# The Modern Racism toward Māori Scale

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We propose a culturally-specific ten-item short-form self-report measure of modern racism toward Māori (the indigenous peoples of New Zealand) that consists of five key sub-components: negative affect, anxiety, denial of historical reparation, symbolic exclusion, and denial of contemporary injustice. Our measure draws upon past qualitative and quantitative research on racism toward Māori and is tested in a New Zealand national probability sample (*N*=18,236). Results of a hierarchical confirmatory factor analysis provided good support for this model. We also document the demographic factors associated with the higher-order latent estimate of modern racism, as well as each sub-factor individually. Education was the demographic variable most strongly associated with modern racism toward Māori in New Zealand. Our theoretical model and self-report scale assessing modern racism toward Māori aims to provide a standard way of measuring racist attitudes toward Māori. It also captures a range of attitudes toward Māori seen in the every-day language of New Zealanders.

Keywords: modern racism, New Zealand, Māori, scale development, psychometrics

A reader reviewing the research literature on racism in New Zealand for the first time could be forgiven for being confused as to how to appropriately measure people's racist attitudes toward Māori (the indigenous peoples of New Zealand). Māori form roughly 15% of the population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), and experience inequality in a number of domains including poorer health outcomes, lower household income, poorer subjective wellbeing, and higher rates of incarceration (Ministry of Social Development, 2010; Department of Corrections, 2016; Sibley, Harré, Hoverd & Houkamau, 2011). Experiences of discrimination continue to be widely reported by Māori, and are associated with lower wellbeing (Houkamau, Stronge, & Sibley, 2017), while lower home-ownership rates among those with a self-perceived Māori appearance point to the presence of institutional racism (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015). There are many different self-report 'Likert-style' measures or proxies measuring racist attitudes toward Māori that have been employed in questionnaires over the years. These measures, including many of our own, are often developed ad hoc for a particular study, with only preliminary if any validation, and tend to be closely based on measures developed overseas to assess attitudes toward other ethnic groups (e.g., Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007; Duckitt & Parra, 2004; Sibley & Liu, 2007, 2010; Sibley, Robertson & Wilson, 2006).

The many different measures commonly used to assess racism toward Māori share a theoretical framework insofar as they are typically designed to measure attitudes that fit Allport's (1954, p. 9) general definition of racism as 'an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be directed toward [an ethnic] group as a whole, or toward an individual because he [sic] is a member of that group.' However, outside of this, the various measures used to measure individual differences in racism toward Māori in New Zealand are non-systematic and contain varying levels of overlap in their item content and focus. These idiosyncrasies in the measurement of racism toward Māori in questionnaire research make it difficult to compare and contrast results across studies, to track change in the level of racism over time by comparing sample means, and so forth. The ability

to reliably measure and track levels of racism in this way is important for understanding how racism is expressed, which aspects may be more or less pervasive than others, and thus what interventions can be put in place to help reduce racist attitudes.

What is needed is the development of a systematic theoretical model and associated self-report questionnaire scale assessing modern racism toward Māori. Such a scale should capture the overall extent to which one may express affect and attitudes that are to the detriment of the wellbeing and equality of Māori in modern-day New Zealand. It should also reflect the content of expressions of racism toward Māori in everyday language and the media captured within qualitative research (e.g. Barnes et al., 2012; McCreanor, 1993; Nairn & McCreanor, 1990, 1991; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine, & Barnes, 2006; Sibley, Liu, & Kirkwood, 2006; Wetherell & Potter, 1992) as well as in quantitative research. In our view, quantitative measures of racism toward Māori have under-capitalized on qualitative research to date. As a result, what we know about the qualitative expression of racism in New Zealand has not translated to its' reliable questionnaire measurement for use in quantitative research.

As such, the present research draws upon extant qualitative and quantitative literature to propose a ten-item self-report scale assessing *Modern Racism toward Māori*. We first provide a brief review of quantitative measures of modern racism in the United States, which are similar to, but have important contextual differences to measuring racism in New Zealand. We then review existing literature that identifies the different ways in which racism toward Māori is expressed in modern day New Zealand society (and thus the different markers of modern racism in New Zealand), before proposing a scale consisting of five sub-factors of modern racism: negative affect, anxiety, symbolic exclusion, denial of historical reparation, and denial of contemporary injustice. We aim to advance quantitative research in this area by presenting results from a confirmatory hierarchical factor analysis testing our model using data from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study. This is a large-scale national probability study conducted in New Zealand. We also examine the demographic

factors associated with the modern racism scale as a whole in addition to the five sub-factors separately.

*Measuring modern racism: examples in the United States*

One issue with measuring prejudice or racism in any context is the ever-changing nature of the way in which it is expressed. The changing face of race relations between white Americans and African Americans in the United States has been met with corresponding changes in the ways in which racism has been measured and defined (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Pearson, 2017). Prior to the civil rights movements, racism and discrimination toward African Americans were expressed in extremely overt forms, notably through slavery, segregation, and views of African Americans as biologically inferior; now referred to as old-fashioned racism (Sears 1988; Sears & Henry, 2005). Following the civil rights movements, although white Americans widely condemned these forms of discrimination, many resisted further efforts to reduce inequalities. Symbolic racism (Kinder & Sears, 1981; see also the closely related Modern racism measure; McConahay, 1986) stemmed from these observations, providing an explanation for the post-civil rights attitudes expressed by many white Americans (Sears, 1988). Indeed, symbolic racism was developed as a culturally specific measure of racism toward African Americans, sensitive to the particular historical changes in race relations within the United States.

