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RESEARCH ARTICLE



Māori experiences of multiple forms of discrimination: findings from *Te Kupenga 2013*

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ABSTRACT

Comprehensive exploration of Māori experiences of discrimination in Aotearoa New Zealand remains limited, particularly in relation to exposure to multiple and interlocking forms of discrimination. This paper presents findings from a secondary analysis of *Te Kupenga 2013*, the first Māori Social Survey, examining patterning and prevalence of different forms of discrimination for Māori ($n = 5,549$). Māori report experiencing multiple forms of discrimination, both over their lifetimes and within the last year. Although racial discrimination was the most commonly reported form, Māori also experience discrimination on the basis of other grounds including age, gender, and income. Māori also report exposure to multiple forms of discrimination. Discrimination occurred in a range of settings, with schools and workplaces common sites. The findings support the lived reality of Māori that racial and other forms of discrimination are pervasive, and experienced in multiple domains across the life course, representing a persistent breach of rights. It is critical that other forms of discrimination are measured alongside racism in order to understand and address the realities of multiple discrimination for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Māori; racism; racial discrimination; discrimination; *Te Kupenga*

Introduction

While the right to freedom from discrimination is recognised in international human rights documents and affirmed in legislation in many countries (Anaya 2013; Human Rights Act 1993; Krieger 2014; United Nations General Assembly 2007), the lived experience of Indigenous peoples is that discrimination is a pervasive, everyday experience (Battiste et al. 2002; Statistics New Zealand 2012; Barnes et al. 2013; Ministry of Social Development 2016). For Māori, discrimination has been a defining characteristic of colonialism, shaping institutional policies and practices, (re)producing hierarchical social relations, and governing access to resources and power (Pihama 2017). However, comprehensive examination of Māori experiences of discrimination, particularly in relation to multiple forms and sites of discrimination, remains limited. This paper aims to contribute

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to our understanding of discrimination by presenting findings on prevalence and patterning of forms of discrimination for Māori across a range of settings from *Te Kupenga 2013*, the first Māori social survey.

Conceptualising discrimination

Discrimination has been defined as ‘... a socially structured and sanctioned phenomenon, justified by ideology and expressed in interactions among and between individuals and institutions, that maintains privileges for members of dominant groups at the cost of deprivation for others’ (Krieger 2014, p. 650). Discrimination involves actions and practices that are both overt and conscious, as well as those that are more subtle and ambiguous (Krieger 2001; Dovidio et al. 2010), manifesting in unfair negative impacts for some and privilege for others (Krieger 2001; 2014; Dovidio et al. 2010). Aligning with this conceptualisation, the New Zealand Human Rights Commission recognises discrimination as occurring ‘... when a person is treated unfairly or less favourably than another person in the same or similar circumstances’ (Human Rights Commission (HRC) n.d.). Of relevance for Māori, the right to freedom from discrimination is recognised in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations General Assembly 2007), and affirmed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Within the domestic legislative context, the *Human Rights Act 1993* identifies a number of specific grounds for ‘unlawful’ discrimination (HRC n.d.), where discrimination is deemed unlawful (with some exceptions) on the basis of ‘sex’, ‘marital status’, ‘religious belief’, ‘ethical belief’, ‘colour’, ‘race’, ‘ethnic or national origins’, ‘disability’, ‘age’, ‘political opinion’, ‘employment status’, ‘family status’, ‘sexual orientation’ and ‘family violence experience’ (Human Rights Act 1993). Discrimination can occur on the bases of multiple grounds, as people often occupy more than one position in social hierarchies. Over time, the Human Rights Commission in Aotearoa New Zealand has received an increasing number of discrimination complaints that report multiple grounds of discrimination (Chen 2016), as well as some international evidence of the greater likelihood reporting of multiple experiences of discrimination for people from minoritised ethnic groups (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2010). In this paper, we use the term multiple discrimination to refer to discrimination where more than one basis is reported (e.g. on the basis of race/ethnicity and gender), whether the discrimination occurs at the same or different points in time.

Discrimination occurs in a range of domains and settings, and at different levels across one’s lifetime. Institutional discrimination, also known as structural discrimination, refers to ‘... the existence of institutional policies (e.g. poll taxes, immigration policies) that unfairly restrict the opportunities of particular groups of people’ (Dovidio et al. 2010, p. 10). Institutional discrimination is deeply embedded in Aotearoa New Zealand in ways that ‘unfairly restrict the opportunities’ of Māori and privilege other groups who are racialised as superior in social systems of oppression (Human Rights Commission 2012). Discrimination can also be expressed in interactions between individuals (or ‘personally-mediated’ discrimination) (Jones 2000). These different manifestations of discrimination are co-constitutive in that they maintain and (re)produce socially oppressive conditions.

In colonial contexts, discrimination reflects imposed belief systems and structures (Pihama 2017). In particular, discrimination occurs within racialised contexts by which

‘race’ has become the primary social division, what decolonial scholars have described as the ‘dividing line’ that separates the ‘zone of being’ from the ‘zone of non-being’ (Grosfoguel et al. 2015). In line with Critical Race Theory (Ford and Airhihenbuwa 2010; Zuberi 2011) and decolonial intersectionality (Grosfoguel et al. 2015), whereby ‘race’ is understood as socially-constructed and racialisation is pervasive, we conceptualise Indigenous experiences of discrimination as happening within contexts that are already and always racialised. As Grosfoguel et al. (2015) note,

The entanglement of class, sexual and gender oppressions that exist in the zone of non-being are therefore qualitatively distinct from the way these oppressions are lived and articulated in the zone of being. In the zone of non-being, the class, sexual and gender oppressions are aggravated by racial oppression. The issue that should be emphasised here is that there is a qualitative difference between how intersectional/entangled oppressions are articulated and lived in the zone of being and the zone of non-being in the ‘Capitalist/Patriarchal Western-centric/Christian-centric Modern/Colonial World-system’ (Grosfoguel et al. 2015, p. 637).

That is, Māori are impacted by other systems of oppression such as sexism, heterosexism, and ageism but these are not experienced outside the primary organising feature of colonial societies, namely racism.

