Māori are expected to end up in a gang, in jail, debt or whatever... which I think is really unfair because when you put those expectations on Māori, well, then we’re set up to fail. It kinda sucks.”

“It’s so much harder to be like ‘Nah I’m gonna live my life better than this and I’m going to display that whether or not people are going to support me, whether or not society is going to embrace it’.”

Furthermore, some participants noted examples where negative perceptions of Māori men were displayed, such as being followed around a shop, feeling like they had to buy something so people wouldn’t assume they stole something, or receiving smart comments from strangers. Again, participants said it made the choice to not start trouble harder since they were going to get accused of it anyway. “...a few of my mates went to Pizza Hutt after a 21st and this white guy, probably our age, just looked at me and was like ‘uh oh’.”

Additionally, most participants felt that the expectations of Māori men were far less positive than those of Pākehā men and that Pākehā men were viewed more favourably by society or as “a higher class of person”. They also felt that when Māori men made a mistake, people would see it as a reflection of all of Māori people and culture, whereas for Pākehā men, it was just seen as an individual mistake. “I think you’re more forgiven if you make a

mistake and you're Pākehā than you are if you're Māori because if you make a mistake and you're Māori, then you're just a Māori and that's what Māori people do."

Some participants felt that expectations and stereotypes about Māori men were also prevalent in educational and career contexts. They felt there is often a lack of expectation of Māori men to do well in school and even less so to go to University. Though many participants had excellent teachers and school experiences, a couple of participants recalled noticing teachers give less focus to the Māori and Pasifika students in school because they believed the teachers didn't think those students would go very far. They also felt they had less options as Māori men in the eyes of society; that there is the assumption that if they don't go to University then they will do some form of labour or trade. "I'm not saying all society does but I think you are always put in a box or you're put in an area... even something simple like roadworks right?"

Some participants also mentioned they were stereotyped as a certain type of student and pushed towards tech subjects such as carpentry or metal work, as well as physical education and other sports. "...they just kept thinking you'd suit this type of education, you know? Some teachers, they'd say you're not gonna end up in a job like lawyer or something like that, you're just gonna work in the tech parts."

Although some expectations were positive, such as a to be a sportsperson and particularly a rugby player, these expectations were also limiting and could be perceived as benevolent racism. "...the expectation was that I'd be good at rugby and that's about it. I've heard those things about myself even though I don't play rugby."

Subtheme 3: Racism and Ignorance. This was the largest subtheme that fell under the theme of Challenges, with a couple of participants saying that the majority of their experiences in ANZ society were negative. One stated "...at every nook and cranny, at every turn, there are so many reminders that even in your own home, you're not welcome." Many

participants brought up every day experiences of racism they had encountered such as verbal abuse, comments from other children when they were at school and deliberate acts of avoidance such as people crossing the road when they saw them. "...when I was growing up there was a lot of Māori shaming going on and a lot of general racism which wasn't actually the children's fault, they just didn't understand what they were saying at that time."

Racial profiling and negative experiences with police were also very salient features reported within some of the interviews. A few participants could clearly recall incidents where they were targeted by police for no apparent reason or questioned or accused of crimes they didn't commit, seemingly because of their appearance. In these instances, they had also been treated with contempt and a lack of respect. A couple of participants spoke of how their experiences with police from a young age have played a prominent role in their perception of society and their understanding of the way Māori men are viewed. Similar to the previous subtheme, participants who had been unfairly targeted by police mentioned how they sometimes felt they may as well cause trouble as they were likely to get blamed for it regardless.

Other examples of racism and ignorance were reflected in participants' impressions that Māori culture was not appreciated in ANZ, and that they constantly had to defend it. Furthermore, some felt that Māori culture was only claimed and appreciated by ANZ when it came to internationally respected celebrities, such as Taika Waititi.

"Whenever there's lessons about Māori, it's always like you have to defend why they're teaching this stuff because there's always a kid in the class who will be like 'Why do we need to learn this, this is ancient history?' You have to defend not only yourself, but your culture, your history, your people, and that's ok but it's just not the same for both sides."

Because of this lack of appreciation and an unwillingness to learn about Māori history, Māori men are often viewed out of context which one participant mentioned was one of the biggest challenges.

