

Maranga Mai!: The Dynamics and Impacts Of Colonisation, Racism, and White Supremacy upon Tangata Whenua in Aotearoa

Te Kāhui Tika Tangata New Zealand Human Rights Commission

November 2022

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He Mihi

Tihei mauri ora! Ki te whaiao, ki te Ao Mārama.
E ngā mana, e ngā reo, ngā karangatanga maha.
Ngā kupu whakamihi.

Tangihia ō tātou mate huhua kua ngaro atu i te
tirohanga kanohi.
Koutou kua whetūrangitia, haere rā ki te pō nui, ki
te pō roa, ki te pō e au ai te moe.

Rourangatira mā, koutou ngā kaituitui o te kupu,
ngā kaimanako o te kōrero.
Ka nui te mihi kia koutou.

Tēnā hoki tātou te hunga i whītiki, i maranga kia
toitū ai te tino rangatiratanga, te mana
motuhake o te tangata whenua o Aotearoa ki tōna
whenua taurikura, ūkaipō.

Maranga Mai!

Authorship

The Tangata Whenua Caucus of the National Anti-Racism Taskforce (2021-2022) and Ahi Kaa, the Indigenous Rights Group within Te Kāhui Tika Tangata: the Human Rights Commission (the Commission), worked together on the development of *Maranga Mai!*

The report contains their views, analysis, and recommendations. It should be read alongside the Commission's community engagement report for developing the National Action Plan Against Racism, *Ki te whaiiao, ki te ao Mārama*, which was commissioned by government. Although *Maranga Mai!* does not necessarily represent the views of the Human Rights Commission, the Commission is proud to publish this major contribution to what are very challenging and important issues.

Acknowledgements

The Commission acknowledges all the courageous leaders and community members who, in seeking justice and equality, fought for the kaupapa of tino rangatiratanga, anti-racism and indigenous justice over many generations.

It acknowledges the Tangata Whenua Caucus and Ahi Kaa for their work on developing and writing *Maranga Mai!*

The Commission acknowledges its former Pou Ārahi, Tricia Keelan, who led Ahi Kaa throughout the crucial development and writing of *Maranga Mai!*

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The Commission also acknowledges those who reviewed drafts of *Maranga Mai!* including the Pou Tikanga of the National Iwi Chairs Forum, and everyone who assisted in the research, writing, and editing of the report.

Special thanks to the Caucus chair Tina Ngata and Dr Rawiri Taonui who both led the Caucus contribution to *Maranga Mai!* alongside distinguished Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Hilda Halkyard-Harawira, and Kingi Snelgar, all of whom generously shared their time and valuable expertise and were interviewed for *Maranga Mai!*

E ngā rangatira, he mihi nunui ki a koutou katoa.

Lastly, and with immense gratitude, the Commission acknowledges and reflects on the contribution of the late Dr Moana Jackson whose humility, courage, intelligence, and unwavering commitment to Indigenous justice, was exceeded only by the immense aroha he held for his whānau and mokopuna. He was interviewed for *Maranga Mai!* and passed during the finalisation of the report.

In appreciation of Moana:

Te matai o te ture, he māngai, he kauwhata!

E te tōtara haemata, te rākau tapu o te wao nui a Tāne. Te uri o Hawea, o Poporo, o Hinerupe, o Rongomaiwahine, o Ngāti Kuripakiaka, e tangi-momotu nei te ngākau mōu. Takahia atu rā, te ara whanaunga a o mātua tīpuna, haere, okioki atu ki tua o Paerau.

Kua ngū tō reo whakatēnātēnā i te Ture. Kua ngū tō reo whakatinana i tōna kupu. Waiho mai ko o mātauranga pūrākau hei tikitiki mō tō iwi Māori. Haere i runga i ngā Maunga kōrero, ngā pae Maunga a o tupuna e moe nei i te whenua, rātou kua whetūrangitia, rātou kua ngaro ki te pō.

Mahue mai tō whānau, tō iwi Māori, me tō rangatiratanga hei whakaruruhau mō mātou katoa. Kia noho mai tō mana-motuhake hei korowai i a mātou me o mātou mahi katoa.

E te rangatira o tawhito, e moe, e moe, haere rā koe, e oki.

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Te Ūpoko Tuatahi: Part One

He Kōrero Message: From The Chief Human Rights Commissioner

A few months ago, I was talking with a senior elected official, and they said, "Paul, try not to use the word "racism", it really doesn't help".

I don't speak for the government, but I know it doesn't share that view. The government is committed to agreeing a National Action Plan Against Racism (NAPAR) and has asked Te Kāhui Tika Tangata: the Human Rights Commission (the Commission) to contribute to this government-led initiative by gathering views from communities. These community perspectives are set out in the community engagement report for developing the NAPAR, *Ki te whaiao, ki te ao Mārama*.

Maranga Mai! on the other hand is written by tangata whenua, within the framework of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and should be read alongside *Ki te whaiao, ki te ao Mārama*. *Maranga Mai!* is one of the most unsettling reports I have read for a very long time. The Commission invited a group of eminent tangata whenua scholars and leaders to discuss and write about the racism experienced by tangata whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand over many years. Inevitably, consideration of racism led to the issues of colonisation and white supremacy.

Maranga Mai! is a "phenomenological" report meaning it focuses on the experience of racism, colonisation and white supremacy by tangata whenua. Through this research and narrative, tangata whenua speak. The Commission is honoured to publish their research, analysis, stories and views.

Maranga Mai! provides a crucially important perspective on extremely challenging issues which will define Aotearoa for years to come. The report compels us to

acknowledge the racism and white supremacy that was woven into the fabric of the British colony as immigrants settled in these islands.

There is only one authentic way of confronting this element in our collective history: tell the truth, listen with an open heart, look for fair and peaceful reconciliation, imagine a future of partnership and promise, and commit to action and justice.

This report contributes to the first step: truth-telling.

Many countries have troubled pasts and some, like Canada and South Africa, have established a process to help them heal and chart a way forward. *Maranga Mai!* takes a leaf out of their book and recommends that, for a three-year period, a Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission is established. This time-bound commission would hear and document tangata whenua's

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experience of colonisation, racism and white supremacy and recommend meaningful pathways towards reconciliation and justice by 2040.