Impacts of discrimination

Discrimination is immoral and represents a breach of human rights. It limits life choices and potential for individuals and communities to flourish. Discrimination creates and maintains inequitable conditions and outcomes, by which hierarchies of privilege and disadvantage are sustained. Impacts of discrimination accumulate over the life-course and travel across generations, influencing people’s lives in direct and indirect ways (Blank et al 2004; Krieger 2014). The impacts of systematic discriminatory systems, practices and experiences are manifest in inequitable social realities and outcomes for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand (Human Rights Commission 2012). Research has documented experiences of racial discrimination for Māori (e.g. Crengle et al. 2012; Barnes et al. 2013; Pack et al. 2016; Harris et al. 2018a) in a range of settings, including education (e.g. Mayeda et al. 2014; Office of the Children’s Commissioner (OCC) 2018), work (e.g. Statistics New Zealand 2012; Harris et al. 2018a), housing (e.g. Houkamau and Sibley 2015; Harris et al. 2018a), policy and legislation (Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination 2005), health (e.g. Harris et al. 2012; Harris et al. 2018b), policing (Brittain and Tuffin 2017), the media (e.g. Nairn et al. 2006; McCreanor et al. 2014), and public settings (Statistics New Zealand 2012). In the education setting, for example, experiences of racism are reported for Māori students at primary school (OCC 2018), secondary school (Crengle et al. 2012) and university (Mayeda et al. 2014). Research also shows Māori experience discrimination in employment settings, both in gaining employment as well as in the workplace (Statistics New Zealand 2012; Harris et al. 2018a). There is less documentation of the prevalence of other forms of discrimination experienced by Māori, or the settings within which this occurs (Yeung and Crothers 2016; Cormack et al. 2018).

Aims of this paper

This paper aims to expand our understanding of how discrimination is experienced by Māori through analysis of data from *Te Kupenga 2013*, the first Māori social survey

providing nationally-representative estimates for the adult Māori population (aged 15 years and over). We hypothesised that Māori would experience multiple forms of discrimination and that this might be patterned by other factors such as age, gender, or socio-economic status. Specifically, this paper reports findings on the prevalence and patterning of racial and other forms of discrimination for Māori adults, factors associated with the experience of discrimination and settings where discrimination occurs, and the frequency of experiences of multiple forms of discrimination.

Method

We undertook a secondary analysis of cross-sectional data from *Te Kupenga 2013* (the Māori Social Survey). *Te Kupenga 2013* is the first survey of Māori wellbeing and includes a range of measures incorporating general, social (including health), and economic wellbeing measures as well as measures based on Māori conceptualisations of wellbeing (Statistics New Zealand 2014a). It is a post-census survey of Māori adults carried out by Statistics New Zealand (SNZ) and designed to produce nationally representative estimates for Māori. *Te Kupenga* used a multistage sampling method to select participants from the Māori population aged 15 years and over, who are usually resident in New Zealand and who identified with Māori ethnicity and/or Māori descent in the 2013 Census (Statistics New Zealand 2014b). Additional information on the survey design is reported elsewhere (Statistics New Zealand 2014a). Briefly, sampling is based on identifying dwellings with eligible individuals (based on their Census 2013 responses, as noted above); the initial sampling step involved randomly selecting areas (collections of households in a contiguous area, defined by Statistics New Zealand) with subsequent sampling steps further based on age group (strata based on age groups) and finally randomly sampling one person from each selected dwelling for invitation into the survey.

Responses to the fully-structured *Te Kupenga* questionnaire were collected in computer-assisted personal interviews (with the interviewer using a laptop to ask pre-determined, standardised questions and collect responses from participants). Interviews were conducted in either English or te reo Māori between 4 June 2013 and 25 August 2013. The survey response rate was 74% ($n = 5,549$).

For the secondary analysis reported in this paper, microdata from *Te Kupenga* were accessed as confidentialised unit record files (CURFs) from SNZ and through the SNZ Data Lab (Statistics New Zealand 2014b). This study was approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee (D15/290).

Key variables

Ethnicity and descent variables

Eligibility for inclusion in *Te Kupenga* was based on individuals identifying as being of Māori ethnicity and/or Māori descent in the 2013 Census. Participants in *Te Kupenga* were asked these questions again. Self-identified ethnicity was measured using the standard ethnicity question from the Census that asks: 'Which ethnic group or groups do you belong to?'. Participants were provided with a standard list of ethnic groups to choose from and also an 'other' option with free text space to specify ethnicity. Anyone who self-identified as Māori, either alone or in combination with other ethnic group/s, was included as being of Māori ethnicity. Participants were also asked, 'Are you descended from a Māori? For

example, do you have a Māori birth parent, grandparent or great-grandparent?' Response options were 'yes', 'no', 'don't know', and 'refused'. For the current analysis, in line with our conceptual approach, we included all *Te Kupenga* participants in our analysis. The majority of participants self-identified as being of both Māori ethnicity and Māori descent. 542 participants (approximately 10% of the total sample) said they were of Māori descent but did not identify their ethnicity as Māori and 39 participants who identified their ethnicity as Māori reported they were either not of Māori descent or did not know if they were.

Discrimination variables

The survey used a stepped process to ask participants about the individual experience of discrimination ever and in the last 12 months (Shariff-Marco et al 2011; Statistics New Zealand 2013). Firstly, they were asked if they had ever experienced discrimination (being treated unfairly or having something nasty said or done to you because of the group you belong to, or seem to belong to) in a range of different situations (options were: at school, trying to get a job, at work, trying to get housing or a mortgage, dealing with the police or the courts, trying to get medical care, trying to get service in a shop or restaurant, on the street or in a public place, and any other situation). Participants were then asked about the reason (or basis) for discrimination in each situation (options were: skin colour, race or ethnic group, gender, age, disability or health, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, income or whānau income, other) and whether that particular type of discrimination (by location and reason) occurred in the last 12 months.

For our analysis in the current paper, we created a racial discrimination variable by combining discrimination based on 'skin colour' with that based on 'race or ethnic group' in line with other research undertaken in Aotearoa New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2012; Cormack et al. 2018). The situations or settings where discrimination was experienced, 'trying to get a job' and 'at work' were combined into a single 'work setting' category, with all other settings analysed separately.

To examine multiple experiences of discrimination, we grouped the bases of discrimination into five categories: No Discrimination (ND), where no forms of discrimination were reported; Racial Discrimination 1 (RD1), where experience of racial discrimination was reported but no other forms of discrimination; Racial Discrimination 2 (RD2), where racial discrimination was reported and one other form of discrimination; Racial Discrimination 3+ (RD3+), where experience of racial discrimination was reported along with two or more other forms of discrimination; Non-Racial Discrimination 1 (D1), where experience of any one form of non-racial discrimination was reported; Non-Racial Discrimination 2 (D2), where experience of two forms of non-racial discrimination were reported; and, Non-Racial Discrimination 3+ (D3+), where any 3 or more forms of non-racial discrimination were reported. This categorisation aligned with our conceptual approach of the primacy of 'race' and the pervasiveness of racism in colonial contexts (Ford and Airhihenbuwa 2010; Grosfoguel et al. 2015) by allowing us to consider how racial discrimination intersects with other forms of discrimination for Māori.