“I think one of the harshest things for *tāne Māori* is that we’re viewed as we are now, instead of with the *whakapapa* (genealogy, lineage), with the reasons why you get a lot of Māori men that live in these marginalised communities and then go on to become a part of all these negative statistics. We’re viewed out of context.”

Subtheme 4: Inequality. The subtheme of Inequality was reflected in a number of different ways. With regards to experiences of ANZ society, and particularly those with police, some participants felt that Pākehā men would not experience such negative encounters.

“They [Pākehā men] walk around not really afraid of anything because they believe ‘nothing is going to happen to me, I can say whatever I want, I can do whatever I want’ ... they can tread the line of what’s right or wrong a bit more than a Māori person could, I think.”

Inequality was also prevalent in the way participants realised there were benefits in coming across as non-Māori in society and some had learnt “tricks” to come across as Pākehā in contexts such as flat applications, job applications and school and university.

“...having a Pākehā name helped me to get a lot of places... I grew up like that, learning to use what I had to get advantage. But when you front up and they see who you are, that’s a bit harder.”

“I think the cool thing about Uni is how you have your student IDs, they don’t really know who you are. And like, one of my tricks is I don’t write my last name... so they’re not knowing my ethnicity, I use my white name so I come across as white.”

Some participants also spoke about how Māori and Pākehā were supposed to be in a partnership, however that was not the reality and they felt that society wanted Māori to stay below Pākehā. Furthermore, it would take a lot of work to undo the culture that was currently in place. "...you're not supposed to do any better than your white counterpart... I always used to look at if I ever went for a job, I would have to be ten times better than that person to get a job."

Theme 3: Positive Experiences

Subtheme 1: Personal. Many participants discussed positive experiences and opportunities they had had in society, in school and through participating in Māori cultural events. One participant completed his entire schooling at a *Kura Kaupapa* (Māori immersion school) and has predominantly positive memories. He felt that that all schools could learn a lot from the philosophy and values of a *Kura Kaupapa* and one of the best things was having strong Māori male role models for him and the other students to look up to.

Among the participants who went to mainstream schools, most also reported very positive experiences and felt they were given every opportunity and not treated any differently based on their ethnicity or skin colour. Some acknowledged that if they were treated differently, it was due to their attitude towards school more than anything else.

"I think there's definitely some teachers who are so good at trying to help Māori and Pasifika men because they understand, and it's getting way better - when I was leaving school I could see that there were so many opportunities for Māori and Pasifika men which was so good."

"I was treated quite well by all the teachers and they were really trying to break the stereotype and break the mould of 'Māori kids are dumb' or 'they can't achieve as well as other ethnicities can', they were really trying to help and really just trying to push, and have everyone strive."

Other participants talked about some of the opportunities that have come from being Māori, such as participating in Māori sporting and *whānau* events, and how these have been some of their fondest experiences and helped form a positive Māori identity.

“...being in the *whānau* environment, sleeping in the *wharenuī* (meeting house where guests are accommodated), it was pretty awesome, because we never used to do anything like that. And just singing songs. That was the first time I properly felt like this is something I wanna be a part of for real.”

Subtheme 2: Future of Aotearoa. A few participants talked about their ideals for the future of Aotearoa. They discussed how much they enjoyed growing up and going to school in a multicultural environment and how racism doesn't exist as young children. Therefore, they hold onto this as hope for the future of Aotearoa knowing that everyone can be unified and get along, because they've experienced it before.

“I guess one of my most positive memories as a child is that that racism lens doesn't exist when you're a child... that's one of the memories that helps ground me, like I know we can get along. I've lived through that, I know it's possible to get along.”

Some participants also expressed that as a society we should hold each other up, respect each other's *mana* and move forward as one. Māori and Pākehā should work together.

“...I don't hold what happened against anybody – both sides of the fence – because there's stories on both sides, but in order to move forward we've just gotta do better, learn to work together. It may not be easy but we've gotta try.”

Theme 4: Whānau

Nearly all participants mentioned *whānau* as one of the most positive aspects of being Māori. *Whānau* did not necessarily have to be blood relatives, but those who have been there through the hard times. They loved being a part of a big extended family and found *whānau* to be a way to reconnect with *whakapapa* and Māori culture, as well as enabling the

transmission of knowledge and traditions. *Whānau* is closely linked to the theme of Identity and Culture as many found that it was *whānau* and the *whānau* environment that helped shape a positive Māori identity and where they were encouraged to embrace Māori culture the most. "...my fondest memories were being around that environment of just really friendly, family-orientated people that identify heavily into being Māori and what that means to them and stuff like that."