The role of the Waitangi Tribunal is extremely important and ground-breaking, but hitherto it has mainly focussed on specific treaty settlements. A Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission has a larger vision of truth-telling, national reconciliation and constitutional reform.

The group of eminent tangata whenua with primary responsibility for *Maranga Mai!* was robustly supported by Ahi Kaa, the Commission's Indigenous Rights Group. The report was led by then Pou Ārahi, Tricia Keelan. *Maranga Mai!* would not have happened without Ms Keelan's leadership, determination, industry and insight.

The National Iwi Chairs Forum and numerous others also played indispensable roles in the preparation of *Maranga Mai!* On behalf of the Commission's board, Race Relations Commissioner Meng Foon, has shouldered responsibility for securing rich and dynamic community engagement for the NAPAR, including supporting the preparation of *Maranga Mai!*

The section headed He Mihi provides a more detailed recognition of those who contributed to this report.

I am grateful to everyone for their invaluable contributions.

We can all benefit from *Maranga Mai!* which, despite everything, is remarkably constructive and hopeful.

Paul Hunt

Kupu Whakataki: Foreword

Ahi Kaa, the Indigenous Rights Group, within Te Kāhui Tika Tangata: the Human Rights Commission (the Commission) and the Tangata Whenua Caucus of the National Anti-Racism Taskforce (2021-2022), have worked together to develop *Maranga Mai!* This report is an historical and phenomenological (see Footnote 1) analysis which shines a light on the impact of colonisation, racism and white supremacy on tangata whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Footnote 1: Phenomenology helps us understand the meaning of people's lived experience. A phenomenological study focuses on what people experienced during an event or occurrence. End footnote.

The report is intended to inform the Commission, the Ministry of Justice and the New Zealand government on these matters from a tangata whenua and Tiriti o Waitangi (Te Tiriti) perspective and to ensure that the work to address and eliminate racism in this country continues to be prioritised. Many governments have made efforts to reduce racism in Aotearoa, however, *Maranga Mai!* reveals that much more needs to be done.

Both *Maranga Mai!* and the community engagement report, *Ki te whaiāo, ki te ao Mārama*, will contribute towards the development of the National Action Plan Against Racism (NAPAR) for Aotearoa. The Ministry of Justice is responsible for developing the plan and has partnered with the National Iwi Chairs Forum—a collective of iwi leaders from Aotearoa New Zealand—on its creation. This is a positive step by the government in recognising that racism exists and that tino rangatiratanga input is crucial in developing such a plan.

We offer *Maranga Mai!* as a gift to ensure that the work to address racism in this country is undertaken in a spirit of pono, tika and aroha.

Pono invokes truth

The elimination of racism is a strategic priority for the Commission, and it is the Commission's responsibility to inform the government on actions it should take to achieve this. To eliminate racism throughout Aotearoa will require nothing less than constitutional transformation and we urge the government to commit to this much needed change.

The first step in the process is for tangata whenua to tell the truth about the impact of racism on their whānau, hapū, iwi, ancestors, communities and lives. New Zealanders need to understand that colonisation, racism and white supremacy are intertwined phenomena that remain central to the ongoing displacement and erosion of tino rangatiratanga. The cumulative effects of this

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are evident in the intergenerational inequalities and inequities tangata whenua suffer across all aspects of their lives. These serious matters are the focus of this report.

Maranga Mai! honours the tradition of previous seminal anti-racism reports such as *Puao-Te-Ata-Tu* (Department of Social Welfare, 1988) and *He Whaipanga Hou* (Jackson, 1988) which have long identified the presence of institutional racism in society, 93 percent of Māori experience racism "on a daily basis" (Smith, Tinirau, Rattray-Te Mana, Tawaroa, Moewaka Barnes, Cormack & Fitzgerald, 2021, p. 9). Despite efforts to address the problem, there is substantial and overwhelming evidence of continued systemic, structural and personal racism toward tangata whenua.

Our goal is to move Aotearoa toward constitutional transformation and reconciliation with tangata whenua, led by kawa and tikanga, and underpinned by the ethic of truth-telling. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada sheds light on the qualities of reconciliation:

"reconciliation" is about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples ... In order for that to happen, there has to be awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviour

(Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 113).

Detailing histories of racism and white supremacy in Aotearoa is pivotal to developing an accurate awareness of the past that is sufficient to change the future. However, a reflection on the past must be accompanied by action today.

The elimination of racism in Aotearoa requires true and authentic acknowledgement, from the state that indigenous and tangata whenua rights exist. Also, that the continued dismissal and violation of these covenants, and Tiriti

responsibilities, by the Crown and settler society must cease. The reliance on the Doctrine of Discovery, to validate the New Zealand colonial state, must also cease alongside a transition to recognise Te Tiriti o Waitangi as the rightful source of kāwanatanga legitimacy in Aotearoa.

As we explore solutions, tika will be necessary to address the many wrongs perpetuated against tangata whenua and to restore and heal relationships. Tangible actions will be required to atone and provide restitution to tangata whenua, while laying a foundation for healing and constitutional certainty.

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Maranga Mai! encourages people to reimagine Aotearoa and support flourishing and sustainable tino rangatiratanga futures, as tīpuna dreamt of in 1840. Invoking pono, and within the ethics of tika and aroha, we look forward to Aotearoa giving body to this vision. The dream of the rangatira who signed Te Tiriti remains as pertinent today, as ever, and it is within this context of reimagining Aotearoa that Ahi Kaa and the Tangata Whenua Caucus present *Maranga Mai!*

Tricia Keelan
Pou Ārahi (February 2020-August 2022)
Indigenous Rights Group
Te Kāhui Tika Tangata

Meng Foon
Kaihautū Whakawhanaungatanga ā Iwi
Race Relations Commissioner
Te Kāhui Tika Tangata

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Whakarāpopoto: Executive Summary

Maranga Mai! documents the dynamics and impact of colonisation, racism and white supremacy on Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand since first contact with Europeans. This report has been written by Ahi Kaa, the Indigenous Rights Group, within the Commission and tangata whenua, within the framework of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Te Tiriti) and is an historical and phenomenological (see Footnote 2) analysis which shines a light on the impact of racism on tangata whenua in Aotearoa.