Covariates

We examined how the experience of discrimination was associated with a range of socio-demographic variables for Māori. This included age, categorised in age groups for analysis

(15–19, 20–24, 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64, 65+ years) and gender (available only as binary categories of male and female in *Te Kupenga 2013*). We included three socioeconomic variables in our analysis, to measure different components of socioeconomic status. The New Zealand Index of Deprivation 2013 (NZDep 2013) was used as an area-based measure of material deprivation (Salmond and Crampton 2012), and analysed in quintiles (from 1 least deprived to 5 most deprived). Education was analysed in two categories (no secondary qualification, secondary qualification or higher). An 8-item short version of the Material Wellbeing Index (MWI) was included in *Te Kupenga*. The MWI is a household material living standards measure (Ministry of Social Development 2016) and was analysed by total population quintiles derived from the Statistics New Zealand's General Social Survey 2016 (from 1 low to 5 high, material living standards).

Finally, experiences of discrimination were examined in relation to participants' socially-assigned ethnicity. Socially-assigned ethnicity refers to the ethnicity that other people in society would usually classify you as (Harris et al. 2013). The question included in *Te Kupenga* asks: 'Thinking now about how other people see you, rather than how you see yourself, in New Zealand, what do most other people see you as?' Participants were able to choose from the response options: as Māori; as someone of combined Māori and NZ European ethnic groups; as NZ European; as a Pacific person; as Asian; as someone of combined NZ European and any other ethnic group/s; or, other ethnic group or other combination of ethnic groups. For data analysis, socially-assigned ethnicity was categorised into four groups: Māori; Māori and NZ European; NZ European; and other (any other response option).

Data analysis methods

Data were analysed in SAS 9.3 (SAS Institute, Cary, NC) and R 3.4 (R Institute, Vienna, Austria). Results from studies with complex sampling designs (especially those using cluster-based sampling) require appropriate analysis to account for the fact that people sampled from within a given cluster area will be more similar to each other than people sampled in other clusters. Estimates were therefore calculated accounting for the complex sampling structure (inverse sampling weights and cluster/strata) in order to produce representative estimates for the target population of Māori adults usually resident in NZ. Prevalences and 95% confidence intervals (CIs) were calculated to give the proportions of people reporting each basis of discrimination (e.g. race/ethnicity, age, gender) and are also reported stratified by groups based on the sociodemographic variables. For each type (basis) of discrimination, we calculated the proportion reporting that discrimination in each setting. In addition, prevalence of single and multiple experiences of discrimination (as detailed above) were summarised by sociodemographic variables and settings where discrimination occurred.

In accordance with Statistics New Zealand rules for presenting results from *Te Kupenga* (to protect the privacy of survey respondents), frequencies were random rounded and data are suppressed for cells where there were small numbers (Statistics New Zealand 2014b). The main text presents discrimination experiences 'ever'; the supplementary material presents results from analyses for discrimination in the last 12 months (which was more affected by small numbers and suppressed cells). The results in the tables are also annotated with the size of the relative standard error (RSE) in line with Statistics NZ rules

(Statistics NZ 2014b) to indicate results which may be less statistically precise, and hence may not give a robust answer of what the true prevalence is in the studied population: estimates with a moderate (30–50%) or high (50–100%) RSE are flagged as being imprecise and particular attention should be paid to the confidence intervals in those cases (precision is also reflected in the confidence intervals for each estimate).

Results

Overall, 59.8% (95% CI 58.3–61.3) of Māori reported any experience of discrimination in their lifetime ('ever'). The prevalence of reporting different forms of discrimination 'ever' experienced by Māori is presented in Table 1. Racial discrimination was the most commonly reported basis of discrimination, with 40.6% of Māori reporting racial discrimination 'ever' (Table 1) and 6.8% reporting racial discrimination in the last 12 months (see Supplementary Table 1). The second most commonly reported basis of discrimination was 'Other', although this category includes a range of separate reported bases. Age, gender and income-based discrimination were the next most commonly reported forms of discrimination experienced 'ever'. Māori women reported approximately three times more gender discrimination than Māori men in their lifetime (16.7% vs. 5.6%), and also reported higher discrimination on the basis of income and for 'Other' reasons. Prevalences of 'ever' discrimination were similar by gender for the remaining grounds reported (see Table 1).

Age discrimination for Māori was highest for the 20–24 year age group. The patterning of other forms of discrimination by age tended to increase from the 15–19 year age group to the middle age groups, then decrease in the older ages. Discrimination on the basis of income was associated with all socioeconomic measures, with higher discrimination among more disadvantaged socioeconomic categories. Likelihood of experiencing racial discrimination or discrimination on the basis of disability or health issues also appeared to increase as deprivation increased and material wellbeing decreased. Māori who were socially-assigned as Māori reported the highest ever experience of racial discrimination (53.8%), compared with Māori socially-assigned as NZ European (21.0%). Being socially assigned as both Māori and NZ European was intermediary (41.8%) for reports of racial discrimination. Social assignment as NZ European was associated with lower income discrimination than the other socially-assigned groups. Patterning of discrimination by socially-assigned ethnicity was less evident for other forms of discrimination.

Numbers and prevalences for reporting discrimination in the last 12 months were smaller, however, patterns of discrimination by sociodemographic variables appeared generally similar to those for 'ever' discrimination (Supplementary Table 1).

Table 2 shows the most common settings for each type of discrimination (percentage within those reporting that type of discrimination that indicated that particular setting as being the location where discrimination had occurred). The most common setting for experiencing any discrimination 'ever' was at school (36.0% of Māori who reported any form of discrimination 'ever'), followed by in work settings (25.9%). Amongst Māori who had 'ever' experienced racial discrimination, the most common setting was at school (61.6%), followed by work settings (31.9%) and public settings (31.0%). Gender and age discrimination were most commonly reported as happening in work settings (49.9% and 44.7% respectively). Examination of settings for experiences of less

Table 1. Prevalence of types of discrimination (ever), overall and by sociodemographic variables, *Te Kupenga 2013*.