Symbolic racism encapsulates a combination of negative affect toward African Americans, in addition to holding values which are deemed inconsistent with the values of African Americans (such as valuing individualism; Sears, 1988). Symbolic racism manifests through four measurable beliefs, including the denial of continued discrimination toward African Americans, attributing their disadvantaged status to their own lack of effort, and resentment toward demands for equality, and further advantages offered to African Americans (Tarman & Sears, 2005). Notably, the measure has been shown to be distinct from measures such as old-fashioned racism and political conservatism (Tarman & Sears, 2005). Related theories have also since spawned that describe slightly different manifestations of racism. Aversive racism, for example, reflects a comparatively subtle form of racism in which white Americans hold genuine egalitarian values and want to view and present themselves as non-prejudice, but nevertheless hold underlying negative affect toward African Americans, likely due to socialization. This negative affect makes interaction with African Americans, when not avoidable, unpleasant and anxiety inducing (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Pearson, 2017; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005).

Indeed, in light of the changes in the conceptualisation and measurement of racism and other general forms of prejudice, Sibley and Barlow (2017) offered a definition of prejudice more nuanced than Allport's (1954) that describes 'those ideologies, attitudes, and beliefs that help maintain and legitimize group-based hierarchy and exploitation' (p. 4). However, although efforts have been made to create scales which capture these changes in racist attitudes in other contexts (such as in the United States), a corresponding scale assessing attitudes toward Māori has yet to be formally validated. This lack of an established scale is likely a driving factor in the idiosyncratic measures used to date. Simply rewording measures developed to assess racism overseas raises concerns because it assumes that the content and structure of racist attitudes toward Māori in New Zealand is comparable to that directed toward African Americans in the United States. There are good reasons to expect that this is not the case, as the socio-historical context and history of intergroup relations differs dramatically for these two groups (see Sibley & Osborne, 2016).

To illustrate our point, Table 1 displays some of these scales as they would appear if a direct adaptation was made to measure racism towards Māori in New Zealand. At face value, many of the items assessing different forms of racism in the United States are comprehendible when re-worded for use in examining attitudes toward Māori (and there are likely many aspects of modern racism that translate across cultures). Yet, not all of the items assess issues that are relevant to a New Zealand context, Māori specific measure. One such item that reflects this is "Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class" (Henry & Sears, 2002). Indeed, whereas slavery was a large and damaging aspect of American history, it has little direct relevance to the New Zealand context.

Table 1. Sample scales adapted to measure racism toward Māori.

| Reworded Modern Racism toward African Americans Scale (McConahay, 1986) | Reworded Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002) | Attitudes toward Māori Scale (Duckitt, 2001) |
|---|---|---|
| Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Māori than they deserve | It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Māori would only try harder they could be just as well off as New Zealand Europeans. | The main reason why the Māori standard of living is so low are the injustices done to them not only in the past but in the present as well. |
| It is easy to understand the anger of Māori in New Zealand. | Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Māori should do the same. | Too many Māori are abusing the welfare system in this country. |
| Discrimination against Māori is no longer a problem in New Zealand. | Some say that Māori leaders have been trying to push too fast. Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think? | Much more needs to be done to redress the wrongs that have been done to Māori in this country. |
| Over the past few years, Māori have gotten more economically than they deserve. | How much of the racial tension that exists in the New Zealand today do you think that Māori are responsible for creating? | It's disgusting the way Māori are being treated in this country. |
| Māori are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights. | How much discrimination against Māori do you feel there is in New Zealand today, limiting their chances to get ahead? | Too much is being done for Māori in New Zealand today. |
| Māori should not push themselves where they are not wanted. | Generations of discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Māori to work their way out of the lower class | Māori in New Zealand have a privileged position today that is unfair to other ethnic groups here. |
| | Over the past few years, Māori have gotten less than they deserve | Māori parents don't seem to want to discipline their youngsters properly. |
| | Over the past few years, Māori have gotten more economically than they deserve. | Māori are still being very unfairly treated in this country. |

*Qualitative research on 'race talk' in New Zealand*

A key aspect in the development of any such quantitative measure of racism is that it should be based in the qualitative research identifying different themes or discourses of racism within the particular social context. This is important because it allows researchers to develop and identify factors more likely to be aligned with the natural language and themes which people use to do 'race talk' within the context of interest, rather than writing items that merely 'put the researchers words in the participants' mouths' so to speak. Fortunately, there is a rich and vibrant tradition of qualitative research on race talk in New Zealand to draw on in the development of a self-report Likert-type measure of *Modern Racism*

toward Māori (e.g. Barclay & Liu, 2003; Barnes et al., 2012; McCreanor, 1993; Nairn & McCreanor, 1990, 1991; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine, & Barnes, 2006; Sibley, Liu, & Kirkwood, 2006; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; see Tuffin, 2008, for review). We capitalize on this foundation when developing our scale.