Footnote 2: Phenomenology helps us understand the meaning of people's lived experience. A phenomenological analysis focuses on what people experienced during an event or occurrence. End Footnote.

Since the signing of Te Tiriti in 1840, tangata whenua have endured more than 180-years of colonisation, racism and white supremacy, often enforced by the rule of law, unjust legislation, and government sanctioned violence. The Māori experience of this racism has resulted in severe marginalisation, disadvantage and impoverishment over multiple generations.

Maranga Mai! does not seek to cover all the history of Aotearoa, which would take many volumes. However, it does seek to raise understanding that the racism Māori experience is a serious human and Indigenous rights issue that should be addressed as a priority by government and society.

Racism against Māori and other peoples cannot continue without significant negative impacts for tangata whenua and all New Zealanders.

This report provides a strong rationale and call to action for the government and New Zealanders to address racism against Māori. This will require society accepting what Māori have faced and are still facing in this country and taking action to resolve it.

Maranga Mai! acknowledges that many other peoples and cultures also experience racism in Aotearoa, including Chinese, Indian, Pacific and African peoples and other Asian, Jewish and Islamic communities. Migrant communities often come from lands with parallel histories of colonisation and racism such as North America, Ireland and India. The report authors believe that addressing racism against Māori is central to combatting racism against all other cultures in Aotearoa.

Methodology—privileging Māori voices

Maranga Mai! combines evidence-based literature and research with the first-person testimony of recognised experts in the field of anti-racism about the impact of colonisation, white supremacy and racism on tangata whenua and communities. This methodology centres and amplifies Māori voices, memories and experiences, the value of which lies in documenting lived

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inter-generational and cumulative insights of how Māori have experienced colonisation, racism and white supremacy (Smith, 2013; Creswell, 2013).

Maranga Mai! adds to this body of evidence the testimony of experts of the Tangata Whenua Caucus of the National Anti-Racism Taskforce (2021-2022). Key interviews were conducted with prominent Māori scholars and activists, distinguished Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, chair Tina Ngata, Hilda Halkyard-Harawira, Dr Rawiri Taonui and Kingi Snelgar, and the late Dr Moana Jackson.

In the following report, the guiding voices of our experts are reinforced by the oral testimony of ancestors, published comments from other Māori and non-Māori experts, and testimony of tangata whenua, leaders, experts, tāne, wahine, kaumātua, pakeke and taiohi over multiple generations.

Who is this report for?

Ahi Kaa and the Tangata Whenua Caucus provide the report *Maranga Mai!* to the government and the Ministry of Justice to guide the development and recommendations for the National Action Plan Against Racism (NAPAR).

The report is also for the consideration of politicians, central and local government, public sector officials and policy makers, when making or reviewing current legislation, policy or services which impact on Māori or affect their interests. Politicians and political parties have a particular responsibility not only to eliminate racism, but to show leadership in not displaying racism, or encouraging racism against Māori or any other ethnic group.

This report conveys the hard truth about how Māori have experienced colonisation, racism and white supremacy in Aotearoa. It is not what most New Zealanders understand, or necessarily believe, as the denial of racism in Aotearoa is a long-standing legacy that many governments and settler society, over successive generations, have refused to accept.

For this reason alone, it should be read and discussed widely so Aotearoa can have mature conversations about racism. For without truth-telling, there can be neither justice nor reconciliation for tangata whenua, or honour for kāwanatanga and wider society, under Te Tiriti.

The development and implementation of a comprehensive national plan to end racism cannot be undertaken without the full and active partnership and participation of iwi, hapū and whānau. It is imperative that their voices are heard, understood and acted on.

Maranga Mai! adds to the growing body of evidence about these matters in Aotearoa.

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Main recommendations for Maranga Mai!

Commit to constitutional transformation

The principal recommendation of *Maranga Mai!* tasks the government with committing to constitutional transformation and establishing co-governance as

recommended and articulated by the *Matike Mai Aotearoa* and *He Puapua* reports. Central to this reform would be the government condemning and rejecting the constitutional application of the Doctrine of Discovery to Aotearoa and committing to Te Tiriti and He Whakaputanga o Nu Tireni the Declaration of Independence (1835) (He Whakaputanga), as the source of legitimacy for kāwanatanga.

As stated in the *Matike Mai Aotearoa* report on constitutional transformation:

Te Tiriti never intended us to be "one people" as Governor Hobson proclaimed in 1840 but it did envisage a constitutional relationship where everyone could have a place in this land

**(Independent Working Group on
Constitutional Transformation, 2018, p. 112).**

Rather Te Tiriti established a partnership between the tino rangatiratanga of Māori and the kāwanatanga of the Crown. This recommendation would include recognising and restoring tino rangatiratanga as the pre-existing and ongoing form of Māori indigenous authority and self-determination, under He Whakaputanga, Te Tiriti, and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP, 2007).

Establish a Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission

The second key recommendation of *Maranga Mai!* is to establish a three-year Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission as the first step towards constitutional reform. This Commission will set a pathway to realise tino rangatiratanga and constitutional certainty for Te Tiriti before the bicentenary of its signing in 2040.

A Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission would focus on enhancing understanding about the injustices perpetrated against tangata whenua by the Crown, and lead to healing and reconciliation between tangata whenua and the government, and Tiriti peoples. It would also establish transitional justice processes to restore tino rangatiratanga and honour Te Tiriti. This is a separate process from the Waitangi Tribunal, which is primarily concerned with claims bought by Māori in relation to breaches of Te Tiriti.

Such a Commission will represent a positive step forward for Aotearoa to progress the journey to eliminate racism. More importantly, it will shine a light on why Aotearoa needs constitutional reform and co-governance for tangata whenua. Co-

governance will realise tino rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga for both Te Tiriti partners. This will enable Aotearoa to make the transition to

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become a modern democracy, grounded in Te Tiriti, that honours and respects tangata whenua and also acknowledges the place of Tiriti peoples in Aotearoa.

Draft principles to guide such a Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission for Aotearoa are outlined in Chapter 8.