Discussion

This study aimed to expand on study 1 by using an exploratory approach to see if benevolent racism emerged organically as a part of Māori men's experiences and to discuss their experiences of ANZ society more generally. This allowed for a broader discussion of benevolent or hostile racism should it be part of their stories, but also meant that the participants could raise whatever they felt was important, whether this related to racism or not. As can be seen in table 5 on page 45, a thematic analysis derived four main themes: Identity and Culture, Challenges, *Whānau* and Positive Experiences.

Challenges was the largest theme making up 48.6% of the data. It comprised four subthemes: Personal; Expectations, Perceptions and Stereotypes; Racism and Ignorance; Inequality. Racism and Ignorance was the largest subtheme and made up 17.5% of the total interview data. Challenges, *Whānau* and Positive Experiences were all linked to Identity and Culture as they all fed into participants' identity formation and their feelings about themselves as Māori men. For example, experiencing racism and ignorance and becoming aware of negative perceptions and stereotypes about Māori men contributed to a negative personal and cultural identity and identity conflict. On the other hand, being around *whānau* and participating in Māori culture and community allowed participants to embrace their true

selves and their culture, feel more connected to Māoridom and want to protect and pass on Māori culture and traditions.

The findings of this study highlighted the need for an exploratory, more nuanced discussion of racism in ANZ in relation to Māori men. Corroborating the findings of study 1, examples of benevolent racism were raised, however these interviews made clear that hostile racism remains the most prominent in Māori men's experiences, and allowed for a broader understanding of the impacts. Racism and Ignorance along with other closely related subthemes of Inequality, and Expectations, Perceptions and Stereotypes made up just under 40% of the total interview data about Māori men's experiences. These results, combined with the findings about benevolent racism from study 1, are informative about the continued role of racism in ANZ society, highlight the complexity of racism in ANZ, and the necessity for future research to explore benevolent racism from within our specific cultural context.

General Discussion

Despite the low overall scores of benevolent and hostile racism, study 1 showed that Pākehā participants provided different advice to a student with a traditionally Māori name (Rawiri) compared to a student with a traditionally Pākehā name (Alistair), despite the profile of the two hypothetical students being identical. This advice was moderated by participants' endorsement of benevolent racism towards Māori men, but was not affected by hostile racism. As benevolent racism towards Māori men increased, Pākehā rated that practical/manual activities became more important to focus on, and school became less important to focus on, for a Māori male. Furthermore, as benevolent racism increased, practical/manual activities became more important for a Māori male student than a Pākehā male student.

Study 2 was an exploratory study to gain a more in depth understanding of Māori men's experiences in ANZ and the potential role of benevolent racism in these experiences. Interviews with Māori men presented four key themes: Identity and Culture, Challenges, *Whānau* (family), and Positive Experiences. Challenges was the largest theme, and comprised four subthemes: Personal; Expectations, Perceptions and Stereotypes; Racism and Ignorance; Inequality. Though the interview prompts did not explicitly target experiences of racism, Racism and Ignorance formed the largest subtheme making up 17.5% of the total interview data. Further, the majority of examples given were of hostile rather than benevolent racism. Challenges, *Whānau* and Positive Experiences were all linked to the theme of Identity and Culture as they all impacted participants' identity formation and development. Challenges faced often contributed to a negative cultural identity and identity conflict about what it really means to be a Māori man. Conversely, *Whānau* and Positive Experiences contributed to a positive cultural identity and provided safe environments for participants to explore and embrace their identities as Māori men and feel confidence and pride in who they are.

Limitations and Future Research

There are some limitations to this research which should be kept in mind when considering these results. Firstly, the Pākehā sample in study 1 are likely to be relatively liberal given the low overall scores of benevolent and hostile racism. However, despite this, effects of benevolent racism on outcomes for Māori men were still found among the sample, supporting the idea that benevolent racism does exist in our society and indicates how pervasive it can be. Future research would want a sample from more diverse areas within ANZ to get a wider range of conservative and liberal participants, thus gaining a more accurate or thorough understanding of benevolent racism within our country.