Although the current study aims to create a measure of modern racism toward Māori that is distinct from overseas measures, parallels can be drawn between the manifestations of prejudice in both contexts. Much like contemporary or modern racism in the United States, qualitative research in New Zealand reveals the relatively subtle form that expressions of racism toward Māori has taken on in contemporary New Zealand society (Tuffin, 2008). Particularly important is how much of this discourse is anchored in the historical context of New Zealand, regarding historical injustices incurred by Māori such as the loss of land and sovereignty, as well as the honouring of the Treaty of Waitangi. Many views are also framed by present day NZ European values of equal treatment and individualism, which support arguments that all members of New Zealand as a nation should be treated equally, as well as general notions of racelessness (Tuffin, 2008). Wetherell and Potter (1992), for example, identified patterns of discourse emphasizing the equal treatment of individuals, and that, although past injustices occurred, these cannot be changed or amended, particularly by a current nation of people who did not take part in these events.

Similar ideas are also reflected in work uncovering a 'standard story' of race talk regarding Māori (Nairn & McCreanor, 1991; McCreanor, 1993; see also Kirkwood, Liu, & Weatherell, 2005; Sibley & Liu, 2004). Here, key themes include the maintenance of New Zealand's status as a fair and democratic society, and therefore the need to treat all New Zealanders equally. A consequence of these views is that policies, rights, and resources for Māori may be viewed as discriminatory toward other New Zealanders (Barnes et al., 2012; Sibley, Liu, & Kirkwood, 2006). Relatedly, another key discursive pattern shown across numerous analyses is the reframing of prejudice toward Māori; this discourse identifies specific groups of Māori 'stirrers' (those vocally concerned about past injustices) as being the cause of disharmonious race relations in New Zealand. This then serves to either justify negative responses by NZ Europeans, or infer that prejudice is occurring from Māori toward other New Zealanders (see e.g. McCreanor, 1997; Nairn & McCreanor, 1990; Potter & Wetherell, 1998; Wetherell, 2003). Indeed, qualitative literature on race talk provides important themes to consider when developing a quantitative measure of modern racism toward Māori, notably through emphasising the ideological nature of prejudice more so than outright hostility.

### A quantitative measure of modern racism toward Māori

While general negative affect is undoubtedly one indication of modern racism toward Māori, there are likely to be many different dimensions of attitudes that characterise racism in the present day. Additional dimensions should capture unique attitudes and ideologies fostered through the unique history of intergroup relations in New Zealand, as has been noted in the qualitative literature reviewed above. We

propose that modern racism toward Māori in New Zealand can be conceptualized as a higher-order or generalized measure that is made up from five specific sub-dimensions (or sub-factors) reflecting more specific attitudes and emotional reactions toward Māori. These five sub-factors generally reflect key domains or patterns of discourse observed in the qualitative literature on 'race talk' in New Zealand, as well as existing attitudinal and ideological measures in quantitative literature.

Beyond a measure of negative affect, two contributing dimensions that we propose should reflect aspects of a more general syndrome of Modern Racism toward Māori are the ideologies of historical negation and symbolic exclusion. Past research with the dark duo model of post-colonial ideology (see Sibley, 2010; Sibley & Osborne, 2016) proposes that these ideologies stem from undeniable historical injustices toward Māori, as well as the undeniable nationality of Māori. Thus, historical negation (referred to hereafter as the denial of historical reparation) represents the tendency to acknowledge past injustices but view them as irrelevant to the current day, and particularly to people who did not participate in such injustices themselves (beliefs that were also notable in racial discourse in qualitative research, e.g. Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Symbolic exclusion by contrast posits Māori culture as a relic of the past, and not representative of the national identity of New Zealanders in the present day, which serves to justify their unequal status (Sibley, 2010). This is similar to qualitative research on discourse that posits Māori culture as inferior to that of NZ Europeans, and therefore not relevant in contemporary New Zealand society (see Barnes et al., 2012).

Symbolic exclusion and the denial of historical reparation have been shown to predict important outcomes including low support for collective action for Māori (Osborne, Yogeeswaran, & Sibley, 2017) political party preference (Greaves, Osborne, Sengupta, Milojev, & Sibley, 2014), and opposition to resource specific policy, and are closely related to more general measures of prejudice (Satherley & Sibley, 2018). In other words, historical negation and symbolic exclusions are ideologies that can significantly inhibit the wellbeing of Māori, and should thus be important indicators of modern racism.

We also argue that modern racism toward Māori should be characterised by the belief that discrimination toward Māori is no longer an issue in contemporary New Zealand society. This is not dissimilar to the beliefs that historical injustices are a 'thing of the past' as reflected through the denial of historical reparation, and has also been found as a contemporary form of racism in discursive analyses in general (see Augoustinos & Every, 2007). Within qualitative New Zealand literature specifically, the notions that actions by Māori seeking amendment for past injustices are the cause of poor intergroup relations (and in some cases as being discriminatory toward other New Zealanders), and that policies (surrounding scholarships and parliamentary representation, for example) and privileges for Māori are unfair, are prevalent (e.g. Barnes et al., 2012; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991; McCreanor, 1993; Potter & Wetherell, 1998; Sibley, Liu, & Kirkwood, 2006; Wetherell, 2003). More broadly, these discourses seem to suggest that racism toward Māori in contemporary New Zealand society involves a component of denial about discrimination and

inequality faced by Māori.