Establish an independent body or bodies to deliver transformation

The third main recommendation is to establish an independent body, or bodies, to develop and deliver constitutional transformation within Tiriti processes and with tino rangatiratanga partners.

Strengthen Indigenous and human rights in Aotearoa

The fourth recommendation is that government urgently appoint a full time, permanent, Indigenous Rights Commissioner, to strengthen the capacity of Te Kāhui Tika Tangata: the Human Rights Commission (the Commission) to fulfil its strategic role to uphold domestic and international human rights and the Indigenous rights of tangata whenua and honour Te Tiriti.

The establishment of an independent Indigenous Rights Commission is also recommended for exploration by the government, with a key function of advancing the NAPAR; developing and delivering a decolonisation and anti-racism strategy to assist the further elimination of racism in central and local government and civil society; and supporting the Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission.

Summary of report

Maranga Mai! is written in two Parts.

Te Ūpoko Tuatahi: Part One

He Kōrero: A message from the Chief Human Rights Commissioner: Paul Hunt provides a welcome and overview comment on the significance of the *Maranga Mai!* report.

Kupu Whakataki: Foreword: Race Relations Commissioner, Meng Foon and Te Kāhui Tika Tangata: the Human Rights Commission, Pou Ārahi, Tricia Keelan provide an introductory foreword. Tricia Keelan was formerly Pou Ārahi and led Ahi Kaa, the Indigenous Rights Group within the Commission.

Whakarāpopoto: Executive summary: Overview of *Maranga Mai!* and summary of the main recommendations and eight subject chapters.

Ngā Taunaki: Main recommendations: Describes the main recommendations from tangata whenua for *Maranga Mai!* to contribute toward the government's development of the NAPAR.

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There are also secondary recommendations which follow the relevant chapters in Part Two and which are listed fully in Appendix One.

Ngā Tautuhi: Definitions in *Maranga Mai!* Provides definitions for colonisation, racism, white supremacy and white privilege that are used in this report.

Kupu Arataki: Introduction: *Maranga Mai!* Begins with an overview of the Doctrine of Discovery which remains the authority by which Aotearoa was first colonised. It discusses the significance of foundational constitutional documents, He Whakaputanga o Nu Tirenī: The Declaration of Independence (He Whakaputanga) and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Te Tiriti). The analysis examines the status of Te Tiriti under international law and why Te Tiriti, the te reo version, is regarded as the principal text. The section also outlines the three key principles of anti-racism necessary for New Zealanders to understand and eliminate racism. They start with the need for telling the truth about racism in Aotearoa, healing and reconciliation, and finally the government and settler society taking anti-racism actions and delivering justice and constitutional reform for tangata whenua.

Tirohanga Whānui: Overview of colonisation: Provides context and a brief overview of the impacts of colonisation over the 182-year colonial history of Aotearoa—the loss of Māori land, war, political, cultural and identity marginalisation, the destruction of whānau, and unjust legislation. This narrative history is further expanded in Chapters 1-8.

Te Ūpoko Tuarua: Part Two

Part Two: Renews the call for restoring Te Tiriti to its rightful place, enabling tino rangatiratanga for Māori, and constitutional reform and co-governance. It contains the main body of the report which includes the following chapters and related secondary recommendations.

Chapter 1: Kaikiritanga: Colonisation, Doctrine of Discovery, racism and white supremacy: Charts a harrowing 182-year narrative history of the impact that colonisation, the Doctrine of Discovery, racism and white supremacy has had on tangata whenua, including the forcible taking of Māori lands and resources. Colonisation was essentially an economic project led by the Crown.

New Zealand was colonised by the British Crown under the authority of the Doctrine of Discovery. The doctrine and other Papal Bull decrees provided the rationale for the conquest, colonisation and subjugation of Indigenous peoples and the seizure of their lands. The doctrine is still recognised under international law and underpins the position of the New Zealand government and its legislation.

The chapter chronicles how the Crown has consistently eroded the tino rangatiratanga of iwi, hapū and whānau and undermined the agreement—Te Tiriti—rangatira signed in 1840. Central to this has been the dispossession of

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Māori land through force and law, triggering untold impoverishment for generations of Māori. The cumulative effect has been that the freedom of Māori to design and imagine their own destinies was severely restricted through the machinations of law, policy and Crown violence.

Racism and white supremacy are examined alongside the myth of Aotearoa having the "best race relations in the world". The Crown and settler society has continued to deny and downplay the racism that occurs against tangata whenua. The practices of strategic amnesia, assimilation, cultural tokenism, the concepts of biculturalism and multiculturalism, and the over-homogenisation of Māori and Pacific peoples are also reviewed.

Secondary recommendations include actions to embed Te Tiriti, the decolonisation of central and local government alongside key sectors, and the development of an anti-racism strategy and measurement index.

Chapter 2: Ka Takahi: Treaty making and treaty breaking: Describes the significance of the constitutional foundational documents He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti. It outlines the signing of the two versions of Te Tiriti (te reo version) and the Treaty (English version) and how decades of unjust legislation and war undermined Māori self-determination leading to political marginalisation, the alienation of Māori land and cultural identity, intergenerational impoverishment, and racism.

Secondary recommendations include broadening the mandate of the Waitangi Tribunal to make its recommendations binding on the Crown, restoration of tino rangatiratanga so Māori landowners have control over their whenua, review the rates system for Māori land and expunging rates on the five percent of land still under Māori ownership. Establish a Te Tiriti Whenua Māori Authority to improve systems to help Māori develop their whenua.

Chapter 3: Ngā Hikoi: Māori renaissance protests: Examines the contribution of the Māori renaissance protest movement in seeking justice and self-

determination for Māori in Aotearoa. Born of alienation and urbanisation, often very young Māori leaders rose up in organisations like Te Hōkioi, the Māori Organisation on Human Rights (MOOHR) and Ngā Tamatoa to lead protests against rugby tours with South Africa, the loss of te reo Māori, injustice over land, and racism.