The materials used may have also affected the results in study 1. The benevolent racism scale was adapted from a scale designed to measure complimentary stereotypes towards African Americans in the United States, where the profile of racism is very different due to their unique colonial history. Because of the limited literature on this topic, the scale was also only adapted to capture two very specific aspects of benevolent racism – the belief that Māori men are practically-minded and that they are natural sportsmen/physical. It is possible that the adapted scale did not capture the full and true essence of benevolent racism in ANZ and may have excluded other key components.

Future research should use a bottom-up exploration of benevolent racism in ANZ starting with qualitative research to capture the themes of benevolent racism in our specific cultural context and should explore benevolent racism with reference to other non-dominant groups too. An emic approach is necessary to begin with as it starts with a “blank page” and seeks to understand a concept, and its association with other factors, from within the specific cultural context where it is thought to occur (Alegria et al., 2004).

This also raises the need for the development of a scale to measure benevolent racism in ANZ. Punnett et al. (2017) advocate for an emic-etic-emic approach to scale development,

where research uses an emic approach within different cultural contexts to begin with, then uses an etic approach which combines this information to create a standardised measure, and then further explores the results of this with an additional emic stage again. This could be applied to ANZ where benevolent racism is first explored individually within different cultural groups and this information informs the development of an ANZ-specific benevolent racism measure. An emic approach is then used again for a thorough, in-depth investigation of the results derived from the scale use, from within the cultural contexts that the results were found.

Using self-report measures of benevolent and hostile racism may also pose challenges, as they assume participants' self-awareness of their racial attitudes and behaviours, and that they will admit these truthfully (Lavrakas, 2008). There is the possibility that participants' scores were distorted by social desirability bias, the tendency to respond in a way that is considered socially desirable or acceptable, rather than accurately and honestly (Caputo, 2017). Although the survey was anonymous, some participants may have still self-monitored due to the sensitivity of the topics asked about in the survey. As mentioned, it is plausible that the participants in study 1 were a particularly liberal sample, but negative feedback that people communicated to me about the survey items suggests that rather, people suspected they were being asked about racism which triggered discomfort or anger. Pākehā do not like being asked or confronted about racism and the implications of this for racism in ANZ are discussed in the section below.

Accordingly, future research should consider a more indirect measure of racism such as the Implicit Association Test, which aims to examine beliefs and opinions that may exist outside of participants' conscious awareness or control (Rezaei, 2011). However, it is acknowledged that this is also argued to be a flawed measure (see Oswald and colleagues' (2013) meta-analysis). Alternatively, other behavioural measures like approach versus

avoidance actions have been shown to have a causal relationship with explicit and implicit racial attitudes and behaviours (Kawakami et al., 2007) and may elicit more true and accurate results.

Within thematic analysis, the researcher's judgment is required to determine what constitutes a theme and this comes down to more than just its prevalence across the data set, but also how important it is deemed in relation to the overall research question (Braun & Clark, 2006). This also raises the issue that there was the potential that my own background and experiences may have impacted the data analysis process. As a Pākehā woman and an outsider to this research, I attempted to reduce this through consultation and collaboration with participants, but it is still possible that my own background and lived experiences may have affected the way I perceived the data. In future, more community engagement and consultation along with a wider research team of Māori cultural advisors would be beneficial.

Implications

There are some important conclusions that can be drawn from this research about racism in ANZ. Firstly, this research speaks to the pervasiveness of benevolent racism. Notwithstanding why participants in study 1 had low racism scores, an effect of benevolent racism on outcomes for Māori men was still found within the sample. Pākehā participants' advice differed for a Māori and Pākehā male student as benevolent racism increased, with emphasis on practical/manual activities increasing and school decreasing for a Māori male, and practical/manual activities becoming more important for a Māori male than a Pākehā male for future success.

Interviews with Māori men corroborated these findings, with some mentioning the noticeable lack of expectation of them to do well academically and the presumption they would do some form of labour or trade. They felt this was not the case for Pākehā men who were usually given the benefit of the doubt if they had difficulties with school and also had a

wider scope of alternative pathways to choose from. Other participants expressed feeling that they were stereotyped or put in a box by society, and this was sometimes reflected in the schooling environment where they were pushed towards “non-academic” subjects or put in lower streams, despite doing just as well as their Pākehā peers.