	Total n	Total %	Basis for discrimination							
			Age n; % (95%CI)	Gender n; % (95%CI)	Disability/Health n; % (95%CI)	Income*** n; % (95%CI)	Other n; % (95%CI)	Race/ethnicity n; % (95%CI)	Religion n; % (95%CI)	Sexual orientation n; % (95%CI)
<i>Total</i>	5550	100	723; 13.0 (12.0, 14.0)	639; 11.4 (10.4, 12.3)	342; 5.7 (5.1, 6.3)	636; 10.9 (10.0, 11.8)	1089; 18.3 (17.2, 19.5)	2295; 40.6 (39.3, 41.9)	195; 3.7 (3.2, 4.3)	111; 1.9 (1.5, 2.4)
<i>Age group</i>										
15–19	756	16.2	99; 12.0 (9.7, 14.9)	48; 5.6 (4.1, 7.7)	36; 3.9 (2.8, 5.5)	39; 4.4 (3.1, 6.3)	93; 11.1 (8.9, 13.8)	207; 27.2 (23.6, 31.1)	27; 3.2 (2.0, 4.9)	15; 1.7 (1.0, 2.8)
20–24	597	11.7	126; 20.9 (17.3, 24.9)	69; 11.1 (8.6, 14.2)	39; 6.8 (4.7, 10.0)	72; 12.3 (9.5, 15.9)	132; 19.6 (16.5, 23.2)	249; 41.6 (37.1, 46.2)	27; 5.7 (3.5, 9.1)	21; 3.3 (2.1, 5.1)
25–34	1020	17.8	168; 17.3 (14.7, 20.2)	138; 14.8 (12.3, 17.6)	63; 6.3 (4.9, 8.1)	159; 15.1 (12.8, 17.7)	231; 21.7 (19.0, 24.7)	444; 41.4 (38.1, 44.9)	42; 4.9 (3.4, 6.9)	24; 2.8 (1.7, 4.5)
35–44	981	18.6	96; 9.2 (7.4, 11.5)	153; 14.2 (12.0, 16.7)	69; 5.7 (4.4, 7.4)	147; 13.9 (11.7, 16.5)	231; 21.3 (18.7, 24.2)	474; 48.0 (44.4, 51.6)	27; 2.5 (1.7, 3.8)	18; 1.6 (1.0, 2.6)
45–54	897	16.9	90; 9.9 (7.9, 12.4)	129; 14.0 (11.7, 16.7)	78; 7.4 (5.8, 9.3)	120; 12.3 (10.1, 15.0)	201; 21.5 (18.6, 24.6)	438; 47.1 (43.4, 50.8)	36; 3.7 (2.5, 5.6)	18; 1.6 (1.0, 2.7)
55–64	729	10.7	96; 13.6 (11.0, 16.6)	75; 10.7 (8.4, 13.5)	36; 4.2 (2.9, 6.0)	69; 9.4 (7.4, 12.0)	123; 16.0 (13.3, 19.2)	306; 43.0 (39.1, 47.1)	24; 3.4 (2.1, 5.6)	12; 1.7 (0.9, 3.1)*
65+	570	8.2	48; 8.3 (6.2, 11.1)	30; 4.6 (3.0, 6.8)	21; 4.5 (2.6, 7.6)	24; 4.2 (2.8, 6.2)	72; 13.1 (10.1, 16.8)	177; 30.2 (26.2, 34.4)	15; 2.5 (1.4, 4.3)	–
<i>Gender</i>										
M	2451	47.8	294; 12.0 (10.6, 13.6)	135; 5.6 (4.7, 6.7)	135; 5.2 (4.3, 6.3)	225; 8.7 (7.5, 10.1)	417; 16.0 (14.5, 17.7)	993; 40.1 (37.9, 42.4)	87; 4.1 (3.2, 5.3)	42; 1.8 (1.2, 2.5)
F	3099	52.2	429; 13.9 (12.6, 15.4)	501; 16.7 (15.2, 18.2)	207; 6.1 (5.3, 7.1)	411; 12.9 (11.6, 14.3)	669; 20.4 (18.9, 22.0)	1302; 41.0 (39.1, 43.0)	105; 3.4 (2.7, 4.2)	69; 2.0 (1.6, 2.6)
<i>NZDep2013 (quintiles)</i>										
1 (least deprived)	504	11.3	63; 12.2 (9.3, 15.9)	66; 12.2 (9.4, 15.7)	15; 2.1 (1.2, 3.7)*	45; 8.9 (6.6, 12.0)	72; 13.1 (10.3, 16.6)	147; 31.1 (26.4, 36.2)	9; 1.7 (0.9, 3.4)*	6; 1.6 (0.7, 3.4)*
2	612	14.6	81; 13.1 (10.3, 16.6)	81; 12.7 (10.0, 15.8)	24; 4.3 (2.6, 7.0)	54; 8.4 (6.1, 11.5)	114; 17.0 (13.9, 20.6)	204; 34.6 (30.3, 39.2)	18; 4.4 (2.5, 7.5)	9; 1.4 (0.7, 2.6)*
3	876	17.7	102; 12.3 (9.9, 15.2)	96; 10.2 (8.2, 12.6)	36; 3.7 (2.6, 5.2)	93; 10.0 (7.9, 12.5)	171; 17.7 (15.2, 20.6)	342; 38.1 (34.5, 41.8)	39; 5.3 (3.6, 7.6)	24; 2.2 (1.4, 3.4)
4	1344	23.5	207; 15.8 (13.6, 18.2)	165; 12.4 (10.5, 14.6)	102; 7.4 (6.0, 9.0)	150; 11.1 (9.3, 13.1)	267; 20.0 (17.6, 22.6)	579; 42.3 (39.3, 45.3)	48; 3.2 (2.3, 4.4)	30; 2.3 (1.4, 3.5)
5 (most deprived)	2121	31.2	258; 11.8 (10.4, 13.3)	222; 10.2 (8.9, 11.6)	159; 7.4 (6.3, 8.7)	276; 12.4 (11.1, 14.0)	441; 19.7 (18.0, 21.6)	981; 46.4 (44.2, 48.7)	78; 3.7 (2.9, 4.7)	33; 1.7 (1.2, 2.4)
<i>Education qualification</i>										
None	1587	26.9	174; 10.0 (8.6, 11.7)	123; 7.9 (6.5, 9.6)	108; 6.4 (5.3, 7.8)	150; 9.1 (7.6, 10.8)	288; 16.9 (14.9, 19.0)	624; 37.3 (34.7, 40.0)	39; 2.4 (1.7, 3.4)	15; 1.0 (0.6, 1.8)*
Secondary plus	3534	65.9	504; 14.3 (13.0, 15.7)	480; 12.9 (11.7, 14.2)	207; 5.5 (4.7, 6.4)	438; 11.7 (10.5, 13.0)	702; 18.5 (17.1, 19.9)	1488; 41.5 (39.7, 43.4)	135; 4.1 (3.3, 5.0)	81; 2.2 (1.7, 2.8)
<i>MWI (quintiles)</i>										
Q1 (low)	1443	23.9	276; 19.0 (16.8, 21.4)	258; 18.3 (16.1, 20.8)	156; 10.4 (8.8, 12.3)	291; 20.5 (18.4, 22.7)	447; 30.0 (27.5, 32.7)	807; 55.5 (52.5, 58.4)	72; 5.0 (3.8, 6.4)	33; 2.2 (1.4, 3.4)
Q2	1674	30.1	207; 12.9 (11.0, 15.2)	168; 9.8 (8.1, 11.8)	114; 6.4 (5.2, 7.9)	183; 10.3 (8.9, 12.0)	318; 17.7 (15.6, 19.9)	696; 40.6 (38.4, 42.9)	57; 4.4 (3.3, 6.0)	42; 2.2 (1.6, 3.0)
Q3	747	13.9	90; 11.3 (9.1, 14.0)	66; 9.1 (7.2, 11.5)	27; 3.2 (2.1, 4.9)	60; 7.7 (5.9, 9.8)	111; 14.4 (11.9, 17.4)	252; 34.9 (30.8, 39.1)	24; 2.7 (1.7, 4.3)	15; 2.0 (0.9, 4.4)*
Q4	726	13.8	63; 9.0 (6.7, 12.1)	60; 8.2 (6.2, 10.7)	24; 3.3 (2.0, 5.5)	45; 6.2 (4.4, 8.6)	102; 12.2 (9.5, 15.6)	237; 33.0 (29.4, 36.9)	21; 2.7 (1.6, 4.5)	9; 1.3 (0.6, 2.5)*
Q5 (high)	747	14.0	63; 8.8 (6.5, 11.6)	78; 10.4 (8.0, 13.5)	15; 1.2 (0.7, 2.1)	48; 5.9 (4.3, 8.1)	99; 12.6 (10.1, 15.7)	243; 33.1 (29.1, 37.4)	12; 2.3 (1.3, 4.0)	12; 1.7 (0.9, 3.2)*
<i>Socially-assigned ethnicity</i>										
Māori	2373	40.2	273; 10.8 (9.5, 12.3)	246; 9.8 (8.6, 11.2)	144; 5.4 (4.6, 6.3)	303; 12.0 (10.6, 13.5)	438; 17.1 (15.7, 18.7)	1275; 53.8 (51.4, 56.2)	78; 3.3 (2.6, 4.3)	33; 1.2 (0.8, 1.7)
Māori and NZ Euro	1263	23.5	177; 14.6 (12.5, 17.1)	150; 12.4 (10.4, 14.8)	57; 4.6 (3.6, 5.9)	153; 11.6 (9.7, 13.7)	249; 19.1 (16.7, 21.7)	528; 41.8 (38.8, 44.9)	42; 3.3 (2.2, 4.8)	39; 2.7 (2.0, 3.8)
NZ Euro	1581	30.2	225; 14.4 (12.2, 16.9)	207; 12.9 (11.0, 15.0)	111; 6.8 (5.4, 8.4)	141; 8.8 (7.4, 10.5)	330; 19.4 (17.3, 21.7)	336; 21.0 (18.8, 23.3)	57; 3.9 (2.9, 5.2)	27; 1.8 (1.1, 2.9)
Other	279	5.2	42; 13.9 (9.7, 19.5)	33; 9.5 (6.4, 14.0)	24; 7.0 (4.7, 10.3)	33; 11.2 (7.2, 17.1)	60; 17.6 (14.0, 21.9)	141; 47.7 (41.5, 54.0)	18; 7.5 (4.2, 13.0)	9; 3.4 (1.5, 7.5)*