The chapter traces the contribution of protests for equal human rights for tangata whenua and Mana Motuhake, including Waitangi, the Māori land march, Raglan Golf Course, Takaparawhā: Bastion Point, He Taua, Te Hikoi ki Waitangi, the 1990 Sesquicentennial Celebrations, reaction to the fiscal envelope and foreshore and seabed legislation, local body representation, Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe, and the more recent Ihumātao land protest.

Chapter 4: Mātauranga: Impact of colonisation and racism on education:

Overviews the impact of racism on Māori in the Western school system and the inequities and harm this has caused. It details how the Crown used colonisation and legislation to structure education to alienate Māori identity, te reo and culture, and to train young Māori to become manual and domestic workers.

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Contemporary issues in education are also canvassed, such as, the use of deficit education models, the mispronunciation of Māori names and use of nick names for Māori students, racism in schooling, and the low expectations the education system has for ākonga.

The main secondary recommendation is to establish a stand-alone Māori Education Authority to undertake a Tiriti-based legislative and policy review of education to strengthen tino rangatiratanga and enable tangata whenua to regain mana motuhake over the education of Māori education systems and ākonga. Others include strengthening kaupapa Māori and wananga education; the development of a sector-wide, Tiriti-based, anti-racism curriculum; and training of educators to understand how racism affects Māori.

Chapter 5: Hauora: Impact of colonisation and racism on health: Describes how colonisation and racism undermined tangata whenua health and wellbeing leading to the social collapse and rising mortality rate of Māori in the late nineteenth century.

The chapter tracks the cumulative legacy of the barriers that racism constructed for Māori in contemporary health care and stresses the importance of replacing these structures with "for Māori by Māori" kaupapa and Tiriti-based approaches to improve health outcomes and reduce inequities.

Secondary recommendations support the new Māori Health Authority to achieve improved and equitable outcomes for Māori; that the Authority is properly funded and gives full effect to Te Tiriti and enables tino rangatiratanga; that the principle of equity applies within all health legislation, policy and action plans; and there is stronger monitoring and data reporting for Māori health.

The Commission made a comprehensive submission to the Pae Ora Bill which and stands behind its recommendations. The Act can be read on the New Zealand Parliament website www.parliament.nz.

Chapter 6: Manatika: Impact of colonisation and racism in criminal justice:

Traces the historical over-policing of tangata whenua and contemporary institutional racism in the police and criminal justice system since colonisation. Racist profiling and the high disproportionate incarceration of Māori in the justice system today is proof of the racism that exists in the system.

Secondary recommendations include a comprehensive review of the justice system to abolish prisons by 2040, reviewing criminal legislation to align with Te Tiriti and te ao Māori values and tikanga. Establishing a Mana Ōrite justice partnership to share governance and decision-making at all levels of the justice sector and embedding kaupapa Māori approaches across the court system. Institutional racism must be challenged through law changes, diverse recruitment, effective training and anti-racist programmes.

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Chapter 7: Tino rangatiratanga: Racism, Māori, and human rights statutory bodies and the media:

Addresses some of the concerns raised by tangata whenua regarding Māori statutory bodies, the Race Relations Act, the role of the Commission, the historical role of media in racism against Māori and the current housing crisis.

Secondary recommendations include strengthening the Human Rights Act 1993 to better protect Māori and Indigenous rights and give full effect to Te Tiriti. Amendments to the Act are needed to reflect a co-governance arrangement for the Human Rights Commission, and to include definitions of racism, institutional racism, and white supremacy. A primary function for the Commission to protect Indigenous and human rights of tangata whenua under Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the UNDRIP could also be added.

Chapter 8: Mana motuhake: Constitutional transformation: Details the constitutional steps Aotearoa needs to take, based on the vision first laid out in Te Tiriti and articulated in *Matike Mai Aotearoa* and *He Puapua*, to redress the racist oppression of tangata whenua. This argues for Māori governance of things Māori

(rangatiratanga), Crown governance of its own affairs (kāwanatanga), and a joint sphere to deliberate upon matters of mutual concern (the relational sphere) where both parties can work together.

The secondary recommendations aim to support the achievement of constitutional transformation. These include embedding Te Tiriti into central and local government systems and processes to eliminate racism in Aotearoa, a review of the Treaty Settlements policy which continues to inflict injustice on tangata whenua Māori, and the reform of central and local government legislation and policies to return dispossessed land to iwi, hapū and whānau and improve access and use of Māori whenua.

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Ngā Taunaki: Main Recommendations

Human Rights Commission's contribution to the National Action Plan Against Racism

Maranga Mai! is an historical and phenomenological (see Footnote 3) analysis explaining the impact of colonisation, racism and white supremacy on tangata whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is predominantly a research and narrative report, which also contains testimony from the Tangata Whenua Caucus of the National Anti-Racism Taskforce (2021-2022) (Tangata Whenua Caucus), and voices of Māori over generations.

Footnote 3: Phenomenology helps us understand the meaning of people's lived experience. A phenomenological study focuses on what people experienced during an event or occurrence. End footnote.

The recommendations have also been informed by Te Kāhui Tika Tangata: the Human Rights Commission's (the Commission) own knowledge, numerous reports, such as *Matike Mai Aotearoa*, *He Puapua*, and the Stop Institutional Racism's Briefing Paper (STIR), and the many sources cited in the extensive bibliography.

Maranga Mai! and its recommendations should be read in conjunction with the report *Ki te whaiao, ki te ao Mārama*, which is a community engagement report developed by the Commission, at the request of the Ministry of Justice and government. *Ki te whaiao, ki te ao Mārama* records the voices and experiences of tangata whenua (people of the land) and tangata Tiriti (people of the Tiriti) on racism and their visions to create a racism-free Aotearoa. These reports are provided to the government, the Ministry of Justice and Aotearoa to assist with the

important kaupapa of eliminating racism. You can read both reports on the Commission's website.

Read together *Maranga Mai!* and *Ki te whaiao, ki te ao Mārama* create the call to action "Rise Up! Emerge from darkness, into the natural world of life and light".

***Maranga Mai!* recommendations**

These recommendations should be further explored and developed in the National Action Plan Against Racism (NAPAR) with tino rangatiratanga partners. While some of the work can be led by the government, the strengthening of tino rangatiratanga can only be led by tangata whenua.