It is likely that the Pākehā participants may have been thinking realistically about the opportunities for the male student in the vignette once he leaves school, given that it described a male student who was in his last year of high school and struggling academically. Therefore, suggesting that someone who is achieving low grades towards the end of high school should explore other avenues like vocational pathways or trades is not bad advice. However, the concern is not the advice itself but the difference in advice given to the two males. Pushing a Māori and Pākehā male down different pathways when their only known difference is their ethnicity is where the issue lies, particularly considering the average hourly income for Māori is 82% of that of Pākehā (The Treasury, 2018) and Pākehā are disproportionately employed in executive positions (Pack et al., 2015).

These findings could be particularly applicable for guidance counsellors, career counsellors and teachers as they are in positions which can influence students’ educational and career pathways and the overwhelming majority of guidance counsellors in ANZ are Pākehā (Crowe, 2017). People in these positions should remain cautious about possible assumptions and stereotypes about Māori men, even the ones that seem positive, and their potential to impact the guidance Māori men are given. It is important that what they might be good at, or want to pursue, is not assumed, and that members of all ethnic groups are presented with choices and opportunities that are not based on, or restricted to, stereotypical domains. This is especially important where the ethnic group faces marginalisation or discrimination as the origins of the stereotypes are more likely to be inaccurate or harmful.

Secondly, this research suggests that hostile racism is more prevalent for Māori men in daily life than benevolent racism. Encounters of benevolent racism were raised by the participants in the interviews, however hostile racism was much more salient. The subtheme of Racism and Ignorance made up nearly 20% of the total interview data and was closely related and largely overlapping with the other subthemes under the broader theme of Challenges. Verbal abuse, deliberate acts of avoidance, racial profiling and antagonism towards Māori culture and history were just some of the many incidents of racism that participants had faced, and continue to face, in their lives.

The interviews also conveyed that hostile racism does not always have to be expressed overtly to be damaging. In fact, often, it is more subtle and is reflected in less obvious ways, such as when Pākehā are afforded benefits and advantages over Māori in daily life. Participants in study 2 described the benefits of having a Pākehā name when it comes to flat applications, job applications and sitting exams, suggesting that Pākehā are perceived to be better tenants, employees and students. These kinds of accounts are echoed in endless news stories with one reporting how a Māori woman was rejected from a rental property only to be accepted 30 minutes later when she reapplied with a western name (Johnsen, 2020). Along similar lines, the more a person looks “stereotypically Māori”, the less likely they are to own their own home indicating that there is intragroup bias, as well as intergroup bias, prevalent (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015). ANZ is facing an undeniable housing crisis and the number of properties purchased by investors and people who already own property is at a record high. Thus it is becoming increasingly difficult for people to buy their own home, and Māori are even further disadvantaged by this.

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the New Zealand Human Rights Commission’s 2020 “Voice of Racism” campaign, focusing on microaggressions and more subtle demonstrations of racism, was met with denial and trolling. Yet just one month prior,

thousands of New Zealanders had gathered to march at Black Lives Matter rallies all around the country to protest the murder of George Floyd in the United States (RNZ, 2020). This comparison is by no means to suggest that one cause is more worthy of support than the other, but to illustrate that we can still live under the delusion that racism is a problem in other countries like the United States, but not a problem here. Further, we do not seem to take racism as seriously, or struggle to notice it, when it is not expressed in blatantly aggressive or obtrusive ways. However, the fact that Māori men have had to learn “tips and tricks” to come across as less Māori, or benefit from having a Pākehā name, is a huge indicator of entrenched beliefs in our society and displays the influence that false and historical stereotypes about Māori men still have today.

At a broader level, this research then maintains that we need to be willing to acknowledge and accept that racism still exists and has been ingrained in ANZ since the beginnings of colonisation (Waitoki, 2019). Although this may seem like an obvious statement, the “this is not us” narrative that permeated the country after the 15 March 2019 terrorist attack speaks to the lack of awareness about some of the realities that minority groups in ANZ face. If anti-racism is the goal, it can’t begin until denial of racism ends, and Pākehā and Māori need to be on the same page about the current status of racism in ANZ.

The two studies at present disclosed a noticeable discrepancy in accounts of racism between Pākehā and Māori, reiterating Pākehā citizens’ wish to believe that ANZ has no racism. A majority-minority mismatch in perceptions of racism is not new, with White and Black Americans in the United States differing on the extent to which they believe discrimination is an issue and the attitudes and behaviours that constitute racism (Carter & Murphy, 2015). In study 1, Pākehā participants’ self-reporting of their personal benevolent and hostile racism tendencies was very low, whilst interviews with Māori men about their experiences presented racism and ignorance as a major subtheme. What’s important to restate

is that racism was never explicitly asked about in the interviews, nor were participants told about the first study until after the interview had finished.