Notes: Missing data included 93 participants for NZDep2013 (1.8%), 429 participants for educational qualification (7.1%), 213 participants for MWI (4.3%), and 51 participants for socially-assigned ethnicity (1%). – indicates cell fell below suppression threshold. n values are random rounded to 3.

*RSE 30–50%.

**RSE 50–100%.

***Income includes 'my income or whānau's income'.

Table 2. Type of discrimination by setting (ever), proportion by setting among those that experience each type of discrimination.

Basis	Total n	Setting of discrimination							
		Work/Employment n; % (95%CI)	Housing n; % (95%CI)	In Public n; % (95%CI)	Medical n; % (95%CI)	Other n; % (95%CI)	Police n; % (95%CI)	School n; % (95%CI)	Service n; % (95%CI)
<i>Any discrimination</i>	3381	1470; 25.9 (24.9, 27.1)	588; 9.7 (8.9, 10.5)	969; 17.4 (16.4, 18.5)	300; 4.9 (4.3, 5.6)	414; 7.2 (6.4, 8.0)	627; 10.7 (9.8, 11.6)	2004; 36.0 (34.4, 37.6)	915; 15.7 (14.5, 16.9)
<i>Race/ethnicity</i>	2295	735; 31.9 (29.8, 34.2)	264; 10.1 (8.9, 11.4)	690; 31.0 (28.8, 33.2)	117; 4.6 (3.8, 5.6)	234; 10.2 (8.9, 11.8)	366; 15.4 (13.8, 17.1)	1389; 61.6 (59.3, 63.8)	636; 26.8 (24.7, 28.9)
<i>Gender</i>	639	327; 49.9 (45.5, 54.3)	45; 7.0 (5.1, 9.4)	108; 16.9 (13.9, 20.3)	18; 3.1 (1.9, 5.0)	45; 7.6 (5.5, 10.5)	78; 11.5 (9.1, 14.5)	177; 24.8 (21.4, 28.6)	69; 11.7 (9.0, 15.1)
<i>Age</i>	723	336; 44.7 (40.5, 48.9)	144; 19.7 (16.6, 23.2)	66; 9.3 (7.1, 12.0)	42; 5.3 (3.8, 7.3)	30; 5.3 (3.3, 8.2)	84; 11.8 (9.4, 14.6)	90; 12.8 (10.2, 16.0)	129; 17.3 (14.4, 20.7)
<i>Disability/Health</i>	342	117; 34.3 (28.9, 40.1)	15; 3.9 (2.4, 6.5)	45; 11.7 (8.6, 15.7)	69; 19.5 (15.2, 24.6)	18; 4.4 (2.7, 7.2)	21; 4.7 (3.0, 7.3)	171; 50.9 (44.9, 56.8)	18; 5.9 (3.7, 9.5)
<i>Sexual orientation</i>	111	39; 37.9 (27.8, 49.2)	9; 5.0 (2.3, 10.6)*	36; 34.9 (25.3, 45.8)	–	15; 11.1 (6.5, 18.5)	9; 6.8 (3.5, 12.8)*	48; 43.4 (33.3, 54.1)	6; 8.7 (4.2, 17.2)*
<i>Religion</i>	195	54; 28.6 (21.5, 37)	–	21; 12.9 (7.5, 21.3)	–	12; 4.5 (2.5, 7.9)*	6; 4.4 (2.0, 9.5)*	120; 65.3 (57.2, 72.6)	–
<i>Income***</i>	636	57; 8.6 (6.6, 11.2)	183; 27.4 (23.6, 31.5)	21; 2.7 (1.7, 4.3)	45; 6.8 (4.8, 9.7)	33; 4.7 (3.2, 7.0)	36; 5.5 (3.9, 7.7)	339; 56.3 (51.8, 60.7)	75; 10.5 (8.3, 13.2)
<i>Other</i>	1089	375; 35.3 (32.1, 38.5)	105; 9.7 (7.8, 12.0)	168; 15.4 (13.1, 17.9)	63; 5.5 (4.3, 7.2)	102; 8.4 (6.9, 10.4)	183; 16.7 (14.4, 19.3)	375; 34.9 (31.7, 38.1)	150; 12.9 (10.8, 15.3)

Notes: – Indicates cell fell below suppression threshold. n values are random rounded to 3.

*RSE 30–50%.