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Commit to constitutional transformation (for government with tino rangatiratanga partners)

The government, with tino rangatiratanga partners, commits to constitutional transformation, and undertakes the necessary steps to review current arrangements and develop and implement reform options. We recommend the following actions:

- i. Acknowledge that the Doctrine of Discovery has caused cumulative intergenerational harm, violence, and inequities for tangata whenua, that it is racist and unjust, and violates Māori, human and Indigenous rights. The government therefore condemns and rejects its constitutional application to Aotearoa and commits to transitioning to position te Tiriti o Waitangi (Te Tiriti) and He Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni Declaration of Independence (He Whakaputanga) as the source of legitimacy for kāwanatanga.
- ii. Recognising tino rangatiratanga is a pre-existing and ongoing form of tangata whenua and Indigenous authority and self-determination, under Te Tiriti (Article Two) and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (2007).
- iii. Engage Aotearoa in conversation and wananga, building on the foundational work and recommendations in *Matike Mai Aotearoa*. (This work will need to consider the forthcoming action plan for the UNDRIP).
- iv. Rebalance the power between tino rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga to achieve the vision of Te Tiriti, where tino rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga are honoured by both partners.

v. Undertake legislation and policy reform for central and local government systems to reduce and eliminate inequities for tangata whenua and give full effect to Te Tiriti.

vi. Progress constitutional transformation by recognising Te Tiriti and He Whakaputanga as the founding documents of Aotearoa. Elevating Te Tiriti to its rightful place in the constitutional framework of Aotearoa as the primary step in addressing racism against tangata whenua.

Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission (for government with tino rangatiratanga partners)

2. The government establish an independent three-year Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission comprising experts to hear and document the evidence and testimony of the Māori experience of historical and contemporary colonisation, racism, and white supremacy in Aotearoa.

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i. The Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission should be distinct from the Waitangi Tribunal and built within te ao Māori processes grounded in tikanga and kawa.

ii. The Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission considers how the government can offer transitional justice and reconciliation to tangata whenua for the cumulative and intergenerational impact and trauma on the mana and wairua of generations of iwi, hapū and whānau Māori including their cultural, economic, political, mental and physical wellbeing.

iii. Develop actions and recommendations to provide authentic pathways so reconciliation, restoration and justice for Māori is progressed and well underway by 2030.

Establish an independent body, or bodies, and Tiriti process (for government with tino rangatiratanga partners)

3. The government, with tino rangatiratanga partners, establish a Tiriti-based independent body, or bodies, and a process to uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi and tangata whenua human and Indigenous rights and eliminate racism in Aotearoa. The independent body, or bodies, to:

i. Following the current work of developing the NAPAR, lead a comprehensive plan for eradicating racism against Māori.

- ii. Prioritise a Tiriti-based consistent transformation across the public sector through the implementation of the NAPAR.
- iii. Support tino rangatiratanga partners to progress the conversation on the foundational work and recommendations in *Matike Mai Aotearoa*.
- iv. Noting the UNDRIP action plan is still in development, support tino rangatiratanga partners to lead a process for the adoption and integration of the UNDRIP (2007) into central and local government policy and strategy.
- v. Lead a Tiriti-centred review of current New Zealand legislation to give full effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
- vi. Working with tino rangatiratanga partners, conduct an annual survey on racism, and monitor and report on racism and the status of Te Tiriti and the UNDRIP to the Commission, government and the United Nations. Government to provide resources to enable tangata whenua to participate.

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- vii. Provide resources and pathways to support tangata whenua to work together with other Indigenous peoples around the world to progress Indigenous and human rights.
- viii. Ensure institutional arrangements for the independent body, or bodies, are Tiriti-based with power and decision making. This could take the form of co-leadership and co-governance arrangements.

Appoint an Indigenous Rights Commissioner under urgency within the Te Kāhui Tika Tangata: Human Rights Commission and explore establishing an independent Indigenous Rights Commission (for government, Human Rights Commission with tino rangatiratanga partners)

4. The government, in consultation with tino rangatiratanga partners, urgently appoints a full-time, permanent, Indigenous Rights Commissioner within the Human Rights Commission to strengthen its capacity. Noting the Commission is to become Tiriti-based, the government also explores the establishment of an independent Indigenous Rights Commission.

The government to consider that the Indigenous Rights Commissioner has the following functions:

- i. Work with the Human Rights Commission, to promote and protect human and Indigenous rights as outlined in Te Tiriti and the UNDRIP.

- ii. Contribute toward, and support, the establishment of the Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission.
- iii. Support the implementation of the NAPAR and a decolonisation and anti-racism strategy to assist the further elimination of racism in central and local government and civil society.
- iv. Contribute to a Tiriti-centred review of current New Zealand legislation and make Te Tiriti and UNDRIP recommendations on proposed legislation.
- v. Report to the United Nations on New Zealand's progress on Te Tiriti, UNDRIP, and decolonisation and racism affecting tangata whenua.
- vi. Government adequately resources the Indigenous Rights Commissioner and explores the establishment of an independent Indigenous Human Rights Commission with similar functions.

Secondary recommendations have also been made at the end of the relevant chapters and are tabled in Appendix One for the consideration by the government for further development and action. These include strengthening the Human Rights Act (1993) to promote and protect

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Māori human and Indigenous rights; reducing inequities and inequalities and improving outcomes for Māori in education, health and criminal justice; and the reform of Māori land and rates for the benefit of Māori whenua owners.

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Ngā tautuhi: Definitions In *Maranga Mai!*

To adequately grasp the breadth of impact upon Māori, here we define the concepts of colonisation, racism, white supremacy, and white privilege in Aotearoa New Zealand. These concepts are elaborated upon in more depth in Chapter 1.

Colonisation refers to the systematic appropriation, seizure and exploitation of Indigenous lands and natural resources by settler colonies. Colonial processes undermine and disempower Indigenous self-determination, leadership, and political structures.

In Aotearoa, colonisation employed Christianity and Western institutions to subjugate Indigenous spiritual beliefs and knowledge systems and dismantle first peoples' societies, culture, social cohesion, and families.