The frustration and negativity that people expressed to me signals that there is a lack of understanding about how necessary this kind of research is, which ties back to ANZ's ingrained "this is not us" standpoint and Pākehā citizens' unwillingness to admit that racism is a problem here. One possible reason for this is that we often think of racism in a very simplistic way: a racist person is a bad, immoral person who purposely mistreats or dislikes another person because of their race (DiAngelo, 2018). With this definition, calling someone racist is therefore a direct attack on their moral character. This is undoubtedly racism, yet we know racism is much more complicated than that and is becoming more widely acknowledged as the assumption that one culture is the "norm" and has the right and the power to define normality (Addy, 2008).

Therefore, when being confronted with the idea that racism exists in our society, rather than automatically assuming that it implies we are all "evil", we should understand that it may be referring to how having one's culture considered to be the norm grants members of this group countless advantages. These go by largely unnoticed because members of this group are so socialised into a position of privilege and power (Addy, 2008). Even though the privileges that coincide with being born into the dominant white culture are often unasked for, defensiveness or refusal to acknowledge them is a direct obstacle to societal change. If members of the dominant group do not want to acknowledge this for fear of a change to the status quo, this is an illustration of the point in itself; our society is directly set up to benefit Pākehā even if we can't see it, and Māori are required to fit in but never the other way around (Consedine & Consedine, 2005).

Finally, as benevolent or hostile racism towards Māori men is often expressed through dominant discourse, this means Pākehā are still able to put labels on Māori men and control

the narrative about what it means to be a Māori man. Internalising, endorsing or acting on racial assumptions and stereotypes about Māori men means that Pākehā are still deciding who or what Māori men should be and the role they are expected to play in society, whether this is expressed in a benevolent or hostile way. When society's opinions, perceptions and expectations are being made abundantly clear, naturally this is going to impact Māori men and their sense of identity, aspirations and their feelings about themselves and their culture.

Some participants in study 2 described their conflicted feelings about being Māori, particularly when they were younger, because of the way Māori men and culture were negatively portrayed in society. There was, and still is, a disconnect between what Māori people know Māoridom to be and what society often tells them it is. Participants explained how growing up, they were taught that Māoridom was about *whānau*, *ngākau* (mind, soul), *wairuatanga* (spirituality) and taking care of each other to name just a few aspects, yet as an ethnic group they are seldom portrayed this way in society and particularly by the media. Representing Māori unfairly and inaccurately is another form of discrimination and puts the burden on Māori to constantly have to defend their culture and history. Consequently, many participants described times where they wanted to distance themselves from their Māori cultural affiliation, mirroring previous findings that repeated exposure to discrimination and oppression discourages indigenous people from claiming and embracing their identity (Te Huia, 2015).

Despite the challenges, all participants in the present study expressed pride in their Māori identity, which was demonstrated by the extent that they wanted to be involved in their culture and community. This is largely due to *whānau*, Māori cultural and community engagement and spending time at the *marae* or returning to where their *whānau* is from, where they learnt the true meaning of what it means to be Māori. Thus, it appears that *whānau* and positive cultural experiences fed into a positive personal and cultural identity

and, with time, held more weight than the negative influences of the challenges they faced. This reinforces the protective nature of having a sense of belonging and positive experiences within Māori contexts to cope with discrimination and enhance well-being (Te Huia, 2015). Therefore, we should be creating an environment where Māori feel safe to be who they are and where they are encouraged to explore and express their cultural identity if and how they choose, not only because Māori should have the unquestionable right to be Māori, but because a strong Māori cultural identity can act as a shield against some of the many challenges Māori may face.