Finally, we argue that feelings of anxiety about Māori are important to consider when developing a measure of modern racism. Interestingly, feelings of anxiety do not seem prevalent in the qualitative literature reviewed above, but have seen relatively extensive consideration in quantitative research. Theory and research on intergroup anxiety suggests that multiple antecedent factors, such as a history of conflict between groups, or holding prejudiced attitudes, lead to feelings of anxiety when interacting with outgroups due to fear of negative consequences (for example, being perceived as prejudiced; see Stephan, 2014, for a full review). As noted, feelings of anxiety are a cornerstone of aversive racism, as they are thought to arise in white Americans whose egalitarian views are in conflict with their negative affect when interacting with African Americans (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005).

When considering these aspects of anxiety it may be unsurprising that it is not readily apparent in qualitative literature. For example, it seems unlikely that individuals who feel anxious about holding prejudiced views would take part in research interviews on topics that cause them anxiety, or write about those topics openly in public submissions. Such feelings may be more apparent in people's accounts of every-day interactions with Māori. Nevertheless, quantitative research has shown an association between anxiety and negative views toward Māori in New Zealand. Indeed, Barlow, Sibley, and Hornsey (2012) have found a direct positive association between feelings of anxiety and negative affect toward Māori people in a white New Zealander sample; a relationship which was also shown to partially mediate a positive association between anticipation of race-based rejection and negative affect. We therefore consider it important to include intergroup anxiety as a facet of modern racism toward Māori.

*Demographic differences in Modern Racism*

In addition to developing a reliable and theoretically grounded measure of modern racism toward Māori, we also aim to provide information about the demographic factors which may be associated with higher or lower levels of racism. Documenting the demographic factors associated with racism provides important information that should be of use in applied work aiming to decrease racism toward Māori in society (for example, through the development of campaigns directly targeted at those demographic groups and sections of society that tend to be most racist).

A key demographic factor shown to have a robust negative association with ethnic prejudice in past research (see Wagner & Zick, 1995) is education. Cross-national research suggests this association may be due to socialization effects, whereby participating in the education system provides exposure to democratic values that lead to tolerance and acceptance, rather than resulting from increased threat and competition among those less educated, who have less power and resources (Hello, Scheepers, & Gijsberts, 2002). With this in mind, we expected that increased education would be associated with lower levels of modern racism toward Māori in our analysis.

We also expected gender and ethnic group differences in modern racism toward Māori. Gender differences in the expression of prejudice have been commonly observed in past research. In particular, research shows men are generally higher in Social Dominance Orientation (the preference for hierarchy, group-based dominance, and power associated with general prejudice) than women (Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994), and are commonly reported as being higher in measures of ethnic prejudice than women across numerous studies (see e.g. Hello, Scheepers, & Gijsberts, 2002; Shaver, Troughton, Sibley, & Bulbulia, 2016). We therefore expected men to be higher in modern racism toward Māori. With regards to ethnicity, in-group effects should be evident with Māori being lower in modern racism than NZ Europeans and Asian peoples (however past research indicates that Pacific peoples view Māori highly positively; see Sibley & Ward, 2013).

*Overview of the present study*

In this study we present a hierarchical Confirmatory Factor Analysis testing a model of modern racism toward Māori in New Zealand. In particular, we propose that modern racism toward Māori can be identified through five sub-factors: negative affect toward Māori, anxiety toward Māori, the denial of historical reparation, symbolic exclusion, and the denial of contemporary injustice. We therefore hypothesised that each of the five sub-factors would be estimated through their respective manifest items, and that, in turn, each of these latent sub-factors estimated would then load on to a single latent measure of modern racism toward Māori. To determine demographic factors associated with modern racism, we then conduct a regression using demographic variables to predict latent modern racism, as well as each of the five sub-factors individually. While we include a full range of demographic variables, we predicted that, in particular, those with more education, women, and Māori would have lower levels of modern racism. Our analyses use data from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study; a large, nationally-representative survey of New Zealand adults.

**Methodology**

*Sampling Procedure*

Data were drawn from Time 5 (2013) of the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study, a national probability sample of New Zealand adults drawn from the New Zealand electoral roll. This contains the details of all registered voters aged 18 and over. The Time 5 NZAVS contained responses from 18,264 participants. The sample retained 3,934 participants from the initial Time 1 (2009) NZAVS of 6,518 participants (a retention rate of 60.4% over four years). The sample retained 9,844 participants from the full Time 4 (2011) sample (a retention rate of 80.8% from the previous year).

*Participants*

Participants were 18,236 people who completed the relevant items in the NZAVS Time 5 NZAVS questionnaire during the October 2013-October 2014 period. The largest known sample bias in the NZAVS is that women were more likely to respond than men (11,443 women, 6,790 men, 3

missing). In terms of ethnicity, 15,604 (85.6%) identified as European, 2,328 (12.8%) identified as Māori, 625 (3.4%) identified as being of Pacific ancestry, and 814 (4.5%) identified with an Asian ethnic group. Ethnic group counts were not mutually exclusive, as people could identify with more than one ethnic group.

Participants had a median household income of NZ$90,000 (*M* = 103,927; *SD* = 84,009; 2,452 missing cases) and a mean age of 47.66 years (SD = 14.05, range 18-94; 18 missing cases). The mean decile-ranked deprivation of participants' immediate neighbourhood (meshblock) was 4.81 (*SD* = 2.79; range 1-10, missing = 194; Atkinson, Salmond & Crampton, 2014). Education was scored using a 0-10 ordinal ranking, with 0 being no education and 10 being a PhD or equivalent qualification (*M* = 4.93, *SD* = 2.82, missing = 504; New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2012). Participants' socio-economic status was indexed using the New Zealand Socio-economic index, based on occupational status (*M* = 52.59, *SD* = 15.65, range 10-90, missing = 192; Milne, Byun & Lee, 2013).