**RSE 50–100%.

***Income includes 'my income or whānau's income'.

common forms of discrimination (e.g. based on religion and sexual orientation) was complicated by small numbers and suppressed cells. For experiences of discrimination in the last 12 months, work was the most common setting for discrimination on the basis of age, gender, race/ethnicity and other reasons, while trying to get service in a shop or restaurant was the most common setting for discrimination on the basis of income followed closely by housing (see Supplementary Table 2).

The prevalence of Māori experiences of single and multiple experiences of racial and other types of discrimination (ever) by demographic characteristics is presented in Table 3. 18.9% of Māori reported experience of racial discrimination only, 11.6% of Māori reported experience of racial discrimination and one non-racial form of discrimination, and 10.1% reported racial discrimination and two other forms of discrimination. Reporting of 'ever' experiencing non-racial discrimination tended to be lower, with 13.3% of Māori reporting one form of non-racial discrimination only, 4.6% reporting two forms, and 1.4% reporting three or more. Women appeared to report higher multiple discrimination for both racial and non-racial multiple discrimination categories (i.e. D2, D3+, RD3+). Patterning by the other multiple discrimination categories were similar to single experiences, however, for deprivation and material wellbeing, the gradient for multiple experience of racial and other discriminations (RD2, RD3+) appeared more marked than for racial discrimination experience alone (RD1). As with patterning for experiencing single forms of discrimination, socially-assigned ethnicity had more pronounced patterning with experiences of discrimination that included racial discrimination, especially for experience of racial discrimination alone where being socially-assigned as Māori was associated with the highest reporting of racial discrimination, followed by social-assignment as Māori and NZ European, then NZ European. There may be some suggestion of attenuation of this pattern with the addition of experiencing other forms of discrimination. Patterns of multiple experiences of discrimination in the last 12 months can be found in Supplementary Table 3.

The settings in which people experience multiple types of discrimination are presented in Table 4. For people who 'ever' experienced racial discrimination and at least two other forms of discrimination (RD3+), the most common settings reported for these experiences were in school (78.6%) and employment (70.1%). For Māori reporting multiple types of non-racial discrimination only (D3+), the most common settings were the same, but with work settings the most common (71.1%), followed by school (62.6%).

Discussion

Discrimination is a common, pervasive experience for Māori. Our findings demonstrate that Māori experience frequent and multiple discrimination over their lives, in a range of settings and on several different bases. Racial discrimination is the most commonly reported basis of discrimination for Māori, when combining discrimination based on skin colour and race or ethnic group, both in the last 12 months and ever. This finding aligns with our conceptual approach, whereby racism is understood as a primary and ubiquitous experience of Indigenous peoples living in societies that have been colonised, and where coloniality is ongoing (Grosfoguel et al. 2015; Pihama 2017). It is also consistent with analysis of the General Social Survey, which showed that racial discrimination was the most commonly reported grounds for discrimination for Māori in the last year,

Table 3. Prevalence of experience of multiple types of discrimination (ever), overall and by sociodemographic variables.