Participants also expressed how their identity and feelings about themselves as a Māori man has grown more positively over time. However, for some it has been a journey to get to this place as they still face constant reminders of the way society views Māori men. Some participants have done much of their own learning about ANZ's history and colonisation which has helped them understand the context surrounding why Māori men face many negative outcomes today. Again, this has also served as a personal protective mechanism in the face of society telling Māori men who and what they are and has helped to work through the shame some have felt about the negative statistics. However, Pākehā need to also acknowledge and accept ANZ's history and how it continues to shape the current society we live in, otherwise the false perceptions and representations of Māori men will not change and we will continue the cycle of racist colonial discourse. It is not the right of Pākehā to tell Māori men who and what they are based on historical representations, and it should not be the burden of Māori men to have to disprove racist stereotypes. There have been some positive steps forward in this space, such as the media company "Stuff" issuing a public apology for its racist and unfair portrayals of Māori since its inception (Williams, 2020), but this research and the responses to it alone show there is still a lot of work that needs to be done.

Conclusion

This study confirmed that benevolent and hostile racism both have the potential to impact Māori men's lives in ANZ. Continual reinforcement of representations of Māori men from the wider society, whether hostile or benevolent, will undoubtedly shape Māori men's experiences. This study sought to identify the prevalence and influence of benevolent racism among Pākehā, and to understand its role in Māori men's experiences, but revealed that hostile racism was more salient. Despite many challenges, *whānau* and engaging in cultural practices and experiences, along with understandings of the impacts of colonisation, have helped participants form and maintain a positive cultural identity and retain hope for the future of ANZ. When I asked my participants what it meant to them to be a Māori man, some of the many responses were: being proud, living out Māori values, setting a good example for other Māori men and the wider Māori community, carrying on Māori culture and traditions, being soft-hearted, being a good dad and being a good person. These are the representations of Māori men that need to be acknowledged, reinforced and nurtured, and are the ones we should be focusing on in our society.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Table A1

Characteristics of the participants in a community and IPRP sample

Characteristics	Community Sample		IPRP Sample	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Sample size	145		167	
Gender				
Female	99	68	143	86
Male	45	31	23	14
Age				
18-29	92	63	166	99
30-39	18	12	1	1
40-49	14	10		
50-59	11	8		
60-69	10	7		

Appendix B

Study 1 Experimental Vignette

[Rawiri] / [Alistair] is an 18 year old high school student in New Zealand. He tries hard in his school subjects but often struggles to understand concepts. Overall, he achieves fairly low grades. He maintains an interest in schoolwork and his teachers describe him as a student who has potential and who can occasionally see things from a different perspective to his classmates. [Rawiri] / [Alistair] is captain of the First XV rugby team and has been described as a gifted athlete with a bright future in rugby. He has earned numerous rugby awards.

Appendix C

Study 1 Domain Rating Task Scale

Imagine you are a Guidance Counsellor. Based on the description of the student in the vignette, please advise how important you think each activity below is for his future success.

You can do this by rating each activity from 1-7 (1 = *Not important at all*, 7 = *Very important*).

1. Attending rugby practices with the team (sport)
2. Preparing for rugby games (sport)
3. Practising drills (sport)
4. Focusing on sport (sport)
5. Improving skills in "hands-on" subjects at school (practical/manual)
6. Learning about mechanical work (practical/manual)
7. Exploring work in trades (practical/manual)
8. Pursuing vocational pathways, e.g construction, maintenance (practical/manual)
9. Completing homework and assignments (school)
10. Preparing for tests and exams (school)
11. Studying hard in academic subjects (school)
12. Focusing on academic schoolwork (school)
13. Eating well (neutral)
14. Getting enough rest (neutral)
15. Maintaining basic hygiene (neutral)

Appendix D

Benevolent Racism Scale (an adapted version of Czopp and Monteith's (2006)

Multidimensional Racial Attitudes (CSNP) Scale)

Please indicate how strongly you personally disagree or agree with each statement.

*1 = Disagree strongly, 7 = agree strongly; * = item is reverse-coded*

1. Māori men do not have a natural “instinct” for sport.*
2. A Māori man is wasting an opportunity by not getting involved in sport.
3. The success of Māori male athletes has nothing to do with their natural ability.*
4. There are so many Māori men in trades because of their innate ability.
5. There are so many Māori men in professional rugby because of their innate ability.
6. It's true that Pākehā men really aren't as physically strong as Māori men.
7. Māori men often have a difficult time relating to abstract thinking.
8. A Pākehā rugby team would be much more successful than a Māori rugby team.*
9. Māori men should take advantage of their natural instinct for “hands on” subjects.
10. Māori men have an easy time understanding practical knowledge.
11. Māori men have an innate physical strength that most Pākehā men don't have.
12. Māori men usually aren't good with their hands.*
13. Most Māori men have manual skills that Pākehā men don't have.
14. Māori men give off an aura of physicality.
15. It would be more difficult for Māori men to succeed in areas that are theory-based.