With regard to other demographic factors, 12,129 (66.5%) lived in urban regions and 5,941 in rural regions (166 missing), 13,570 (74.4%) were employed and 4,213 were not employed (453 missing), 12,968 (71.1%) were in a serious romantic relationship and 4,933 were not (335 missing), 13,071 (71.7%) were parents and 4,730 were not (435 missing), 6,877 (37.7%) were religious and 10,599 were not (760 missing).

### Questionnaire Measures

The sub-factors used to estimate latent modern racism were estimated through their respective manifest items. A copy of the 10-item modern racism toward Māori scale is included in the Appendix.

To estimate general negative affect, we used two items assessing feelings of warmth and feelings of anger toward Māori. Participants were asked to "Please rate your feelings of warmth toward the following groups using the "feeling thermometer scale" for each group" and rated their feeling of warmth toward Māori on a scale from 1 (*least warm*) to 7 (*most warm*). Similarly, participants were asked to "Now please rate your feelings of anger toward these same groups on the scale below" and similarly rated their feelings of anger toward Māori on a scale from 1 (*feel no anger*) to 7 (*feel anger*). In order to achieve consistent directionality in these two items, ratings of warmth were reverse coded for the analysis, such that higher ratings indicated lower feelings of warmth (*r* = .381, *p* < .001).

Feelings of anxiety toward Māori were estimated through two items: "I feel anxious about interacting with Māori people" and "Māori people would be likely to reject me on the basis of my race" (*r* = .414, *p* < .001), each rated on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Symbolic exclusion was estimated through the items: "I reckon Māori culture should stay where it belongs—with Māori. It doesn't concern other NZers." and "I think that Māori culture helps to define New Zealand in positive ways." (reverse coded, *r* = .618, *p* < .001), each rated on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). These items were taken from the measure of Symbolic Projection versus Exclusion developed to assess post-colonial ideology (see Sibley & Osborne, 2016).

The denial of historical reparation was estimated through the items: "We should not have to pay for the mistakes of our ancestors." and "People who weren't around in previous centuries should not feel accountable for the actions of their ancestors." (*r* = .712, *p* < .001) each rated on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). These items were taken from the measure of Historical Recognition versus Negation developed to assess post-colonial ideology (see Sibley & Osborne, 2016).

Finally, denial of contemporary injustice was estimated through the items: "Discrimination against Māori is no longer a problem in New Zealand." and "Māori have too much political power and influence in decisions affecting NZ." (*r* = .417, *p* < .001), each rated on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).
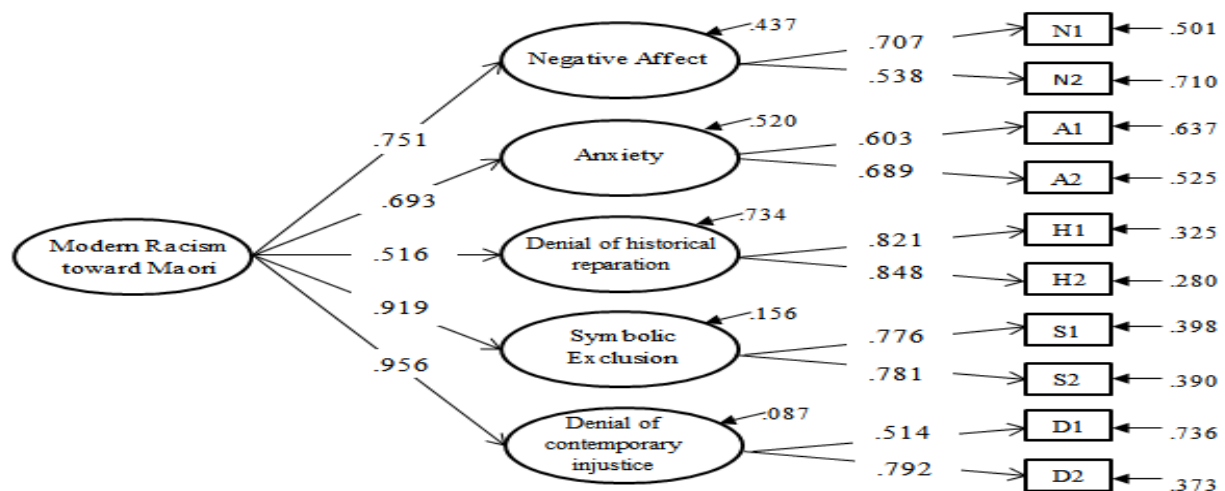


Figure 1. Hierarchical Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Modern Racism toward Māori with standardized parameters.

## Results

### Hierarchical Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Figure 1 displays the hierarchical CFA conducted, including standardized factor loadings. The model was estimated using Full Information Maximum Likelihood. Data were also weighted based on standard NZAVS sample weights for gender, ethnicity, and region. The fit indices obtained for the model were as follows: $\chi^2_{(30)} = 1337.264$, $p < .001$, $RMSEA = .049$, $SRMR = .042$. The RMSEA and SRMR values in particular are well below Hu and Bentler's (1999) suggested cut off values (.08 and .06 respectively) suggesting the model is an adequate fit. As shown in Figure 1, each of the five latent variables at the first level of analysis were related to their respective manifest items, with standardized loadings ranging from .514 to .848. At the second level, standardized factors loadings on latent modern racism toward Māori ranged from .516 to .956. The Cronbach's alpha for the mean scale was .822.