	Total n	Total %	Discrimination levels						
			ND n; % (95% CI)	D1 n; % (95% CI)	D2 n; % (95% CI)	D3+ n; % (95% CI)	RD1 n; % (95% CI)	RD2 n; % (95% CI)	RD3+ n; % (95% CI)
<i>Total</i>	5550	100	2166; 40.2 (38.7, 41.7)	753; 13.3 (12.3, 14.3)	252; 4.6 (4.1, 5.3)	81; 1.4 (1.1, 1.7)	1029; 18.9 (17.6, 20.1)	681; 11.6 (10.8, 12.4)	588; 10.1 (9.3, 11.0)
<i>Age group</i>									
15–19	756	16.2	399; 55.0 (51.1, 58.7)	108; 13.4 (10.7, 16.8)	36; 3.7 (2.6, 5.2)	6; 0.7 (0.3, 1.6)*	105; 14.6 (12.0, 17.7)	63; 7.6 (5.7, 10.0)	42; 5.0 (3.6, 7.0)
20–24	597	11.7	204; 35.4 (30.8, 40.4)	90; 14.7 (11.8, 18.1)	36; 5.6 (3.9, 8.0)	15; 2.7 (1.3, 5.4)*	99; 17.9 (14.3, 22.1)	72; 11.3 (8.5, 14.9)	75; 12.5 (9.6, 16.0)
25–34	1020	17.8	336; 33.5 (30.4, 36.8)	168; 16.6 (14.2, 19.4)	54; 6.6 (4.9, 8.7)	21; 1.9 (1.2, 2.9)	162; 15.3 (13.1, 17.8)	144; 12.9 (10.6, 15.5)	135; 13.3 (10.7, 16.3)
35–44	981	18.6	327; 36.1 (32.2, 40.1)	120; 10.7 (8.8, 12.9)	42; 4.1 (3.1, 5.5)	15; 1.1 (0.7, 2.0)*	198; 21.4 (18.1, 25.1)	141; 14.0 (12.0, 16.2)	138; 12.7 (10.5, 15.2)
45–54	897	16.9	294; 34.2 (30.3, 38.3)	108; 12.8 (10.5, 15.6)	36; 4.2 (2.9, 6.0)	18; 1.7 (1.1, 2.9)	195; 22.1 (18.8, 25.8)	129; 13.4 (11.1, 16.0)	114; 11.6 (9.4, 14.2)
55–64	729	10.7	297; 39.7 (35.5, 43.9)	93; 12.9 (10.3, 15.9)	30; 4.1 (2.8, 6.0)	–	153; 22.0 (18.8, 25.6)	90; 12.4 (10.2, 15.1)	63; 8.6 (6.5, 11.3)
65+	570	8.2	306; 54.3 (49.3, 59.2)	63; 10.9 (8.1, 14.4)	15; 3.7 (1.9, 7.1)*	–	117; 20.0 (16.8, 23.5)	39; 7.0 (4.8, 10.0)	21; 3.2 (2.1, 5.1)
<i>Gender</i>									
M	2451	47.8	1044; 42.9 (40.7, 45.2)	315; 12.7 (11.0, 14.5)	84; 3.6 (2.9, 4.5)	15; 0.7 (0.3, 1.4)*	498; 21.1 (19.2, 23.1)	297; 11.3 (10.2, 12.6)	195; 7.7 (6.5, 9.1)
F	3099	52.2	1125; 37.6 (35.6, 39.6)	438; 13.8 (12.6, 15.1)	168; 5.5 (4.7, 6.5)	69; 2.0 (1.6, 2.6)	531; 16.8 (15.3, 18.5)	381; 11.8 (10.7, 13.1)	390; 12.3 (11.1, 13.7)
<i>NZDep2013 (quintiles)</i>									
1 (least deprived)	504	11.3	258; 50.8 (45.9, 55.6)	66; 11.3 (8.6, 14.7)	27; 5.0 (3.3, 7.6)	9; 1.8 (0.9, 3.6)*	72; 17.1 (13.4, 21.6)	33; 6.2 (4.3, 8.7)	45; 7.8 (5.8, 10.4)
2	612	14.6	252; 40.8 (36.5, 45.2)	111; 17.2 (14.3, 20.7)	33; 5.5 (3.7, 8.0)	9; 1.9 (0.8, 4.4)*	102; 18.6 (15.4, 22.2)	57; 8.8 (6.7, 11.5)	45; 7.2 (5.0, 10.3)
3	876	17.7	357; 42.8 (39.1, 46.5)	120; 13.4 (10.7, 16.6)	48; 4.7 (3.5, 6.4)	12; 1.0 (0.6, 1.8)*	156; 17.0 (14.6, 19.7)	111; 12.2 (10.0, 14.9)	75; 8.8 (6.7, 11.4)
4	1344	23.5	519; 38.8 (36.2, 41.4)	165; 12.6 (10.8, 14.6)	57; 4.8 (3.5, 6.4)	24; 1.5 (1.0, 2.4)	240; 17.5 (15.4, 20.0)	171; 12.4 (10.8, 14.2)	165; 12.3 (10.5, 14.4)
5 (most deprived)	2121	31.2	747; 35.9 (33.6, 38.3)	282; 12.8 (11.4, 14.3)	84; 3.8 (3.0, 4.8)	27; 1.1 (0.7, 1.6)	441; 21.5 (19.4, 23.7)	297; 13.9 (12.5, 15.5)	243; 11.1 (9.8, 12.4)
<i>Education qualification</i>									
None	1587	26.9	690; 46.1 (43.3, 48.9)	201; 11.9 (10.4, 13.7)	57; 3.9 (2.9, 5.2)	12; 0.8 (0.5, 1.4)	309; 18.5 (16.3, 20.9)	186; 11.0 (9.5, 12.8)	132; 7.8 (6.4, 9.4)
Secondary plus	3534	65.9	1320; 38.2 (36.3, 40.2)	486; 13.5 (12.2, 14.9)	180; 5.1 (4.3, 6.0)	57; 1.6 (1.2, 2.1)	636; 18.8 (17.4, 20.4)	438; 11.7 (10.7, 12.8)	414; 11.0 (9.9, 12.2)
<i>MWI (quintiles)</i>									
Q1 (low)	1443	23.9	309; 21.7 (19.4, 24.2)	201; 14.0 (11.9, 16.5)	81; 6.0 (4.6, 7.7)	45; 2.8 (2.1, 3.9)	270; 18.6 (16.3, 21.0)	264; 17.7 (15.7, 19.9)	276; 19.2 (17.0, 21.6)
Q2	1674	30.1	633; 38.7 (36.2, 41.1)	237; 13.8 (12.0, 15.9)	84; 5.3 (4.2, 6.6)	24; 1.6 (0.9, 2.7)	327; 19.5 (17.6, 21.6)	198; 11.4 (9.7, 13.3)	168; 9.7 (8.1, 11.6)
Q3	747	13.9	345; 47.0 (42.7, 51.3)	117; 13.8 (11.7, 16.3)	27; 3.9 (2.6, 5.8)	–	132; 19.1 (15.8, 22.9)	72; 8.6 (6.8, 11.0)	51; 7.2 (5.3, 9.6)
Q4	726	13.8	369; 50.7 (46.5, 55.0)	93; 12.2 (10.0, 14.9)	27; 3.7 (2.2, 6.2)	–	132; 18.3 (15.3, 21.8)	66; 9.7 (7.3, 12.8)	39; 5.0 (3.5, 7.1)
Q5 (high)	747	14.0	390; 51.4 (47.0, 55.8)	78; 11.1 (8.6, 14.3)	30; 3.6 (2.4, 5.4)	6; 0.7 (0.3, 2.0)**	138; 20.0 (16.6, 23.9)	63; 7.8 (5.9, 10.3)	42; 5.3 (3.9, 7.3)
<i>Socially-assigned ethnicity</i>									
Māori	2373	40.2	810; 34.9 (32.9, 36.9)	222; 8.5 (7.4, 9.9)	51; 2.2 (1.6, 3.0)	15; 0.6 (0.4, 1.0)	609; 27.1 (24.9, 29.4)	360; 15.0 (13.4, 16.6)	306; 11.8 (10.6, 13.1)
Māori and NZ Euro	1263	23.5	489; 38.9 (35.6, 42.2)	174; 13.8 (11.9, 15.8)	54; 4.1 (3.2, 5.3)	21; 1.4 (0.9, 2.2)	231; 17.9 (15.4, 20.8)	162; 12.9 (11.0, 15.1)	132; 11.0 (9.2, 13.1)
NZ Euro	1581	30.2	762; 48.8 (45.7, 51.9)	315; 19.2 (17.0, 21.7)	135; 8.7 (7.0, 10.6)	36; 2.4 (1.6, 3.6)	120; 8.2 (6.6, 10.2)	108; 5.9 (4.8, 7.3)	108; 6.8 (5.5, 8.3)
Other	279	5.2	87; 35.7 (29.4, 42.5)	36; 12.1 (8.5, 17.0)	9; 3.4 (1.9, 6.1)*	–	60; 21.6 (17.4, 26.5)	39; 12.9 (9.5, 17.2)	39; 13.3 (9.0, 19.1)

Notes: Missing data included 93 participants for NZDep2013 (1.8%); 429 participants for educational qualification (7.1%); 213 participants for MWI (4.3%); and 51 participants for socially-assigned ethnicity (1%).

– indicates cell fell below suppression threshold. n values are random rounded to 3.

*RSE 30–50%.

**RSE 50–100%.

Table 4. Experience of multiple types of discrimination by setting (ever) – proportion by setting among those that experience each type of discrimination.