Appendix E

Table E1

Multilevel model showing the interaction effects of condition (Māori vs Pākehā), domain and hostile racism on the difference in participants' ratings of importance of sport compared to the neutral, practical/manual and school domains

Variable	Estimate	95% CI
(Intercept: Condition (Māori) * Domain (Sport))	5.46***	[4.98, 5.93]
Condition (Māori (M) - Pākehā (P))	-0.01	[-0.18, 0.16]
Hostile Racism (HR)	0.03	[-0.13, 0.20]
Domain (Sport - Neutral)	0.73***	[0.60, 0.86]
Domain (Sport - Practical)	-1.29***	[-1.41, -1.17]
Domain (Sport - School)	0.04	[-0.08, 0.16]
Benevolent Racism (BR)	-0.03	[-0.11, 0.05]
Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)	0.07	[-0.00, 0.14]
Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)	-0.08	[-0.17, 0.02]
Gender	-0.00	[-0.16, 0.16]
Age	0.08*	[0.01, 0.15]
Condition (M - P) * Hostile Racism	-0.06	[-0.25, 0.14]
Condition (M - P) * Domain (Sport - Neutral)	-0.11	[-0.30, 0.07]
Condition (M - P) * Domain (Sport - Practical)	0.23**	[0.06, 0.41]
Condition (M - P) * Domain (Sport - School)	-0.28**	[-0.45, -0.10]
HR * Domain (Sport - Neutral)	0.05	[-0.11, 0.21]
HR * Domain (Sport - Practical)	0.11	[-0.04, 0.26]
HR * Domain (Sport - School)	-0.06	[-0.21, 0.09]
Condition (M - P) * HR * Domain (Sport - Neutral)	-0.17	[-0.39, 0.04]
Condition (M - P) * HR * Domain (Sport - Practical)	-0.14	[-0.33, 0.06]
Condition (M - P) * HR * Domain (Sport - School)	-0.00	[-0.20, 0.20]

Note. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Appendix F

Table F1

The difference between the perceived importance of the domains within each experimental condition at the mean score of benevolent racism

Reference Domain	Condition: Māori		Condition: Pākehā	
	Estimate	95% CI	Estimate	95% CI
Sport				
Neutral	0.72***	[0.59, 0.85]	0.60***	[0.47, 0.73]
Practical/manual	-1.31***	[-1.43, -1.18]	-1.06***	[-1.18, -0.94]
School	0.05	[-0.08, 0.17]	-0.24***	[-0.37, -0.12]
School				
Neutral	0.68***	[0.54, 0.81]	0.84***	[0.71, 0.98]
Practical/manual	-1.35***	[-1.47, -1.23]	-0.82***	[-0.94, -0.69]
Sport	-0.05	[-0.17, 0.08]	0.24***	[0.12, 0.37]
Practical/manual				
Neutral	2.03***	[1.90, 2.16]	1.66***	[1.53, 1.79]
School	1.35***	[1.23, 1.47]	0.82***	[0.69, 0.94]
Sport	1.31***	[1.18, 1.43]	1.06***	[0.94, 1.18]
Neutral				
Sport	-0.72***	[-0.85, -0.59]	-0.60***	[-0.73, -0.47]
School	-0.68***	[-0.81, -0.54]	-0.84***	[-0.98, -0.71]
Practical/manual	-2.03***	[-2.16, -1.90]	-1.67***	[-1.79, -1.53]

Note. *** $p < .001$

Appendix G

Study 2 Interview Questions

- What does it mean to you to be a Māori man?
- What are your most positive memories of growing up as a Māori man in New Zealand?
- What are some challenges you think Māori men in New Zealand face?
- Can you speak a bit about your experiences of New Zealand society as a Māori man?
 - Do you think society has expectations of you as a Māori man? If yes, what do you think those are?
 - Do you think society has different expectations for Māori and Pākehā men?
- Can you speak a bit about your experiences as a student?
 - What pathways were you encouraged to pursue at school?
 - Do you think these were different for Pākehā?
- How has your feeling about yourself as a Māori man changed over time?
- What sort of advice might you give to a Māori boy today?