We also compared the fit of the proposed model to a one factor model in which all items loaded onto a single, global measure of modern racism, rather than acknowledging any possible sub-factors. This model fit considerably poorer than the proposed model across all indices ($\chi^2_{(35)} = 7031.344$, $p < .001$, $RMSEA = .105$, $SRMR = .082$).

### Regression analysis predicting Modern Racism toward Māori

We conducted a regression model to assess for demographic predictors of modern racism, with predictors including: ethnicity (Māori, Pacific peoples, and Asian peoples, as compared to NZ Europeans), gender (0 women, 1 men), age, education, socioeconomic status, deprivation, birthplace (0 born in NZ, 1 born elsewhere), religious (0 no, 1 yes), parental status (0 no, 1 yes), partner (0 no partner, 1 partner), employment (0 no, 1 yes), and residence (0 urban, 1 rural). Missing data for exogenous (demographic) variables were estimated using Rubin's (1987) procedure for multiple imputation procedure with parameter estimates averaged over 10,000 datasets (thinned using every 200th iteration).

Standardised results of the regression are presented in Table 2. In-group effects were evident, such that Māori were significantly lower in modern racism compared to NZ Europeans ($\beta = -.258$, $se = .008$, $p < .001$). Men were also shown to be higher in modern racism compared to women ($\beta = .142$, $se = .008$, $p < .001$), while there was a significant negative association between education and modern racism ($\beta = -.246$, $se = .010$, $p < .001$). As shown in Table 2, socioeconomic status, birthplace, employment, and residence were also significantly negatively associated with modern racism ($ps < .001$), although the sizes of these effects were much smaller.

Table 2. Regression with standardized coefficients predicting latent Modern Racism toward Māori

|  | β | se | t |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Māori | -.258 | .008 | -33.93** |
| Pacific | -.054 | .008 | -6.88** |
| Asian | .079 | .008 | 9.55** |
| Gender | .142 | .008 | 18.08** |
| Age | .028 | .009 | 2.99* |
| Education | -.246 | .010 | -24.92** |
| SES | -.097 | .010 | -9.95** |
| Deprivation | -.015 | .008 | -1.78 |
| Born in NZ | -.050 | .008 | -5.94** |
| Religious | -.003 | .008 | -0.37 |
| Parent | -.010 | .009 | -1.03 |
| Partner | .010 | .009 | 1.18 |
| Employed | -.043 | .008 | -5.22** |
| Urban | -.034 | .008 | -4.30** |

Note: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$. Estimated using Maximum Likelihood with Robust standard errors. Fit indices: Loglikelihood = -306550.53, AIC = 613199.06, BIC = 613581.802. $R^2 = .196$, $N = 18,236$

Table 3 displays the same regression model predicting each latent sub-factor separately. Although the pattern of results tends to be similar across the sub-factors, some differences are evident. For example, age is significantly negatively associated with affect-based modern racism factors (negative affect and anxiety) but positively associated with symbolic exclusion and the denial of contemporary injustice, while unrelated to the denial of historical reparation. The effect of education is notably smaller for the affect based sub-factors compared to the remaining factors.

Table 3. Demographic regression models with standardized coefficients predicting each latent sub-factor of modern racism.

|  | Negative affect | | | Anxiety | | | Denial of historical reparation | | | Symbolic exclusion | | | Denial of contemporary injustice | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | β | se | t | β | se | t | β | se | t | β | se | t | β | se | t |
| Māori | -.167 | .016 | -10.37** | -.213 | .010 | -22.41** | -.133 | .009 | -15.05** | -.210 | .008 | -27.85** | -.259 | .009 | -27.30** |
| Pacific | -.041 | .007 | -5.93** | -.052 | .010 | -5.00** | -.015 | .008 | -1.81 | -.036 | .009 | -4.17** | -.064 | .010 | -6.67** |
| Asian | .043 | .008 | 5.63** | .054 | .011 | 5.08** | -.021 | .009 | -2.45 | .079 | .009 | 8.63** | .098 | .010 | 9.63** |
| Gender | .063 | .008 | 8.04** | .074 | .010 | 7.27** | .036 | .008 | 4.43** | .140 | .009 | 16.20** | .169 | .010 | 17.64** |
| Age | -.051 | .007 | -6.81** | -.089 | .012 | -7.32** | .028 | .009 | 3.01* | .059 | .010 | 5.87** | .051 | .011 | 4.57** |
| Education | -.038 | .010 | -3.78** | -.084 | .012 | -6.98** | -.224 | .010 | -21.52** | -.237 | .011 | -22.39** | -.265 | .012 | -22.30** |
| SES | -.022 | .008 | -2.90* | -.068 | .012 | -5.63** | -.088 | .010 | -8.58** | -.104 | .010 | -10.00** | -.071 | .012 | -6.04** |
| Deprivation | -.015 | .006 | -2.53 | -.003 | .010 | -0.26 | .014 | .009 | 1.59 | .009 | .009 | 1.04 | -.052 | .010 | -5.28** |
| Born in NZ | -.036 | .006 | -6.05** | -.033 | .011 | -3.07* | -.074 | .009 | -8.58** | -.044 | .009 | -4.82** | -.048 | .010 | -4.72** |
| Religious | -.040 | .007 | -6.06** | -.009 | .010 | -0.93 | -.001 | .008 | -0.07 | -.010 | .008 | -1.21 | .032 | .010 | 3.32* |
| Parent | -.012 | .007 | -1.79 | .001 | .011 | 0.10 | -.002 | .010 | -0.20 | -.010 | .010 | -0.99 | -.001 | .011 | -0.09 |
| Partner | -.007 | .006 | -1.16 | -.017 | .011 | -1.61 | .016 | .009 | 1.77 | -.004 | .009 | -0.46 | .038 | .010 | 3.68** |
| Employed | -.010 | .006 | -1.57 | -.046 | .011 | -4.18** | -.039 | .008 | -4.68** | -.045 | .009 | -5.02** | -.021 | .010 | -2.16 |
| Urban | .006 | .006 | 1.07 | -.021 | .010 | -2.19 | -.042 | .008 | -5.13** | -.024 | .008 | -2.86* | -.041 | .010 | -4.30** |