Colonisation is ongoing and intergenerational for the coloniser and the colonised. Settler colonial societies structure the world in a manner that benefits dominant colonial groups while marginalising, alienating, suppressing and oppressing Indigenous societies to a political, economic, social, cultural and impoverished periphery. In Aotearoa, colonisation establishes white supremacy, white privilege and racism that assumes a presumed superiority of whiteness at interpersonal, institutional, cultural and internal levels.

Racism stems from cultural and ideological beliefs, bigotry and prejudice. Colonisation holds Western European culture and society as superior and "other" Indigenous cultures and societies as inferior, backward, dangerous and untrustworthy. Racism justifies the exploitation and subjugation or destruction of Indigenous peoples for the benefit of Western cultures and societies.

Backed by monopoly power over the institutions of colonial-settler society this prejudice manifests as all-encompassing racism exercised at interpersonal, institutional and internalised levels.

- Interpersonal racism concerns derogatory attitudes, assumptions, remarks, abuse, or actions toward someone based on the perceived inferiority of their race and culture. The narrow-minded discussion of racism in Aotearoa society minimises interpersonal racism, by describing it as unconscious bias and casual racism. This form of racism is often framed as accidental and innocent, acts of oversight and omission, that occur between people.
- Institutional racism is the regulated exercise of different access to opportunities and resources in society that advantages and privileges dominant groups at the expense of a subordinated group based on their perceived racial inferiority.

Pākehā built the structure and institutions of New Zealand society in their image for their benefit to the exclusion of Māori. The inequities and inequalities of outcomes we witness across housing, education, health, justice, employment and wellbeing are the results of that racism.

Institutional racism is insidious, detrimental, damaging, and more intergenerationally harmful than interpersonal racism. Institutional racism causes the inequities and inequalities that marginalise Māori across all domains of life. The prevailing Pākehā tendency is to avoid acknowledging, recognising, or changing institutional racism.

- Internalised racism is the acceptance by racially stigmatised peoples of negative ideas and messages about themselves and other members of their community.

White supremacy is connected with colonisation and racism. White supremacy, whiteness, white culture and white norms carry the belief that Western European cultures are superior and Indigenous peoples inferior and less worthy. White supremacy assumes that other ways of being outside of these norms are invalid, abnormal, untrustworthy, primitive and threatening. White supremacy calls for the disintegration and assimilation of Māori society and the merging of all cultures into an illusory "one nation" that rejects Māori as valid citizens, whether assimilated or not.

White supremacy explains the inequities and inequalities that afflict Māori as the outcome of a "lazy, ignorant, abusive, brutal, and intellectually and morally inferior Māori culture and people" (Halkyard-Harawira, 2021).

White supremacy maintains a political, economic, cultural, ideological and religious system that through overt and covert, and explicit and implicit means, maintain white dominance and Indigenous subjugation for the benefit of white society and culture. Local and international research indicates that the volume and intensity of white supremacist ideology (in Aotearoa) and activism has increased significantly in the past three years (Spoonley, P., 2022).

White privilege is the inter-generational political, economic, social and cultural benefits and advantages that colonial settlers accumulate through the appropriation of Indigenous lands, natural resources and wealth. White supremacy entrenches and preserves white privilege through the monopoly control of institutions maintaining racist inequities and inequalities through the perpetual structural marginalisation of Indigenous peoples and societies.

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Kupu Arataki: Introduction

Maranga Mai! begins with some necessary context to understand this report. There is an urgent need for New Zealanders to accept the truth about the magnitude of racism experienced by Māori today and acknowledge that this history of racism stretches back to colonisation. The authors believe the elimination of racism will not occur, without constitutional transformation and co-governance with Māori, and the rejection of the Doctrine of Discovery.

This section starts with an overview of the Doctrine of Discovery which is the authority by which Aotearoa New Zealand was first colonised and which still

underpins the establishment of the New Zealand government and its legislation today. He Whakaputanga o Nu Tirenī: The Declaration of Independence (He Whakaputanga) and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Te Tiriti) are then introduced. The following sections describe the status of Te Tiriti (te reo version) under international law and why it is regarded as the principal text by Māori.

Maranga Mai! calls on the government to recognise He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti as the founding constitutional documents of Aotearoa and to reject the Doctrine of Discovery as the basis for its position (see also chapter 1). For this to occur, the government is urged to enter a process of truth, reconciliation and justice with Māori and use this as a springboard to take bold actions to eliminate racism, commit to constitutional transformation, and enable a better future for tangata whenua and all New Zealanders.

Doctrine of Discovery

Indigenous nations at the United Nations have described the Doctrine of Discovery as the driver of all "Indigenous dispossession" (United Nations PFII, 2012).

The Doctrine of Discovery refers to a series of Papal Bulls (Catholic laws) made by the Vatican during the fifteenth century. These decrees provided the rationale for the conquest, colonisation and subjugation of Indigenous peoples and the seizure of their lands. These racist actions were premised on the basis that non-European, non-white and non-Christian peoples had forfeited their rights of independent sovereignty, ownership of land and natural resources to what was presumed to be a superior European power.

The doctrine became part of international law through a series of landmark cases, such as, *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823) (21 US 543) in the United States, where judges ruled that Western states that had taken possession of Indigenous lands immediately acquired a radical title to the land and could extinguish Indigenous ownership at will (Stuart Banner, 2005). The Doctrine of Discovery has never been rescinded.

In Aotearoa, Lieutenant William Hobson under the doctrine, declared sovereignty over Te Waipounamu (The South Island) in 1840 and claimed it for the Crown. In 1840, The Treaty of Waitangi (English version) was partially signed and mainly by North Island rangatira.

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Nevertheless, the British Crown proclaimed sovereignty and cession under the doctrine and the treaty (Ruru J. & Miller R. J, 2008).

The doctrine paved the way for colonisation of Aotearoa, underpinned the establishment of the New Zealand government and its legislation, and established the white supremacy and systemic racism which exists today. Through colonisation, premised on the notions of racial superiority outlined in the doctrine, tangata whenua were displaced from their traditional lands, territories and resources.

He Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirenī: The Declaration of Independence (1835)

Drafted in 1835, 52 rangatira signed He Whakaputanga which formally asserted the mana and authority of Indigenous Māori peoples in Aotearoa. It was an "innovative declaration of Indigenous power" that formally asserted the independence of Aotearoa as a "... Māori state" where "power resided fully with Māori and ... foreigners would not be allowed to make laws" (Archives New Zealand, 2021). He Whakaputanga is the foundational constitutional document articulating collective iwi and hapū identity grounded upon independence (Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation, 2018, p. 44).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840)

There are two texts of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, one in te reo Māori (Te Tiriti) and the Treaty of Waitangi (The Treaty) in English. Despite many efforts to compare them, the texts do not readily equate in translation. However, it is incontrovertible that Te Tiriti is the principal text.

The history is clear that the understanding of the rangatira who signed Te Tiriti in 1840 was based on the discussions framed on the text in te reo Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, pp. 517-520, 521-525). Equally clear is that the Europeans who drafted the texts and led pre-signing discussions and assurances with rangatira "concealed the full British intentions" as outlined in the English version (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, p. 526). Moreover, it is the text in te reo Māori which more than 500 rangatira signed in hui held in 1840, which holds weight for tangata whenua, compared to the 39 rangatira who signed the English treaty.

The Waitangi Tribunal Report, in its *Te Paparahi o Raki* 2014 report, affirmed that the rangatira that signed Te Tiriti in 1840 did not cede their sovereignty to Britain. That is, rangatira and their hapū (and iwi) did not cede their authority to make and enforce law over their people or their territories. Te Tiriti is not a treaty of cession.

International law

With regard to bilingual treaties, McNair in *The Law of Treaties* states that neither text is superior to the other. Lord McNair was a British jurist and judge of the International Court of Justice and

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later the first president of the European Court of Human Rights. The two texts should help one another so that it is permissible to interpret one text by reference to the other. While this approach may help in interpreting the Treaty (English version) and reconciling differences between the two texts, we must also have regard to other principles (Lord McNair, 1986).

Accepting Te Tiriti as the principal text is congruent with the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (1969) Article 32, which considers the consideration of "the preparatory work of the treaty and the circumstances of its conclusion [signing]" when issues of ambiguity arise in the terms of a treaty.

This is also consistent with the wider body of international customary law. In that regard, we follow the findings of the Waitangi Tribunal in the *Waitara-Motunui Report* (1983) and the *Manukau Report* (1985). Both reports reference the United States Supreme Court that treaties with Indigenous peoples should be "construed in the sense which they would naturally be understood by the Indians" (*Jones v Meehan* (1899) 175 US 1). This is relevant when considering the "predominant role the Māori text played in securing the signatures of the various chiefs" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1985, p. 65).

Both reports also accepted the principle of *contra proferentem* where, in the case of an ambiguity in the terms of an agreement between parties, specifically in the circumstance of unequal bargaining, the interpretation of the agreement should be read against the party who provided the wording.

Racism and truth

The elimination of racism is a strategic priority for Te Kāhui Tika Tangata: the Human Rights Commission. The first principle in eliminating racism is truth. Truth requires evidence and the testimony of those subject to racism. *Maranga Mai!* focuses on the history of racism and how racism is experienced by Māori.

A substantial and increasing body of historical evidence demonstrates that the impacts of colonisation, white supremacy and racism on Māori are multi-dimensional, cumulative, inter-generational and fundamental to the continuing displacement and marginalisation of Māori and their rights under Te Tiriti. The evidence confirms that the cascading and compounding effects of colonisation,

white supremacy and racism are evident in the inequities and inequality of outcomes Māori suffer across housing, education, health, justice, employment and everyday wellbeing.

It is to this body of evidence that *Maranga Mai!* adds the testimony of experts including the Tangata Whenua Caucus, alongside the late Dr Moana Jackson.

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Detailing the history of racism and white supremacy in Aotearoa, through the testimony of the living repositories of that experience, is pivotal to building awareness of the past, understanding of the present, and configuring a racism-free future.

Colonisation, racism and white supremacy

Racism and white supremacy are integral to colonisation and colonisation is integral to racism and white supremacy. Colonisation appropriates indigenous lands, steals their natural resources, and undermines indigenous self-determination for the benefit of settler colonies. Colonial settler racism justified this by assuming indigenous peoples were racially and culturally inferior, therefore superior white settler colonies could take their lands and wealth, rhetorically for the benefit of all, but in reality, for the advantage of the settler. Colonisation, racism and white supremacy are intergenerational and ongoing and structure society for the benefit of white privilege.

Racism and reconciliation

Reconciliation is the second principle in combating racism. The evidence compels Aotearoa to progress from the ethics of Indigenous justice truth-telling toward a process of reconciliation. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada described in its report on residential schools:

"Reconciliation" is about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples ...
In order for that to happen, there has to be awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviour

**(Truth and Reconciliation Commission of
Canada, 2015, p. 113).**

Racism and justice

The third principle of anti-racism is justice. Justice and change demand actions to halt and reverse racism against Māori.

Despite the long identified impacts of racism in reports such as *Puao-Te-Ata-Tu* (Department of Social Welfare, 1988) and *He Whaipanga Hou* (Jackson, 1988), Māori continue to experience racism.

Successive governments have made some efforts to address racism. These have not turned the tide. The evidence of continued personal and structural disadvantage and racism toward tangata whenua is overwhelming with the vast majority, 93 percent, reporting that racism affected them "on a daily basis" and 96 percent saying racism was a problem for their wider whānau (Smith, Tinirau, Rattray-Te Mana, Tawaroa, Moewaka Barnes, Cormack & Fitzgerald, *Whakatika Report*, 2021, p. 9).

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Racism is alive and well. It is intentional, it is calculated; it is precise at ensuring the power and control of colonial structures remain in place.

Survey respondent, 41, wāhine

(Whakatika Report, 2021).

Truth, reconciliation and justice for tangata whenua are the fulcrums by which we can heal the wounds of our colonial past, address present racism, reverse white supremacy and build an equal, fair, and just Aotearoa that embraces all peoples and cultures.

End of Maranga Mai!: The Dynamics and Impacts Of Colonisation, Racism, And White Supremacy Upon Tangata Whenua In Aotearoa