Multiples group	Total	Setting of discrimination							
		Work/Employment n; % (95% CI)	Housing n; % (95% CI)	In Public n; % (95% CI)	Medical n; % (95% CI)	Other n; % (95% CI)	Police n; % (95% CI)	School n; % (95% CI)	Service n; % (95% CI)
D1	759	237; 31.4 (27.6, 35.4)	84; 11.1 (8.7, 14.1)	78; 9.7 (7.7, 12.2)	45; 5.7 (4.2, 7.7)	51; 7.0 (5.3, 9.2)	93; 11.4 (9.1, 14.2)	273; 38.0 (33.8, 42.4)	78; 10.3 (8.1, 12.9)
D2	243	141; 55.9 (49.1, 62.5)	60; 23.1 (17.8, 29.5)	54; 20.9 (15.2, 28.1)	30; 11.3 (7.5, 16.8)	21; 8.5 (5.1, 13.8)	30; 12.8 (8.8, 18.2)	129; 52.1 (44.6, 59.5)	57; 22.8 (17.4, 29.2)
D3+	69	63; 71.1 (55.2, 83.0)	30; 36.7 (24.9, 50.2)	21; 23.3 (14.5, 35.3)	18; 18.6 (11.1, 29.4)	12; 10.8 (5.7, 19.7)*	24; 24.0 (15.0, 36.2)	48; 62.6 (49.2, 74.3)	27; 32.5 (20.8, 46.8)
RD1	1062	285; 27.7 (24.9, 30.6)	96; 7.9 (6.5, 9.5)	255; 26.3 (23.0, 29.9)	39; 3.3 (2.4, 4.5)	102; 10.1 (8.0, 12.6)	138; 13.1 (11.1, 15.3)	618; 61.8 (58.2, 65.3)	270; 24.6 (21.5, 28.0)
RD2	684	345; 50.8 (46.6, 55.0)	105; 15.4 (12.5, 18.9)	240; 36.8 (32.3, 41.4)	57; 8.7 (6.6, 11.5)	90; 13.9 (11.2, 16.9)	156; 22.3 (18.8, 26.3)	474; 69.4 (65.4, 73.2)	210; 30.7 (27.0, 34.8)
RD3+	546	405; 70.1 (66.0, 73.9)	210; 33.3 (28.8, 38.1)	321; 55.5 (50.8, 60.1)	108; 17.0 (13.5, 21.1)	135; 22.0 (18.5, 26.0)	186; 31.5 (27.1, 36.2)	462; 78.6 (74.9, 82.0)	270; 45.7 (40.4, 51.0)

Notes: n values are random rounded to 3.

*RSE 30–50%.

although prevalence of such discrimination, using a slightly different measure, was higher in the GSS than in Te Kupenga (Cormack et al. 2018). Given that skin colour and other physical markers are often used to ascribe ethnicity, it is unsurprising that being socially-assigned as Māori is associated with increased report of racial discrimination, in line with findings for Māori from analysis of the New Zealand Health Survey (Harris et al. 2013).

Our findings show that Māori are also exposed to forms of discrimination other than racial discrimination, including discrimination on the grounds of age, gender, income (own or whānau income) and health status. While Indigenous communities have long recognised the interlocking nature of different systems of oppression in colonial societies, there has been scant previous reporting of the different bases for which Māori experience discrimination in Aotearoa New Zealand (Yeung and Crothers 2016; Cormack et al. 2018), often limited by sample size and study power. Māori women experience a number of forms of discrimination at higher rates than for Māori men. Some forms of discrimination are also patterned by socioeconomic status, with lower socioeconomic status associated with greater exposure to discrimination on the basis of income and health or disability issues. The racialised distribution of socioeconomic status in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry of Health 2015) means that associations between socioeconomic status and forms of discrimination will have a disproportionate impact on Māori communities.

While racial discrimination remains the most commonly reported form of discrimination for Māori, our findings of experience of multiple other forms of discrimination demonstrate the realities for Māori of living in a society with multiple oppressive systems, including classism, sexism and ageism. In line with our hypothesis about the pervasive, everyday nature of discrimination for Indigenous peoples, experiencing multiple discrimination is not uncommon for Māori. A recent study using GSS data found that among those who reported discrimination in the previous 12 months (10% of the population), most (over 75%) reported experiencing two or more counts (Yeung and Crothers 2016). Patterns by ethnicity are difficult to compare, due to a different approach to categorisation. In recent years, there has also been an increase in complaints to the Human Rights Commission with more than one ground of discrimination (Chen 2016).

Information on the domains and settings where Māori are exposed to discrimination is not routinely reported but this is important for considering interventions and responses to discrimination (Krieger 2012). Schools and workplaces were relatively common sites of discrimination in our study, aligning with other research (Statistics New Zealand 2012; OCC 2018). School is a domain that cannot be readily avoided for many children and young people, as it is compulsory to attend between the ages of 6 and 18 years. As this study includes both lifetime and recent experiences of discrimination, some of the reports of discrimination will be related to historical exposures. However, recent studies have also documented racism within educational settings for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand (e.g. Mayeda et al. 2014; OCC 2018). That school remains a key site of discrimination for Māori is concerning, both for the impacts on Māori in school, as well as the flow on effects in later life in both direct and indirect ways. Similarly, workplaces are a commonly reported site of discrimination, a finding that aligns with other research (Statistics New Zealand 2012). Analysis of the 2008 and 2010 GSS found that employment settings were the most commonly reported settings for discrimination for the total population, with 4.3% of peoples saying they had experienced discrimination in employment (2.3%

reporting racial discrimination) (Statistics New Zealand 2012). These, and many of the other settings in the *Te Kupenga* survey, are sites where discrimination is prohibited under the Human Rights Act. In 2018, employment was the most common setting for enquiries and complaints about unlawful discrimination to the Human Rights Commission (HRC 2018).

Strengths and limitations

Te Kupenga, as a nationally representative sample, allows for analysis of discrimination in more depth and detail than in other surveys with specific emphasis on patterns within the Māori population. However, there are several limitations to our study. With regards to the data available as part of Te Kupenga, there were limitations with respect to the questions asked and how responses were categorised in the Te Kupenga dataset. Of particular note, the structuring of the discrimination questions did not allow us to distinguish whether reporting of discrimination (across different forms) related to one single experience or separate experiences within a given period, that is, we could not distinguish whether respondents had experienced multiple discriminations in one episode or had distinct experiences of discrimination for those different bases that occurred at different times. This impacted on our ability to examine the intersectionality of experiences of discrimination. In addition, we were unable to examine the frequency of experiences of discrimination. Although the total population sampling frame provides a number of strengths for the study, it also meant that particular population groups or communities who may have greater exposure to discrimination (for example, LGBTQI+ communities) were not surveyed in sufficient numbers to undertake detailed analysis, and/or analysis of relevant characteristics were limited by the demographic questions asked (for example, the gender question only allows people to identify as male or female). We also did not explore differential reporting of discrimination for Māori who identified with multiple ethnic groups, or who reported Māori descent but did not identify with Māori ethnicity; however, previous work has suggested that differences by self-identified ethnicity combinations are largely determined by socially-assigned ethnicity (Harris et al. 2013). Further research, both quantitative and qualitative, is needed to strengthen the evidence in this area, including how individual level experiences of discrimination are linked to institutional practices and policies.

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated the complex reality of discrimination for Māori as Indigenous peoples. While racial discrimination is a primary experience, it is critical that other forms of discrimination are measured and monitored as well. This will provide important information that will allow us to better capture the impact of discrimination on Māori health and wellbeing, and is especially important within the current policy environment's focus on wellbeing. The findings reported in this paper reaffirm the urgency with which the government, its agencies and agents need to identify and take action to eliminate discrimination towards Māori in line with obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi and various human rights conventions and declarations to realise Māori rights to live free from all forms of discrimination.

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