Note: * $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$. Estimated using Maximum Likelihood with Robust standard errors. Fit indices: Negative Affect: Loglikelihood = -61765.28, AIC = 123570.56, BIC = 123726.00. $R2 = .047$, $N = 17,539$. Anxiety: Loglikelihood = -63125.45, $AIC = 126290.90$, $BIC = 126446.49$. $R2 = .079$, $N = 17,670$. Denial of historical reparation: Loglikelihood = -62290.94, $AIC = 124621.88$, $BIC = 124777.40$. $R2 = .109$, $N = 17,606$. Symbolic exclusion: Loglikelihood = -61802.02, $AIC = 123644.04$, $BIC = 123799.64$. $R2 = .177$, $N = 17,677$. Denial of contemporary injustice: Loglikelihood = -65623.85, $AIC = 131287.70$, $BIC = 131443.29$. $R2 = .219$, $N = 17,666$

## Discussion

Culturally specific and contemporary measures of racism and prejudice have been devised over the years in many nations. Despite ongoing disparities in the wellbeing and equality of Māori, a comparative, culturally specific measure of racism toward Māori in New Zealand has been lacking. In this study we proposed a culturally specific model of modern racism toward Māori that captures the various ways in which prejudice toward Māori manifests in New Zealand society, and tested it in a large nationally representative sample of New Zealanders. A hierarchical confirmatory factor analysis showed the model was a good fit to the data. The model proposes that modern racism toward Māori can be identified through five sub-factors: negative affect, anxiety, denial of historical reparation, symbolic exclusion, and denial of contemporary injustice.

We also examined demographic factors associated with modern racism. We found that, unsurprisingly, in-group effects were evident, with Māori expressing considerably lower levels of modern racism than NZ Europeans. Gender and education effects were also notable in size, with men and those with less education expressing greater levels of modern racism. Particularly noteworthy from this analysis is that education has the strongest effect on levels of modern racism across the large set of demographic variables considered. Looking at models for each of the sub-factors separately, the effect was largest for more ideologically driven aspects of racism that may foster the most resistance toward policies that promote equality (those being the denial of historical reparation, symbolic exclusion, and the denial of contemporary injustice). This is encouraging, given education is relatively changeable within individuals. If education decreases prejudice through exposure to values promoting the tolerance of other groups (see Hello, Scheepers, & Gijsberts, 2002), then it seems that increasing the salience of these values in society may help reduce prejudice, namely through decreased resistance toward equality enhancing efforts.

Central to our measure of modern racism toward Māori is that it encapsulates a range of different sub-factors of prejudice in a hierarchical structure. In many ways these sub-factors are consistent with the qualitative literature on modern-day racial discourse within New Zealand, reflecting the same general themes. The denial of historical reparation was supported as a sub-factor of modern racism within our analysis, which parallels qualitative work uncovering themes surrounding the acceptance of, yet disregard for the modern relevance of past injustices incurred by Māori (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The notion that Māori culture is inferior to NZ European culture, as well as notions of racelessness and equal treatment in New Zealand were also evident in qualitative work (Barnes et al., 2012; Tuffin, 2008), which loosely parallels the symbolic exclusion sub-factor identified in our model. In other words, modern racism seems to entail resistance toward viewing Māori culture as important to the national character of New Zealand.

Our analysis also suggests that feelings of anxiety toward Māori may be reflective of modern racism toward Māori in New Zealand. This is consistent with past quantitative research (e.g. Barlow, Sibley, & Hornsey, 2012) which has shown associations between feelings of anxiety and negative attitudes toward Māori. As noted however, feelings of anxiety, to the best of our knowledge, are not prevalent in qualitative research. This may be an example of where both quantitative and qualitative literature can each inform the other on particular topics (i.e., racism toward Māori). In this instance, it may be that notions of anxiety are only likely to emerge from accounts of every-day interactions with Māori people, rather than through, for example, public submissions on policies or events that have occurred in society, that do not involve direct interpersonal experiences.

These parallels with qualitative literature create an important distinction between our measure of modern racism toward Māori, and measures that have been adapted from overseas scales (see Table 1). Whereas the adapted scales tend to reflect a series of statements that consider discrimination and inequality in general terms, the model presented here combines both affective and ideological measures assessing racism toward Māori with regard to a unique socio-historical context. For example, a prominent part of New Zealand history is the injustices (such as loss of land and sovereignty) experienced by Māori following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (in contrast with its intention). The item "We should not have to pay for the mistakes of our ancestors" captures context-specific ideology surrounding Treaty settlement efforts and claims that take place periodically in the present day in an effort to redress those injustices. Although the item itself does not directly reference the Treaty or New Zealand context, its meaning within the New Zealand context is clear. This level of subtlety is desirable in scales assessing various attitudes, and the effectiveness is highlighted through the high factor loadings of the model.

In saying that, we by no means present our measure of modern racism toward Māori as a perfect scale, and there may very well be other dimensions associated with modern racism not captured by the current model. Another potential limitation is that the scale consists of only 10 items (or two per latent sub-factor) which could have led to less valid measures of each construct. While scales with more items are generally preferred in terms of overall performance, short form scales can be desirable when measuring various constructs because they take less time to complete for participants and take up less room within broader surveys. Indeed, many short form scales have been developed over the years which tend to perform adequately when compared to larger scales (for example 10-item five-factor personality scales; see e.g. Ehrhart et al., 2009). Because the present study found a good overall model fit with high factor loadings, we see no reason to be concerned about decreased validity.

### Future directions

The measure of modern racism toward Māori established in this study should provide useful and important insights into attitudes toward Māori in future research. Experiences of discrimination have been widely reported (for example, through the Human Rights Commission's Tui Tui Tuia reports, or Statistics New Zealand's General Social Survey), but there has been less focus on tracking the root of these experiences over time (i.e., racist attitudes). While tracking experiences of

discrimination is important for determining whether things are improving, tracking racist attitudes directly has further benefits. In addition to examining whether modern racism toward Māori has been increasing or decreasing over time in New Zealand (and in response to a changing social context), it may also be useful to examine which specific facets of modern racism may be changing and perhaps fuelling changes or stagnation in modern racism as a whole. For example, it is possible that negative affect may decrease over time, whereas denial of contemporary injustice increases over time. Being able to identify more problematic or pervasive aspects of modern racism should aide the development of specific and effective interventions or campaigns to reduce racism, and in ways not possible by tracking experiences of racism alone.

Similarly, one way forward in future research would be to examine patterns in the ways in which people endorse each sub-factor of modern racism toward Māori to a greater or lesser extent, through Latent Profile Analysis. Greaves, Houkamau, and Sibley (2015) for example used Latent Profile Analysis to uncover different "Māori Identity Signatures" held by Māori, reflecting the different ways in which different groups of Māori construct their identity, such that each of the six groups they identified had a unique pattern of endorsement across seven aspects of Māori identity. Applying this technique to our model of modern racism toward Māori, we may also find unique patterns of endorsement of the various sub-factors of racism. For example, it may be that a group in society denies contemporary injustices toward Māori, but scores low on all other facets of modern racism, while another group may score highly on negative affect and feelings of anxiety, but low on the more ideological facets of modern racism. Thus, this approach recognises that New Zealanders may not simply be either high or low in modern racism toward Māori, but may endorse different facets to varying extents.

## Conclusion

We present a new measure of modern racism toward Māori. Our model suggests that modern racism toward Māori can be operationalized as a higher-order order, generalized attitude made up of five more specific aspects of attitudes and emotional reactions to Māori. These are: negative affect, anxiety, symbolic exclusion, denial of historical reparation, and denial of contemporary injustice. Although attitudes toward Māori have been measured in the past using scales adapted from other contexts, this is the first quantitative measure developed to assess the culturally specific affective and ideological components of racism toward Māori, informed through prior qualitative and quantitative literature. In this way, we hope the measure of modern racism toward Māori outlined here will provide an important and useful perspective on attitudes toward Māori in future years.

## Acknowledgements

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Appendix: The Modern Racism toward Māori Scale

| | Instructions: The following are statements of opinion. There are no right or wrong answers. Please indicate how strongly you personally disagree or agree with each statement | Strongly Disagree ↓ | | | | | | Strongly Agree ↓ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | I feel anxious about interacting with Māori people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 2. | I reckon Māori culture should stay where it belongs—with Māori. It doesn't concern other NZers. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 3. | I think that Māori culture helps to define New Zealand in positive ways. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 4. | Discrimination against Māori is no longer a problem in New Zealand. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 5. | Māori people would be likely to reject me on the basis of my race. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 6. | We should not have to pay for the mistakes of our ancestors. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 7. | Māori have too much political power and influence in decisions affecting NZ. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 8. | People who weren't around in previous centuries should not feel accountable for the actions of their ancestors. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

**9. Please rate your feelings of WARMTH toward Māori using the "feeling thermometer" scale below.**

| Feel LEAST warm | | | | | | Feel MOST warm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

**10. Now please rate your feelings of ANGER toward Māori using the scale below.**

| Feel no anger | | | | | | Feel anger |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

<u>Scoring Key.</u> Reverse score items 6 and 9. Negative affect: 9, 10. Anxiety: 1, 5. Denial of historical reparation: 6, 8. Denial of contemporary injustice: 5, 7. Symbolic exclusion: 2, 3.